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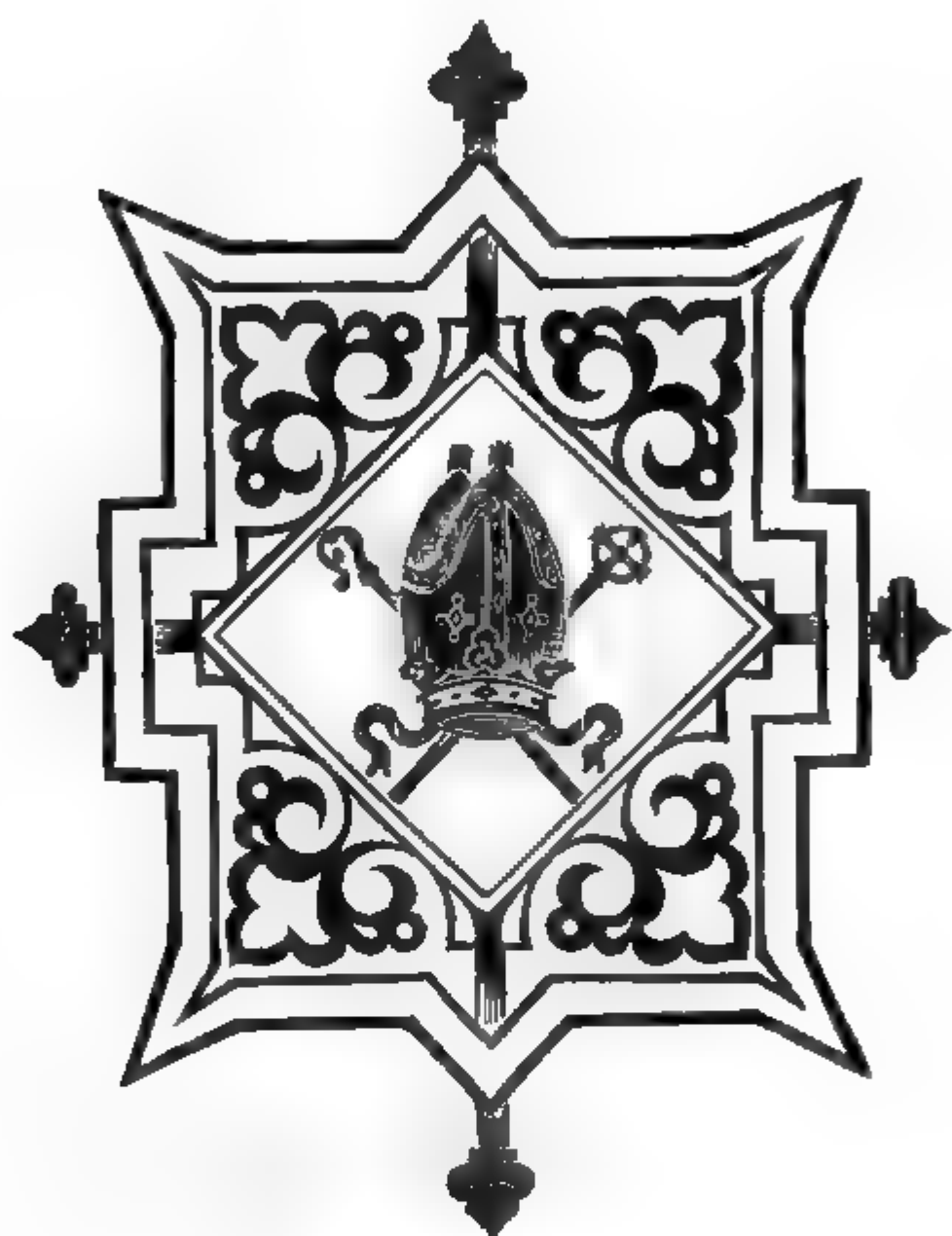




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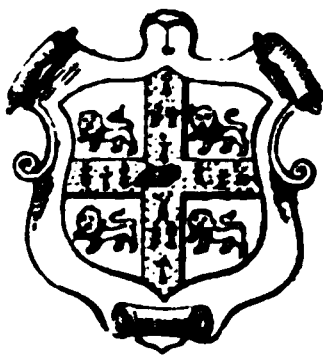
**Established for the publication and republication
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OF THE CHURCH, FIVE BOOKS.

BY
RICHARD FIELD, D. D.,
DEAN OF GLOUCESTER.

VOL. IV.

CONTAINING THE FIFTH BOOK FROM THE BEGINNING
OF THE FORTY-EIGHTH CHAPTER, AND THE
APPENDIX TO THE FIFTH BOOK.



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CHAPTER XLVIII.

OF GENERAL COUNCILS, AND OF THE END, USE, AND
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HAVING examined what may be said for proof of the universality of the bishop of Rome's power and jurisdiction, first we find that the Son of God gave him no power in the commonwealth, but a fatherhood only in the Church. Secondly, that in the Church he neither gave him an illimited power of commanding, nor infallible judgment in discerning, but that the greatest thing that either he can challenge or we yield unto him, is to be the prime bishop in order and honour; the first and not of himself alone, or out of the fulness of his own power, but with the joint concurrence of others equal in commission with him, to manage the great affairs of Almighty God, and to govern the Christian Church: so that the fulness of ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction is in the companies, assemblies, and synods of bishops and pastors, and not in any one man alone. I shewed¹ before, that in the churches founded and established by the apostles, containing whole cities and places adjoining, though there were many ministers of the word and sacraments, yet one was so the pastor of each of these churches, that the rest were but his assistants, and might do nothing without him; and that therefore there was an inequality established even from the beginning, not of order only, but of degree also, between such as are pastors of churches, and are named bishops, and such as are but their assistants, named by the common name of presbyters; yet is the power of him that excelleth the rest in degree in each church² fatherly,

¹ Chap. xxvii. [Vol. iii. p. 209.]

² See D. Bilson, Of the perpetual government of the Church. Cap. 14. p. 307.

not princely. For things were so ordered in the beginning, that as the presbyters could do nothing without the bishop, so the bishop in matters of moment might do nothing without his presbyters: and thereupon the council of Carthage decreeth¹, that the bishop shall not presume to hear and sententiate any man's cause without the presence of his clergy. And though it be said that the bishop alone may hear and determine the causes of such clergymen as are below the degree of presbyters and deacons; yet that alone excludeth not his clergy, but the concurrence of other bishops, which in the causes of presbyters and deacons is necessarily required. For without the presence and concurrence of his clergy the bishop may proceed to no sentence at all. If any difference grew between the bishop and his clergy, or if [consenting] any one found himself grieved with their proceedings, there was a provincial synod holden twice every year, in which the acts of episcopal synods might be re-examined. These provincial synods were subordinate to national and patriarchal synods, wherein the primate of a nation or kingdom, or one of the patriarchs, sat as president. And in these national or patriarchal synods the acts of provincial synods might be re-examined and reversed. Of all which I have spoken before, in due place and upon fit occasion, and have shewed² at large of whom these synods do consist. So that it is evident that the power of ecclesiastical jurisdiction resteth not in bishops alone, but in presbyters also, being admitted to provincial and national synods, and having decisive voices in them, as well as bishops; nor in any one metropolitan, primate or patriarch, within their several precincts and divisions, but in these and their fellow-bishops jointly; and that much less there is any one in whom the fulness of all ecclesiastical power, and the right to command the whole Church, doth rest. So that this fulness of power is found only in the general assembly of pastors called a general council. Wherefore now it remaineth that we speak of general councils. Wherein first we are to consider the

¹ "Episcopus nullius causam audiat absque præsentia clericorum suorum; alioquin irrita erit sententia episcopi, nisi clericorum præsentia confirmetur."—Concil. Carthag. iv. Can. 23. [Labbe, Tom. ii. col. 1439.]

² Chap. xxx. [Vol. iii. p. 243.]

utility and necessity of such synodal assemblies and meetings. Secondly, of whom they must consist. Thirdly, what assurance they have of divine assistance and direction: and, Fourthly, who must call them.

Touching the first, the causes why general councils are called are three. The first is, the suppressing of new heresies, formerly not condemned. The second, a general and uniform reformation of abuses crept into the Church. The third, the taking away of schisms grown into patriarchal churches, about the election of their pastors, and the rejecting of intruders, violently and disorderly possessing themselves of those patriarchal thrones. And so we find that the Council of Nice was called by Constantine, for the suppressing of the damnable heresy of the Arians: the eighth general council by Basilus, for the ending of the difference that was grown into the Church of Constantinople about Ignatius and Photius contending for the episcopal chair: and that all general councils intended and sought the reformation of abuses, there being scarce any one wherein canons were not made for the reformation of disorders; insomuch that the fathers of the sixth general council, having only condemned the heresy of the Monothelites, and made no canons, met afterwards again many of them, and made those canons that are now extant, and are the chief direction of the Greek Church unto this day. These being the causes for which councils are called, it is evident that the holding of them is not absolutely and simply necessary, but in a sort only. For heresies may be suppressed by the concurrence of provincial synods, holden in the several parts of the world; as they were in the first three hundred years, when there were no general councils: but one part of the Christian Church seeking the help of another in common dangers, and one part readily concurring with another (as for the extinguishing of a dangerous fire threatening all, or the repressing and repelling of a common enemy), by mutual intelligence passing from one to another, they abandoned heresies newly springing up, and preserved the unity of the common faith. Neither was this course holden only in the time of persecution during the first three hundred years, but afterwards also, in the time of the Church's peace, we find the same course to have been followed, in the suppressing of the

Pelagians; and therefore Austin¹ affirmeth, that there were but some few heresies of that nature, that a general council of all the bishops of the East and West was necessarily to be called for the suppressing of them. And indeed we find, that if some five or six heresies have been condemned by the censure of general councils, an hundred have been suppressed and extinguished by other means. And of those for the condemning whereof general councils were holden, some were not extinguished for a long time after. For that of the Arians grew stronger after than ever it was before, and those of Nestorius and Eutyches continued some hundreds of years after the ending of those councils in which they received the sentence of condemnation. How is it then that Isidore² saith, the Church before Constantine's time was divided and rent into divers factions and sects, because there was no general council? as if there were no other means to preserve unity but general councils, and that wheresoever they may be had peace were presently established. For the clearing hereof we say, that such new opinions, as growing up in those times, found a concurring dislike in the several churches, seeking one to another, were then suppressed, when yet there could be no general councils, as the heresies of the Marcionites, Valentinians, and the like. But they, wherein there grew difference among the chief pastors and bishops of the churches, could not be determined in those times, as the errors of the Millenaries, of those that kept Easter after the Jewish observation, and of those that held the necessity of re-baptizing of such as were baptized by heretics: in which point many worthy pastors and bishops of the Church did err in the first ages of the Church; neither could their error be extinguished, as Austin noteth, nor the truth so cleared, as that all dissenters should incur the note of heresy, till the decree of a council passed about it. *Quæstionis hujus obscuritas, saith Austin, prioribus Ecclesiæ temporibus ante schisma Donati, magnos viros et magna charitate præditos, patres et episcopos, ita inter se compulit, salva pace, disceptare et fluctuare, ut diu conciliorum in suis quibusque regionibus diversa statuta nutaverint, donec*

¹ Aug. Lib. iv. contra duas epist. Pelagian. cap. 12. [Tom. x. col. 492. F.]

² In Præfat. Conciliorum. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 5.]

*plenario totius orbis concilio, quod saluberrime sentiebatur, etiam remotis dubitationibus formaretur*¹, that is, "The obscurity of this question in former ages of the Church, before the schism of Donatus, did cause great men, and fathers, and bishops, indued with great charity, so to strive among themselves, and to waver as doubtful and uncertain, without breaking the bond of peace, that for a long time the decrees of councils in several regions were diverse and different, without any settled certainty; till that which was most wholesomely conceived, was fully formed, settled, and established by a plenary council of the bishops of the whole world, and no place left for doubting and uncertainty any longer." Thus we see that some heresies may easily be suppressed without troubling all the bishops of the world to meet in a general council, and that some others cannot easily be suppressed without general councils: and as heresies may be suppressed by the mutual concurrence of several churches; so by the like correspondence, the severity of discipline may be upholden uniformly, and schisms prevented. When Cornelius was elected and ordained bishop of Rome, at the first, because there was some opposition, Cyprian² and others were fearful to write unto him as to the bishop of Rome, but afterward being fully informed touching the lawfulness of his election and ordination, they rejected his competitors, and communicated with him only; and the like we shall find to have been practised generally by all bishops, carefully seeking to be certified out of other provinces and parts of the Church, by such bishops as were known to be Catholics, who came lawfully into places of ministry, and being so come, held the unity of faith and charity, that so they might hold communion with them, and reject those that entered otherwise. Whereupon Cyprian telleth Cornelius, bishop of Rome, to whom in Africa he might write as to catholic bishops, and from whom he might receive letters, as from Catholics. Notwithstanding general councils are the best means for preserving of unity of doctrine, severity of discipline, and preventing of schisms when they may be had; and though they be not absolutely necessary to the being of the Church,

¹ Aug. Lib. vii. de Baptismo, contra Donatist. cap. 7. [Tom. ix. col. 126.]

² Cyprian. Epist. xlv. [al. xlvii. p. 90.] et lv. [al. lix. p. 126.]

yet are they most behoveful for the best, readiest, and most gracious governing of the same: and howsoever there may be a kind of exercise of the supreme jurisdiction that is in the Church by the concurrence of particular synods, and the correspondence of several pastors, upon mutual intelligence of the sense, judgment, and resolution of every of them; yet the highest and most excellent exercise of the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction is in general councils. Here the papists are wont to argue, that the protestants having no general councils, have not the exercise of the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and consequently that they are not that Church out of which no salvation is found: but this is a very silly trifling and playing with their own shadows; neither is it any thing else but a mere abusing of themselves and others, thus idly and fondly to jangle. For first, the protestants being but a part of the Christian Church, never challenged to themselves the authority that belongeth to the whole, as the papists do, who, excluding all the Christians of Græcia, Armenia, Russia, and Æthiopia, out of the fellowship and communion of saints, and (as much as in them lieth) casting them into hell, suppose a general meeting of those of their own faction to be a general council. And secondly, if the protestants did think themselves to be the whole Church, yet their argument were of no force, seeing the whole Church may be without the benefit of general councils much longer than the protestants have been, since the division between them and the papists: for the Christians of the primitive Church had no general council for the space of three hundred years after Christ. But to return to the point from which we are a little digressed (occasioned so to do by this frivolous objection of the papists) touching the good and profitable use of general councils, there is no difference between us and our adversaries; but it is agreed on both sides, that though they be not absolutely necessary, yet they are very behoveful, and much to be desired in divers cases: neither ever was there any man of judgment that thought otherwise. For that which Nazianzen hath¹, that he never saw good end of

¹ Ἐχω μὲν οὕτως, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές γράφειν, ὥστε πάντα σύλλογον φεύγειν ἐπισκόπων, ὅτι μηδεμίας συνόδου τέλος εἶδον χρηστὸν, μηδὲ λύσιν κακῶν μᾶλλον ἐσχηκυῖαν ἢ προσθήκην. Ἄει γὰρ φιλονεικίαι καὶ φιλαρχίαι (ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ με φορτικὸν ὑπολάβῃς οὕτω γράφοντα,) καὶ λόγου

any council, is not to be understood as spoken generally and absolutely, but respectively to the turbulent times wherein he lived, and the Arian faction so prevailed, that many synods were holden for the overthrow of the Nicene faith, without all respect to the good of the Church.

CHAPTER XLIX.

OF THE PERSONS THAT MAY BE PRESENT IN GENERAL COUNCILS: AND WHO THEY ARE OF WHOM GENERAL COUNCILS DO CONSIST.

HAVING spoken of the necessity, profit, and use of general councils, it remaineth that we proceed to see who they are that may be present in such councils, and of whom they do consist. The persons that may be present are of divers sorts. For some are there with authority to teach, define, prescribe, and to direct; others are there to hear, set forward, and consent unto that which is there to be done. In the former sort, none but only ministers of the word and sacraments are present in councils, and they only have deciding and defining voices; but in the latter sort, laymen also may be present¹; whereupon we shall find that bishops and presbyters subscribe in this sort: *Ego N. definiens, subscripsi*, that is, “I, as having power to define and decree, have subscribed.” But the emperor, or any other lay-person, *Ego N. consentiens, subscripsi*, that is, “I, as one giving consent to that which is agreed on by the spiritual pastors, have subscribed.” That the emperor and other laymen of place and sort may be present in general councils, no man maketh doubt. For though pope Nicolas² seem to

κρείττονες· καὶ θάπτον ἂν τις ἐγκληθείη κακίαν ἐτέροις δικάζων, ἢ τὴν ἐκείνων λύσειε. Διὰ τοῦτο εἰς ἐμαυτὸν συνεστάλην, καὶ μόνην ἀσφάλειαν ψυχῆς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐνόμισα.—Greg. Naz. Ad Procop. Epist. LV. [al. CXXX. Tom. II. p. 110. Par. 1840.]

¹ In the Council of Eliberis, in the first Council of Carthage about rebaptization, and in the third Council of Rome, under Felix the Third, many of the people were present.

² [Apud Gratian. Decret. Part I.] Dist. 96. cap. ‘Ubinam.’ [Col. 505. fol. Par. 1612.]

deny that the emperors may be present in other councils, where matters of faith are not handled, yet he confesseth they may be present in general councils, where the faith, which is common to all, and pertaineth not to clergymen alone, but to laymen and all Christians generally, is treated of; it being a rule in nature and reason, *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debere*¹: that is, “that that which concerneth all, may be handled and meddled with by all,” so far forth as conveniently it may, and as there is no manifest reason in respect of the disturbance and hinderance of the deliberation, to repel them from such intermeddling; for in such cases there may be a repelling of men having interest in such business and affairs; and therefore Pulcheria the empress commanded the captain of Bithynia with violence to drive out of the council of Chalcedon such monks, clerks, and laymen, as being of no use, did but pester the council, and to leave none there but such as the bishops brought with them².

But our adversaries say³, the protestants affirm that laymen ought not only to be present in general councils, but also to have decisive voices, as well as they of the clergy, and thereupon charge us with great absurdity. Wherefore, for the answering of this objection, we must observe that there is a threefold decision of things doubtful and questionable. The one, such as every one upon the knowledge of it must yield unto, upon peril of damnation, upon the bare word of him that decideth. The second, to which every one must yield upon like peril, not upon the bare word of him that decideth, but upon the evidence of proof he bringeth.

¹ Occam, Dialog. Lib. vi. Part 1. cap. 85. [p. 604.]

² Ἀναγκαίως τόδε τὸ εὐσεβὲς πρὸς τὴν σὴν λαμπρότητα πέπομφα γράμμα· ὥστε σε κατὰ πάσης στερρότητος τοὺς δίχα ἡμετέρας κλήσεως, ἢ ἐπιτροπῆς τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισκόπων, αὐτόθι εὐδημοῦντας κληρικοὺς, εἴτε ἐντὸς τυγχάνοιεν βαθμοῦ εἴτε καί τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισκόπων ἀπώθησαν, ἢ μονάζοντας, ἢ λαϊκοὺς, οὓς σὺδεῖς λόγος ἐπὶ συνόδον καλεῖν, πάντα ἀπελάσαι τῆς πόλεώς τε καὶ τῶν αὐτόθι τόπων.—Epist. Pulcheriæ ad Strategum Bithyniæ, ante Concil. Chalced. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 841.]

³ “Adversarii nostri dicunt ex omni genere hominum debere interesse eos qui eruditi sunt, et omnes debere esse judices, atque habere suffragium decisivum, quidquid sit de aliis muneribus.”—Bellarm. de Concil. Lib. i. cap. 15. [p. 14.]

The third, such as every one must yield unto, not upon peril of damnation, but of excommunication, and the like censure ecclesiastical. In the first sort the protestants say, that only Christ the Son of God hath a decisive voice; in the second sort that any, laymen as well as clergymen; for whosoever it is that bringeth convincing proofs, decideth a doubt in such sort as that no man ought to resist against it. Whereupon Panormitan saith¹, that the judgment of one private man is to be preferred before the sentence of the pope, if he have better authorities of the Old and New Testament to confirm his judgment. And Gerson saith², that any learned man may and ought to resist against a whole council, if he discern it to err of malice or ignorance; and whatsoever bishops determine, their determinations bind not the conscience further than they approve that they propose some other way than by their authority only. So that in this sense the protestants truly say that bishops must not proceed prætor-like, but that all that they do must be but in the nature of an inquiry, and their decrees no farther of force than reason doth warrant them. For howsoever the Son of God hath promised to be with his Church to the end of the world, which shall be fulfilled in respect of his elect and chosen who cannot err damnably and finally, yet hath he not tied himself to any one sort or company of men, neither is it certainly known but that all they that meet in a council may err, notwithstanding Christ's promise. To which purpose it is that Brentius and other say, we cannot be certain of the determination of councils, because every company of men professing Christ is not the true Church, seeing all that so profess are not elect; neither do they deny all authority and jurisdiction to such as are not known to be elect, nor give it all to such as no man can know who they be (as Bellarmine³ untruly saith they do), for in the third sort they willingly acknow-

¹ "Sicut facere tenetur quilibet bonus et fidelis Christianus (*scil.* monere papam ut abneget prædictam hæresim), ostendendo illi scripturam sanctam, aut universalis ecclesiæ determinationem, errorem suum et illud quod tenet esse alienum a fide catholica."—Panormitan. in cap. 'Significasti.' De Electione. [In Lib. i. Decretal. fol. 121. A. Lugd. 1524.]

² Part 1. de Examin. Doctrinarum. [Consid. 5. Tom. i. col. 11.]

³ Lib. i. de Conciliis. cap. 19. [p. 19.]

ledge that bishops have deciding voices, and power so to judge of things as to subject all those that shall think and teach otherwise than they do, to excommunication and censures of like nature. And that therefore they are properly judges; that their course of proceeding is not a bare inquiry and search, but a binding determination, and that they have a prætor-like power to bind men to stand to that they propose and decree; and in this sort we all teach that laymen have no voice decisive, but bishops and pastors only; which may be confirmed by many reasons. First, because, when the question is, in what pastures it is fit the sheep of Christ should feed, and in what pastures they may feed without danger, the duty of consulting is principally, and the power of prescribing wholly, in the pastors; though the sheep of Christ, being reasonable, have and must have a kind of discerning whether they be directed into wholesome and pleasant pastures or not. Secondly, none but they, whom Paul saith, "Christ going up into heaven, gave for the gathering together of the saints, for the work of the ministry¹," have authority to teach, and to prescribe unto others what they shall profess and believe; of whom the Lord said by Jeremy the prophet: "I will give you pastors that shall feed you with knowledge and doctrine²." Thirdly, because in all councils, bishops and pastors only are found to have subscribed to the decrees made in them, as defining and decreeing; howsoever other men testified their consent by subscription, and princes and emperors, by their royal authority, confirmed the same, and subjected the contemners and violaters thereof to imprisonment, banishment, confiscation of goods, and the like civil punishments, as the bishops did to excommunication and censures spiritual.

So that it is agreed on that bishops and ministers only have decisive voices in councils, in sort before expressed, but the question is only whether all ministers of the word and sacraments have such decisive voices, or none but bishops. The papists think that this is the peculiar right of bishops; but they are clearly refuted by the universal practice of the whole Church from the beginning. For in all provincial and national synods presbyters did ever give voice and subscribe in the very same sort that bishops did, whether they

¹ Ephes. iv. 11.

² Jer. iii. 15.

were assembled to make canons of discipline, to hear causes, or to define doubtful points of doctrine, as I have before shewed at large¹: and that they did not anciently sit, and give decisive voices in general councils, the reason was, not because they have no interest in such deliberations and resolutions, but because, seeing all cannot meet in councils that have interest in such businesses, but some must be deputed for, and authorized by the rest, therefore it was thought fit that bishops, who are the chiefest among such as have interest in deliberation of this nature, should, in giving decisive voices, supply the places of the rest; especially seeing the manner was ever in all the first councils, that the chief patriarchs, being acquainted with the matter that should be debated, sent to all the metropolitans subject to them, who calling provincial synods, consisting of their bishops and presbyters, discussed such doubts, and then, by common consent, choosing out certain principal bishops to go to the general council in their name, sent by them their resolutions. So that, in effect, presbyters did subscribe as well as bishops: seeing they that went and subscribed, were not to vary from the instructions they carried with them. That this was the course it is evident by that of John bishop of Antioch, in the third general council², excusing his long tarrying, by reason that his metropolitans could not sooner assemble their clergy to consult; and by the acts of the sixth general council³, where we find the suggestion of Agatho bishop of Rome sent to the council, subscribed by himself and the whole synod of the West, subject to the see apostolic: in which synod sundry bishops do subscribe, as legates sent from national synods. But if we shall come to later councils, holden in the West, and esteemed (by the papists) to be general, we shall find that presbyters did give voices decisive in them, as well as bishops. For in the great Council of Lateran (as they call it) under Innocentius the Third⁴, there were but four hundred eighty-two bishops; but of abbots and priors conventual eight hundred, who yet have much less to do in the government of the

¹ Chap. xxx. [Vol. III. p. 243.]

² Evagrius, Lib. I. [cap. 3.]

³ Epist. Agathon. et Rom. Synod. in actione 4. Synodi sextæ. [Labbe, Tom. VII. col. 704. sqq.]

⁴ Platina in Innocent. III. [p. 214.]

Church than presbyters having care of souls. And Bellarmine himself confesseth¹, that by privilege and custom, presbyters, as namely cardinals, abbots, and the generals of the orders of friars, may give decisive voices in general councils; which they could not do if by God's law it pertained to bishops only. For there is no prescribing against the law of God; and therefore I cannot see why the Romanists should so bitterly censure the Council of Basil² because presbyters were admitted to give voices in it. Having cleared who they are that are to be admitted to be present, and to give voices in general councils, let us proceed to see what number of bishops is required to make a general council, and what order must be kept in the holding of it. Touching the first, the divines require three conditions to make a general council, whereof the first is, that the summons be general, and such as may be known to all the principal parts and provinces of the Christian world. The second, that no bishop, whencesoever he come, be excluded, if he be known to be a bishop, and not excommunicate. The third, that the principal patriarchs be present with the concurrence of the particular synods under them, either in person, or by their substitutes and vicars, or, at least, by their provincial letters, as the patriarch of Rome was present in the second general council (though he were not there in person nor by substitutes). And hereupon the second Council of Nice³ taketh exception to a certain synod holden in Constantinople as not general, because neither all that were present did consent, neither was there a concurrence in it of the bishop of Rome and his bishops, either by his vicars or provincial letters; nor of the patriarchs of the East, to wit of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and the bishops subject to them; and therefore pronounceth that the words of those foolish men, assuming to them the name of a general council, were not a candle set on a candlestick to give light to all in the house, but a mere smoke full of darkness, blinding the eyes of men, and were uttered as it were under the bed, and not upon the mountain of right belief, and that their sound did not go forth into all the earth, nor their words to the uttermost ends of the world, as the sound, voice, and words of the

¹ Lib. I. de Concil. [cap. 15.]

² Bellarm. [Ibid.]

³ Actione vi. [Labbe, Tom. VIII. col. 1045.]

former six general councils did. But that we may the better discern how far forth the presence of the chief patriarchs is necessary in general councils, and that we be not deceived in this point, we must observe, that when we speak of patriarchs, either we understand them and their synods, or themselves singly and apart. If we speak of them in the former sense, no synod can be accounted fully and perfectly general to which the presence of any one of the chief patriarchs is wanting; and therefore the first Council of Ephesus was an imperfect general council, when before the coming of John of Antioch, and his bishops, it proceeded to the condemnation of Nestorius. And we see how great turmoil and confusion that hath caused, which could never be quieted and taken away, till Cyril, president of that council, and John, were reconciled, and the acts of the council confirmed by the joint consent of them both; and hence Cusanus¹ saith it is that the eighth general council, when the vicar of the apostolical throne of Alexandria came, rejoiced greatly, and said, We glorify the God of all, who hath supplied unto this universal synod what was wanting, and hath now made it most full and perfect. But if we speak of them in the second sense, that is, singly and by themselves alone, in case of heresy or wilful refusal the council may proceed without them, and yet want nothing that pertaineth to the perfection of a general council; as did the Council of Ephesus, and the Council of Chalcedon, proceeding to the condemnation of Nestorius and Dioscorus, upon such evidence as they had against them, though they refused to present themselves in those synods; so that the concurrence of the bishops subject to them be not wanting, as in the case of Nestorius and Dioscorus it was not. For the bishops subject to Nestorius subscribed to his condemnation, and the bishops of Alexandria gave their consent to the condemnation of Dioscorus their patriarch, and approved the proceedings of the synod against him, though they refused to subscribe to the acts and decrees of it till they had a new patriarch chosen in his place². Which refusal, though it

¹ Concord. Cath. Lib. II. cap. 3. [p. 713.]

² Οἱ μεγαλοπρεπέστατοι καὶ ἐνδοξότατοι ἄρχαντες, καὶ ἡ ὑπερφυῆς σύγκλητος εἶπον· Ἐπειδὴ οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Αἰγυπτίων οὐχ ὡς μαχόμενοι τῇ καθολικῇ πίστει ὑπογράψαι τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ θειοτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Λεόντος ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀνεβάλλοντο, ἀλλὰ φάσκοντες ἔθος

were ill taken at the first, yet were the fathers in the end persuaded, by the mediation of the judges, to forbear their subscription till they might have time to choose a new patriarch: so that it is not the personal presence or concurrence precisely of those chief bishops or patriarchs, to whom all other bishops are subject, that is required to the fulness and perfection of a general council; but the coming of some from the several synods subject to the patriarchs, or from the patriarchal synod, where some out of all these do meet, or at the least the sending of synodal letters, that so the consent of all may be had. The provinces that are near the place where the synod is holden, sending the greater number, and they that are most remote sending some few, with instructions from the rest, or at the least their synodal letters, expressing their opinion, judgment, and resolution. So in the Council of Nice there were many bishops out of the East, but out of the West only two presbyters out of Italy, one bishop out of Spain, one bishop out of France, and one out of Africa¹. But in the second and third councils there were many out of the East, and none out of the West². But the bishops of Rome, Damasus and Coelestinus³, as patriarchs of the West, confirmed those councils, and gave consent unto them in their own names, and in the names of all the bishops of the West, whom they had gathered together in synods. In the Council of Chalcedon there were none present out of the West, but the legates of Leo, but he sent by them the consent of the bishops of Spain, France, Italy, and other parts of the West; who having holden synods in their several

εἶναι ἐν τῇ Αἰγυπτιακῇ διοικήσει, παρὰ γνώμην δὲ διατύπωσιν τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἀξιούσιν ἐκδοθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἄχρι τῆς χειροτονίας τοῦ ἐσομένου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων μεγαλοπόλεως ἐπισκόπου· εὐλογον ἡμῖν ἐφάνη καὶ φιλόανθρωπον, ὥστε αὐτοῖς μένουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδίου σχήματος ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει, ἔνδοσιν παρασχεθῆναι, ἄχρις ἂν χειροτονηθῇ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων μεγαλοπόλεως. Πασχασῖνος δὲ εὐλαβέστατος ἐπίσκοπος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς τοῦ ἀποστολιστοῦ θρόνου εἶπεν· Εἰ προστάττει ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐξουσία καὶ κελεύετε τί ποτε αὐτοῖς παρασχεθῆναι φιλανθρωπίας ἐχομένον, ἐγγύας δότωσαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξέρχονται ταύτης τῆς πόλεως, ἕως οὗ ἡ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοπον δέξηται.—Concil. Chalced. Act. iv. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 1408.]

¹ Bellarm. Lib. i. de Concil. cap. 17. [p. 17.]

² Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. cap. 9.

³ Bellarm. [ubi supra.]

provinces, wrote unto him that they approved his judgment touching the point in controversy, which was to be debated in the general council; and that they would most willingly concur with him in the form of instruction which he meant to send to the council.

Touching the order that must be kept in general councils¹. First, the book of God must be laid in the midst of them that are present. Secondly, the meeting must be openly and not in secret. Thirdly, it must be free, and every man must be permitted boldly to speak what he thinketh. Whereupon pope Nicholas, when some objected to him the number of bishops that met in the Council of Photius, answered, that the great concourse of bishops in the Councils of Nice and Chalcedon was not so much respected, as their free and religious uttering of their judgments and resolutions; and Agatho, writing to Constantine the emperor touching the bishops that were to meet in the sixth general council, hath these words: "Grant free power of speaking to every one that desireth to speak for the faith which he believes and holds; that all men may most clearly see and know, that no man, desirous and willing to speak for the truth, was forbidden, hindered, or rejected by any terrors, force, threatening, or any other thing that might avert and turn him away from so doing." And as there must be a liberty and freedom of speech in general councils, so there must be a desire of finding out the truth, and an intending and seeking of the common good, that private respects, purposes, and designs, be not set forward under pretence of religion; and therefore Leo the First, writing to the emperor of the error of the second Ephesine Council, hath these words²: "While private intendments and designs were set forward under pretence of religion, that was effected by the impiety of a few that wounded the whole universal Church. We find, by certain report, that a great number of bishops came together unto the synod, who being come together in such great multitudes, might very profitably have been employed in deliberating and discerning what was fit to be resolved, if he, who challenged unto himself the chief place, would have observed such priestly moderation, as that (according to the manner and custom of such meetings, all men

¹ Cusan. de Concord. Cathol. Lib. II. cap. 3. [p. 713.]

² Leo, Epist. xxv. [al. Epist. XLIII. Tom. I. col. 907. ed. fol. Ven. 1753.]

having freely uttered their opinions) that might peaceably and rightly have been decreed, that might both agree with faith, and bring them into the right way that were in error. But here we find, that when the decree was to be passed, all they who were come together were not permitted to be present: for we have been informed that some were rejected and others brought in, who, at the pleasure of the foresaid bishop, were brought to yield captive hands to those impious subscriptions; for that they knew that it would be prejudicial to their state, unless they did such things as were enjoined them. Which kind of proceedings, our substitutes sent from the apostolical see discerned to be so impious, and contrary to the catholic faith, that by no violent means they could be enforced to consent thereunto, but constantly protested, and professed, (as beseemed them) that that which was there agreed on and decreed should never be admitted or received by the apostolical see." And a little after he hath these words¹: "All the bishops of those parts of the Church that are subject unto us, as suppliants in most humble manner, with sighs and tears, beseech your most gracious majesty, that, seeing both those substitutes which we sent did most constantly resist against such impious and bad proceedings, and Flavianus the bishop offered a bill of appeal unto them, you would be pleased to command a general council to be holden in Italy." Thus we see what things are essentially required to the being of a council, and what order is to be observed in it. The next thing that followeth in order to be intreated of, is the presidentship of such and so sacred an assembly.

CHAPTER L.

OF THE PRESIDENT OF GENERAL COUNCILS.

TOUCHING the presidentship of general councils, it pertained in a sort to all the patriarchs; and therefore Photius, in his discourse of the seven synods, in divers of them, nameth all the patriarchs, and their vicegerents, presidents,

¹ Vide hæc omnia apud Cusanum, loco citato.

as having an honourable pre-eminence above and before other bishops, in such assemblies; yet we deny not, but that as these were over all other bishops, so even amongst these also there was an order, so that one of them had a pre-eminence above and before another. For the bishop of Alexandria was before the bishop of Antioch, and the bishop of Rome before him, anciently, even before the time of the Nicene Council; and afterwards the bishop of Constantinople, made a patriarch, was set before the other two, next unto the bishop of Rome. And as these were thus one before another in order and honour, so they had pre-eminence of honour in synodal assemblies accordingly, in sitting, speaking, and subscribing, though this were not always precisely observed. For in the Council of Nice¹, there being two ranks of seats, the one in the one side of the hall, and the other in the other, where the council met, the emperor sitting in the midst in the upper part of the hall, Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, sat in the highest seat in that rank that was on the right hand, and made the oration to the emperor; but in subscribing many were before him. And Hosius, the bishop of Corduba in Spain, a man of great fame, was chief president, composed the form of faith there agreed on, and subscribed it first, and then, in the second place, the presbyters, that were the vicegerents of the bishop of Rome, who in respect of his old age could not be present, subscribed to the same form of faith, and after them Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria. That Hosius was president of the Council of Nice, and of many other councils besides, we have the testimony of Athanasius².

¹ Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρας ὀρισθείσης τῇ συνόδῳ καθ' ἣν ἐχρὴν λύσιν ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἀμφισβητούμενοις, παρῆν ἕκαστος ταύτην ἄγων ἐν αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ οἴκῳ τῶν βασιλείων, ὃς δὴ καὶ ὑπερφέρειν ἐδόκει μεγέθει τοὺς πάντας. Βάθρων τ' ἐν τάξει πλειόνων ἐφ' ἑκατέραις τοῦ οἴκου πλευραῖς διατεθέντων εἰσὼ παρῆσαν οἱ κεκλήμενοι.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην τῶν ταγμάτων ἀρχὴν μέσος πρῶτος ἴστη· σμικροῦ τινος αὐτῷ καθίσματος ὕλης χρυσοῦ πεποιημένου προτεθέντος, οὐ πρότερον ἢ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐπινεύσαι, ἐκάθιζε· ταὐτὸ δ' ἔπραττον πάντες μετὰ βασιλέα.

Τῶν δ' ἐπισκόπων ὁ τοῦ δεξίου τάγματος πρῶτεύων ἀναστὰς, μεμετρημένον ἀπεδίδου λόγον προσφωνῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ. κ.τ.λ.—Euseb. De Vit. Constant. Lib. iii. cap. 10, 11.

² Οὗτος καὶ συνόδων καθηγεῖται, καὶ γράφων ἀκούεται παντάχου· οὗτος καὶ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν ἐξέθετο.—Athanas. Epist. ad solit. vit. agentes. [Tom. i. p. 369.]

The reason why he being a bishop of so mean a place, should be so honoured and set before all other, was the good opinion that all men held of him, being a man famous and renowned throughout the world; which moved Constantine¹, after he heard of the differences in the Church of Alexandria between Alexander and Arius, to send him thither before ever he thought of calling this council, hoping that by his wisdom and authority he might quiet all. But our adversaries, lest any prejudice might grow to the Church of Rome by this ill precedent of the Council of Nice, in admitting so mean a bishop to be her president, and neglecting the bishop of Rome, adventure to say, that Hosius was not president in his own right, but as the bishop of Rome's vicegerent, and supplying his place, though they be no way able to prove the same, and the clear evidence of the thing itself reprove them. For the histories speak of presbyters the bishop of Rome sent to supply his place², but mention not Hosius as employed in that sort, which they would not have omitted, if he had been employed so also; and besides, in the subscriptions, both as they are found in the ordinary edition of the Council of Nice, and that which is out of the Greek book found in the Vatican put forth by Pisanus the Jesuit, Hosius subscribeth first, without any signification of his supplying the place of the bishop of Rome, as legates are ever wont to do, and as Vitus and Vincentius his legates do in this council: for the form of their subscription is this: "We have subscribed for, and in the name of the most reverend man," &c. So that that which Bellarmine allegeth³ out of a certain preface before the Council of Sardica, the author whereof is not known, is little to be esteemed, as no way able to weaken the authorities and reasons which we bring. Touching the second general council, the Council of Chalcedon expressly affirmeth⁴, that Nectarius,

¹ Ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ πάνσοφος βασιλεὺς, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπειράθη τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἐμφράξαι πηγὴν· καὶ τινὰ τῶν ἐπ' ἀγχινοία περιβοήτων εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν μετὰ γραμμάτων ἀπέστειλε, σβέσαι τὴν ἔριν πειρώμενος, καὶ τὸ στασιάζον συνανάγειν εἰς ὁμόνοιαν προσδοκῶν.—Theodoret. H. E. i. 7.

² Αὐτῶν τε Σπάνων ὁ πάνυ βοώμενος εἰς ἣν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἅμα συνεδρεύων. Τῆς δέ γε βασιλευούσης πόλεως ὁ μὲν προεστὼς ὑστέρει διὰ γῆρας, πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῦ παρόντες τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἐπληροῦν.—Euseb. Vit. Constant. Lib. iii. cap. 7.

³ Lib. i. de Concil. cap. 19.

⁴ Actione xvi. p. 136. apud Bin. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 1749.]

bishop of Constantinople, was president of it; and, if we look to the subscriptions, we shall find that he subscribed first, and before all other. So that it is evident, that Damasus, then bishop of Rome, was not president of that assembly. And Bellarmine confesseth as much; but he saith¹: “If he had been present he had doubtless been president:” which haply may be true; yet his reason to prove it is not good, which he taketh from the epistle of the council to Damasus. For in that epistle² the fathers and bishops acknowledge themselves members of that body whereof Damasus and his company are a part; but do not call him their head, as he untruly reporteth. Neither doth the epistle of Damasus to the fathers of the council yield any better proof. For though he call them sons, yet it will hardly follow that they would have taken him for a president of their meeting, especially seeing it is probably supposed that they therefore staid of purpose at Constantinople, that more freely, and with greater authority, they might compass such things as they intended, than if they should have gone to Rome, where Damasus with his western bishops might have crossed, or at least in some sort hindered their intendments and designs. In the third general council, which was the first at Ephesus, Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, was president, as it appeareth evidently by the acts of the council, and the histories of those times; and had also the authority of Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome, joined unto him, as may be seen by the epistle of Cœlestinus written unto him, which is found among the acts of the Ephesine Council³. Whereunto agreeth that of Valentinian and Martian, in their epistle to Palladius⁴, expressly saying, that both Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome, and Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, were presidents of the Council of Ephesus; and also that of the whole Council of Chalcedon⁵, professing expressly that both Cœlestinus and Cyril were presidents of that assembly, which thing the very acts of the council itself sufficiently prove; in which he is described to have moderated all, as chief and principal among the bishops present, yet not by his own authority

¹ Ubi supra.

² Apud Theod. Lib. v. cap. 9.

³ Act. Conc. Eph. Tom. i. cap. 15. [Labbe, Tom. iii. col. 898, 9.]

⁴ Conc. Chalced. [Part 3. Labbe, col. 1784.]

⁵ Actione iv. [col. 1381.]

alone, but supplying also the place of Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome. And in like sort Evagrius¹ doth not say that he supplied the place of Cœlestinus, as if he had not been president in his own right, but that he also supplied the place of Cœlestinus; for so it is in the Greek: and Photius saith², “Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, (who also supplied the place of Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome,) and Memnon bishop of Ephesus, and Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, were presidents of the first Council of Ephesus.” Thus it is evident that Cyril sat as president in the Council of Ephesus, though not without the concurrence of the bishop of Rome, who joined his authority with him, and sent his own resolution, and the resolutions of his bishops, unto him and the council, though he sent none out of the West to that meeting till long after the council was begun, and many things therein done³. In the fourth general council, holden at Chalcedon, the legates of the bishop of Rome had the first and chiefest place; but in the fifth, Eutychius, bishop of Constantinople, sat as president, and had the first place. And though Vigilius, then bishop of Rome, being at that time at Constantinople, could neither be induced to be present, nor to agree unto it while it was holden, nor to confirm and allow it when it ended⁴, yet it was judged a lawful general council, and he and so many more as resisted against it, for their wilful dissenting, were sent into banishment. This council was called by Justinian the emperor to examine and condemn an epistle of Ibas, certain works of Theodoret, and the person of Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia, who all were thought favourers of Nestorius, and yet received to grace in the Council of Chalcedon, in hope that they would thereupon embrace and receive that council which were

¹ Lib. i. cap. 4.

² “Erant præsidēs Cyrillus ille celeberrimus inter patres qui propter virtutem sapientiæque divitias magnæ civitatis Alexandrinæ sedem obtinebat; et Cœlestini Romani pontificis implebat sedem, atque personam gerebat; et Memno cui ecclesiæ Ephesiorum commissa erant gubernacula; et Juvenalis episcopus Hierosolymorum, qui cum universo concilio nefarium Nestorium ob ea quæ impie commiserat pœnis meritis affecerunt.”—Photius, de Septem Synodis. [Ad calc. Nomo-canon. p. 267. Par. 1615.]

³ Act. Concil. Ephes. Tom. ii. cap. 17. [Labbe, Act 3. col. 1160, 1.]

⁴ Binius in Annotat. in Concil. v. [Tom. ii. p. 607. Colon. Agripp. 1606.]

averse from it; as thinking (though untruly) that it favoured the Nestorians; as also to condemn the errors of Origen and his followers. That this council, notwithstanding the contradiction of Vigilius, was admitted and received as a true and lawful general council, it appeareth by Gregory, bishop of Rome, who having allowed of the first four general councils, addeth these words¹; “I do also in like sort reverence and honour the fifth council, in which the epistle of Ibas, full of error, is rejected; in which Theodorus, separating and dividing the person of the Mediator of God and men, and imagining two subsistences in Christ, is convinced to have fallen into perfidious impiety; and in which also the writings of Theodoret (wherein the faith of blessed Cyril is reprehended) are found and pronounced to have been published by a bold foolishness; but I truly reject all those persons which the forenamed reverend and sacred councils do reject, and embrace and honour those which they reverence and honour, because, being established and agreed unto, and things settled in them by general consent, he destroyeth and overthroweth himself and not them, whosoever presumeth either to loose those whom they bind, or to bind those whom they loose. Whosoever therefore shall be otherwise minded, let him be anathema.” So that the presidency and presence of the bishop of Rome is not so necessary in general councils, but that in case of his wilful refusal a council may proceed and be holden for lawful, without his consenting to it. It is true, indeed, that the canon of the Church prescribeth that no general council shall be holden without the bishop of Rome, and the bishops subject to him²; but the meaning of the canon is not, that all

¹ “Quintum quoque concilium pariter veneror, in quo et epistola, quæ Ibæ dicitur, erroris plena, reprobatur. Theodorus personam mediatoris Dei et hominum in duabus subsistentiis separans, ad impietatis perfidiam cecidisse convincitur. Scripta quoque Theodoriti, per quæ beati Cyrilli fides reprehenditur, ausu dementiæ prolata refutantur. Cunctas vero quas præfata veneranda concilia personas respuunt, respuo; quas venerantur, amplector: quia dum universali sunt consensu constituta, se et non illa destruit, quisquis præsumit aut solvere quos religant, aut ligare quos solvunt. Quisquis ergo aliud sapit, anathema sit.”—Greg. Lib. i. Epist. 24. [Al. Epist. 25. Tom. ii. col. 515.]

² ‘Ο Ἰούλιος τοῖς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ συναχθεῖσιν ἀντιγράφων ἐπεμέμψατο, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐπαχθεῖς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιστολῆς, ἔπειτα παρὰ κανόνας ποιοῦν-

proceedings are void and unlawful wherein his presence is not had, but wherein it is not sought and expected¹: for, if he wilfully refuse to join with the rest, or his negligence be intolerable, the state of the Church requiring that order be presently taken, they may proceed without him, as appeareth by the eighth general council, wherein some things were resolved on before the coming of the vicars of the bishop of Rome; and by this fifth, wherein neither the bishop of Rome, nor any of his bishops, would be present, nor give any consent unto it, and yet it is reputed a lawful general council. And, as a council may be holden in such a case without the presence or concurrence of the Roman bishop and those that are subject to him, so being present, if he refuse to concur in judgment with the rest, they may proceed without him, and their sentence may be of force, though he consent not to it; as we see in the Council of Chalcedon. And though general councils,

τας, διότι εἰς τὴν συνόδον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐκάλεσαν, τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος κελεύοντος μὴ δεῖν παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πίστιν λεληθότως παραχαράττουσιν.—Socrat. H. E. II. 17.

¹ “Licet universalia concilia sæpe legamus convocata per imperatores; immo omnia octo (ut ex gestis haberi potest) usque ad octavum tempore Basilii imperatoris Constantinopolitani convocatum; tamen in conciliis fuit semper præsidentialis Romani pontificis auctoritas sine qua universale concilium non fuisset; dummodo saltem interesse voluisset, et potuisset. Unde sicut perfecta provincialis synodus sine metropolitana non est (ut scribitur penultima actione Chalcedonensis concilii, et communis omnium antiquorum sententia); ita in proposito de universali papa, dummodo saltem velit, et possit. Alioqui si expectatus non mitteret, vel non veniret, vel nollet, concilium congregatum suæ necessitati et ecclesiæ saluti providere debet.”—Nicol. de Cusa, Concord. Cathol. Lib. II. cap. 2. [p. 712.]

“Quando imperator ob incumbentem necessitatem ecclesiæ, primo exhortatur Romanum pontificem, et deinde alios, ut convenient, recte prosequitur viam antiquorum: tunc interpellat Romanum pontificem primo, et deinde aliorum auctoritatem. Et nisi ita ageret, scilicet si sine vocatione Romani pontificis episcopos congregaret, non esset universalis concilii auctoritas plena; de essentia enim ejus est, ut nullus excludatur, maxime episcoporum qui velit et possit interesse. Igitur hoc indubie in Romano pontifice verum.

“Si vero Romanus pontifex rogatus non mitteret, aut non veniret, aliis parentibus exhortationi imperiali; non est subito procedendum, nisi necessitas ecclesiæ, quæ legem non habet, expeditionem desideraret.”—Id. Lib. III. cap. 15. [p. 797.]

wherein the bishop of Rome, with his bishops, refuse to be present, or being present, to give consent to that which is decreed, be not so full and perfect as they are that have his concurrence, together with the bishops subject to him, and therefore the like effect doth not presently follow; yet we shall find that all such determinations, consented and agreed unto uniformly by all the other patriarchs, do in the end generally take place. So that even the Romans themselves are forced to yield unto them; as we see it came to pass that the decrees of the fifth general council, wherein the Romans refused to be present, and to which they would yield no consent, were soon after generally received, the Romans themselves yielding unto them; and likewise the acts of the fourth general council¹, wherein the decree of equalling the bishop of Constantinople to the bishop of Rome, and preferring him before the other patriarchs, passing without the consent of the bishop of Rome's legates, and resisted by the bishops of the West, yet prevailed in the end, and forced the Roman bishop to yield unto it. For after the time of Justinian the emperor none of the bishops of Rome was ever found to contradict it any more. So that to conclude and resolve this point, even as no chapter-act is good wherein the meanest (having voice in chapter) is refused, neglected, or contemned; and much less wherein he that is chiefest and president is contemned; and as the acts of provincial synods are void wherein the meanest suffragan is not called and expected; so there is no question but that all the acts of general councils are void wherein the bishop of Rome, so long as he continueth catholic and keepeth his own standing, is not specially above all other expected and desired. But, as things may pass in these assemblies without their consent, whose presence is so necessarily to be sought (as we see in provincial synods the major part swayeth all, and the metropolitan hath no negative), so in a general council things may pass by the consent of the greater part, not only without the consent, but even against the liking, of the bishop of Rome, and his bishops. In the sixth and seventh general councils the bishop of Rome's legates and vicegerents (in a sort) had the presidentship; yet so, as that Tharassius, bishop of Constantinople, rather performed the duty of a moderator and president in the seventh than they, as it will easily appear

¹ Vide Acta horum Conciliorum.

to any one that will but take a view of the acts of that synod.

So that we find that neither the bishop of Rome had the presidentship in all councils, nor that there was any certain and uniform course holden in giving pre-eminences to the chief bishops in the first seven general councils. For in the Council of Nice, Hosius doth first subscribe¹; after him, the presbyters that supplied the place of the bishop of Rome; then Alexander bishop of Alexandria, the bishop of Jerusalem after all the bishops of Egypt, Thebais, and Libya; and the bishop of Antioch after all these, and the bishops of Palæstina, and Phœnicia also; yet he sat in the highest place on the right side. In the second, neither the bishop of Rome, nor any western bishops, were present: the first that subscribed was Nectarius, the next Timothy of Alexandria, and after him Dorotheus, then Cyril of Jerusalem, and Meletius of Antioch after him, and after all, the bishops of Palæstina and Phœnicia. In the third, Cyril subscribed first, and after him Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem, for John of Antioch came not before the condemnation of Nestorius bishop of Constantinople (to which they subscribed) was past. In the fourth, to the condemnation of Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria, first, the legates of Leo bishop of Rome subscribed; then Anatolius bishop of Constantinople; after him the bishop of Antioch, and Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem, almost after all the bishops in the synod, though in the order of sitting he was placed in the fifth place: but where they subscribe to the decree touching matter of faith, he subscribeth in the fourth place, after Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch. To the act for advancing the see of Constantinople, and setting it before the rest of the patriarchal thrones next to Rome, the legates of the bishop of Rome subscribe not, but Anatolius bishop of Constantinople in the first place; after him, Maximus of Antioch; and in the third place, Juvenal of Jerusalem. In the fifth, they sat and subscribed in this sort. First, Eutychius bishop of Constantinople, then Apollinarius of Alexandria, after him Domnus of Antioch, and last of all, the legates of Eustochius of Jerusalem: for the bishop of Rome was not there in person, nor by his legates. In the sixth, the emperor sat in the highest place,

¹ See the Acts of those Councils.

in the midst: his great men and the consuls sat by him: on the left side the legates of the bishop of Rome, the vicars of the bishop of Jerusalem, and the bishops that were present out of the Roman synod. On the right side sat, first, the bishop of Constantinople, next to him the bishop of Antioch, then he that supplied the place of the bishop of Alexandria, and so in order the bishops subject to them: yet, in subscribing, the bishop of Rome was first, Constantinople second, Alexandria third, Antioch fourth, and Jerusalem last. In the seventh, the legates of Adrian bishop of Rome had the first place, and subscribed first; after them, the bishop of Constantinople, Tharassius; and then they that supplied the rooms of the other three patriarchal thrones. But Tharassius rather performed the duty of a president and moderator, than the legates of Rome, as I shewed before. These are all the general councils that the Greek and Latin Churches jointly acknowledge; and by this view which we have taken of them, we may see how diversely things have been carried, both concerning the presidentship in general councils, and the pre-eminences of the chiefest bishops in the same.

Yet, as the Græcians were content in the Council of Florence¹ that the bishop of Rome should have all such pre-eminences again, as he had before the division of the Churches, if other matters might be agreed on; so if the bishop of Rome would disclaim his claim of universal jurisdiction, of infallible judgment, and power to dispose at his pleasure the kingdoms of the world, and would content himself with that all antiquity gave him, which is to be in order and honour the first among bishops, we would easily grant him to be in such sort president of general councils, as to sit and speak first in such meetings: but to be an absolute commander, we cannot yield unto him. Cardinal Turrecremata rightly noteth², that the presidentship of councils

¹ Sess. ult. [Collat. xxii. Tom. xviii. col. 1183.]

² Summa de Eccles. Lib. iii. cap. 23. "Quidam dicebant quod nullo modo deberent admitti ad præsidendum universali concilio. Alii vero quod admitti deberent ad præsidentiam honorariam tantum: videlicet, ut eminentiorem locum in concilio tenerent, et primo in eo loquerentur, et quæ agenda erant per interlocutionem dirigerent; non autem ad præsidentiam auctoritativam; dicentes etiam quod si papa præsens esset, nihil auctoritatis haberet præter eminentiam loci et ministerium directionis."—[Fol. 298, B. Ven. 1561.]

whereof men do speak is of two sorts, the one of honour the other of power. Presidentship of honour is, to have pre-eminence in place, to propose things to be debated, to direct the actions, and to give definite sentence according to the voices and judgment of the council. Presidentship of power is, to have the right, not only of directing, but of ruling their doings also that are assembled in council, and to conclude of matters after his own judgment, though the greater part of the council like it not, yea, though no part like it. A presidentship of the former sort, antiquity yielded to the bishop of Rome, when he was not wanting to himself. And if there were no other differences between us and him, we also would yield it him; but the latter kind of presidentship we cannot yield, unless we overthrow the whole course of councils, and go against the stream of all antiquity. "This seemeth," saith Duarenus¹, "to be consonant unto the law of God, that the Church which the synod doth represent should have the fulness of all power, and that the pope should acknowledge himself subject unto it. For Christ did not give the power of binding and loosing to Peter alone,

¹ "Videtur hoc in primis juri divino consentaneum esse, ut ecclesia quam repræsentat synodus potestatem omnimodam habeat, utque pontifex se ei subjectum agnoscat. Non enim uni Petro cujus dicitur successor pontifex Romanus data est a Christo potestas ligandi et solvendi, sed toti ecclesiæ. Quanquam inficias non eo cæteris apostolis eum præpositum fuisse. Hinc temporibus apostolorum quoties ordinandus fuit aliquis, sive episcopus, sive diaconus, sive aliquid decernendum quod ad ecclesiam pertinet, nunquam id sibi sumpsit Petrus, sed toti ecclesiæ permisit. Illud fuit in eo præcipuum, quod cæteros convocare tanquam princeps apostolorum, et de his quæ agenda forent, apud eos orationem habere solitus fuit. Sicut hodie apud nos curiæ parlamentalis præses senatum cogit, primus in senatu cum opus sit verba facit, multaque alia exsequitur, quæ præstantiam quandam personæ quam gerit facile ostendant. Non ideo tamen major aut superior tota curia est, nec potestatem in universos senatores, aut contra eorum judicia quicquam decernendi habet: quinimo ipsius curiæ cujus caput esse præses dicitur, de controversiis omnibus judicium est, non præsidis. Adde quod curia in ipsum, si res exigat, ut in quemvis alium jus dicit, et animadvertit. Et hæc quidem olim ita se habuerunt. Verum nescio quomodo tandem factum est ut summum in omnes Christianos imperium uni sit tributum, utque legibus omnibus canonibusque synodalibus imperatorum exemplo solutus sit."—Duaren. de Sacr. Eccles. Minist. et Benef. Lib. III. cap. 2. [p. 1173.]

whose successor the pope is said to be, but to the whole Church. Although I do not deny but that he was set before the rest of the Apostles, yet so often as any one was to be ordained, either bishop or deacon, or anything to be decreed that concerned the Church, Peter never took it to himself, but referred it to the whole Church. But herein did his pre-eminence stand and consist, that as prince of the Apostles it pertained to him to call the rest together, and to propose unto them the things that were to be handled; as with us at this day the president of the court of parliament calleth together the whole senate, and, when occasion requireth, beginneth first to speak, and doth many other things, which easily shew the greatness of the person which he sustaineth: and yet, notwithstanding, he is not greater or superior to the whole court; neither hath he power over all the senators; neither may he decree anything contrary to their judgments. But the judgment of all controversies pertaineth to the court itself, whose head the president is said to be; nay, which is more, the court commandeth, judgeth, and punisheth the president as well as any other, if there be cause so to do. And these things truly were likewise in the ecclesiastical state heretofore, but I know not by what means it is now brought about, that supreme power over all Christians is given to one, and that he is set free from all laws and canons, after the example of the emperors."

This is the judgment of the learned and worthy Duarenus; yet the Jesuits, and jesuited Papists at this day, will needs have the pope to be president of general councils in such sort that he may conclude of matters after his own judgment and liking, though the greater part of the council like it not, yea, though no part like it. But this their conceit is easily refuted; first by reason, and then by the practice of the Church from the beginning. For first, either bishops are assembled in general councils only as the pope's counsellors to give him advice, or they are in joint commission with him, and sit as his fellow-judges of all matters of faith and discipline. If only as counsellors to advise him, councils should not consist only or principally of bishops. For, as they say commonly, that many a doting old woman may be more devout, and many a poor begging friar more learned than the pope himself; so there is no question, but that many

other may be as learned and judicious as bishops. "Though," saith Augustine¹, "according to the titles of honour, which the custom of the Church giveth men, Augustine, a bishop, be greater than Hierome, a presbyter, yet Hierome, in worth and merit, is greater than Augustine." In the late Council of Trent, there is no question but that Andradius, Vega, and other doctors that were there, were every way comparable with the greatest bishop or cardinal; yet bishops only, as of ordinary right, and some few other, by special privilege, gave decisive voices in that council: other, how learned soever, being admitted only to discuss and debate matters, and thereby to prepare and ripen them, that the bishops might more easily judge of them; and therefore the current of most papists is against the conceit of making bishops to be but the pope's counsellors only, as appeareth by Andradius², Canus³,

¹ "Quanquam secundum honorum vocabula quæ jam ecclesiæ usus obtinuit episcopatus presbyterio major sit; tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo minor est."—August. Epist. 19. ad Hieron. [al. Epist. 82. cap. 4. Tom. II. col. 202, f.]

² "Coetum fortasse dices esse hominum auctoritate gravissimorum, dignitate amplissimorum, functione illustrissimorum, qui summo judicio et diligentia inquirunt et statuunt quid Romanus pontifex decernere definiendo debeat, ut eo sit pontificii judicii major vis quo major fuerit concilii, quod in ferenda sententia sequitur majestas et amplitudo.

"Verum si divina eos auctoritate sententiam ferre negamus, quomodo amplissimum judicum nomen tanquam divinitus sibi concessum in conciliis usurpant. Sin autem divina auctoritate in sententia pronuncianda afficiuntur, neque consultores solum Romani pontificis sed controversiarum etiam judices cum illo a Christo adhibentur, quomodo dubitare possumus ratum atque firmum illorum judicium esse, neque abjici a quovis sine maximo scelere posse."—Jacobus Payva Andradius, De general. concil. auctorit. [Defens. Trident. Fid.] Lib. I. p. 46, 47. [Ingoldst. 1580.]

³ "Quod igitur assumptum est, patres concilii non modo consiliarios esse verum etiam judices, id inficias ire non possumus, neque debemus. Nam patres Nicænæ synodi a Sylvestro contendunt ut quicquid constituerunt confirmet. Et Leo, quæ a concilio Chalcedonensi de fide statuta sunt, ea dicit se probare. Et concilium ipsum ad Leonem, 'Decretis,' inquit, 'tuis nostrum honora judicium.' Et sexta synodus actione 18. 'Anathematizamus,' inquit, 'Theodorum, Sergium, Syrum, etc.,' et paulo post, 'Hic omnibus,' ait, 'a sancto hoc concilio constitutis et per subscriptionem nostræ fortitudinis confirmatis, sancimus, ut nullus quicquam de fide satagat, etc.' Num verba hæc consulentis sunt, an potius judicantis? Atque in cæteris

Bellarmino¹, and many more. "That bishops," saith Melchior Canus², "are not counsellors only to advise, but judges to determine all matters doubtful touching faith and manners, may easily be proved by the proceedings of all ancient councils. For the fathers of the Nicene Council desire Sylvester to confirm what they have decreed; and Leo professeth that he approveth all those things which the Council of Chalcedon decreed touching the faith: and the council itself, speaking to Leo, saith: "Honour our judgment with the concurrence of thy decrees." And the sixth general council saith³: "We anathematize Theodorus, Sergius, Syrus," &c. And a little after: "All these things being determined by this holy council, and confirmed by our constant subscription, we decree, that no man make any farther ado about matters of faith," &c. Are these the words of him that only giveth advice and counsel? or of him that judgeth and determineth what shall be believed and done? and in all the rest, the fathers speak not as counsellors that are to advise, but as judges that have power to determine: for the third chapter of the Nicene Synod hath thus: "The great synod hath altogether forbidden," &c. Thus far Melchior Canus, learnedly and strongly proving that bishops are not present in general councils as the pope's counsellors to advise him, but as judges together with him to define and determine; which if it be granted, we may easily, in the second place, prove, that the pope may not determine things of himself, contrary to the judgment of all the rest. For, though the chief president of a company may have a negative voice against the affirmative of all the rest; yet never was there any company of judges, having power to judge and determine, wherein one might not only dash what the rest agreed on, but determine also what he pleased, though none concurred with him. When in any commission some certain number of men may determine and resolve, and none

patres non ut consilarii, sed ut iudices loquuntur. Caput enim tertium Nicænæ synodi sic habet, 'Interdixit per omnia magna synodus.'"—Melchior Canus, *Loc. Theol. Lib. i. cap. 5.* [p. 262.]

¹ "Nos ergo dicimus confessum episcoporum in conciliis legitimis esse verum iudicium confessum, et eorum decreta et leges necessario sequendas."—Bellarm. *de Conciliis, Lib. i. cap. 18.* [Tom. ii. p. 18.]

² *Loco citato.*

³ *Sup. [XLII. Vol. iii. p. 442.]*

hath power to contradict, they are absolutely judges, and the power of judging resteth wholly in them : when, in their resolutions, they may be so gainsaid by others, that yet others can do nothing without them, they are judges in part, and the power of judging resteth in part in them ; but when another may dash what they consent on, and do what he pleaseth, whatsoever they say to the contrary, they may be in the nature of counsellors to advise but not of judges to determine. For wheresoever there are many judges, either the power of determining both affirmatively and negatively resteth in the major part ; or else any one hath an absolute negative, and only the concurrence of all an affirmative, as in juries here in England ; or thirdly, either one man, or some certain men, have their negative, and the affirmative is only in the major part. And therefore it is most fond and frivolous that Canus hath in answer to this our argument. Whereas we say, if bishops be judges, the pope may not resolve against the major part of them, he hath these words¹ : “ I deny that it is necessary to follow the judgment of the major part when we treat of matters of faith, neither do we here measure the sentence by the number of voices, as in human elections or judgments, knowing that oftentimes it comes to pass that the greater part doth overcome the better ; that those things are not always best which please most ; and that in things which pertain to doctrine, the judgment of the wise is to be preferred, and the wise are exceeding few, whereas there is an infinite number of fools. Four hundred prophets did lie unto Ahab, but the truth came out of the mouth of one Michæas alone, and he very contemptible ; and therefore the judgments of divine things are not to be moderated by human reasons. The Lord saveth and delivereth,

¹ “ *Nego enim cum de fide agatur, sequi plurimorum judicium oportere. Nec hic ut humanis vel electionibus vel judiciis ex numero suffragiorum sententiam metimur. Scimus frequenter usu venire ut major pars vincat meliorem : scimus non ea semper esse optima quæ placent pluribus ; scimus in rebus quæ ad doctrinam pertinent, sapientium sensum esse præferendum. Et sapientes paucissimi sunt, cum stultorum infinitus sit numerus. Quadringenti prophetæ Achab mentiti sunt, ex ore vero Michææ solius quidem et contemptibilis veritas egressa est. Non sunt igitur divina judicia humanis rationibus moderanda. In paucis aliquando citius quam in multis salvat Dominus.*”—Melchior Canus, [ubi supra.]

sometimes, sooner with a few than many." This saying of Canus is contrary to all course of judgment in the world, and contradicted by his own fellow and friend Cardinal Bellarmine¹, who saith, that in councils things are to be carried by number of voices, and not by disputation; that in the council mentioned in the Acts the question was defined by the voices of the apostles; and that in the Council of Chalcedon the ten bishops of Egypt were condemned as heretics, because they yielded not to the major part of that council. Thus doth he cross his fellow Canus. But let not Canus be offended with him for so doing; for he will presently cross himself also: for I hope he thinketh the bishops of Egypt were rightly judged heretics for refusing to subscribe to the judgment of the major part of bishops in the Council of Chalcedon (seeing he bringeth this censure to prove that the determinations of councils do bind the conscience), and then it will follow that the greater part of bishops in a general council cannot err; which yet he presently denieth, and saith the greater part of this council did err, and resolved that which was reversed by the pope. If he say that those ten bishops of Egypt refused to subscribe to that which was agreed on by the major part with the legates of Rome, and that therefore they might justly be judged heretics, as contradicting the judgment of them that cannot err, it standeth no better with his resolution elsewhere, that the major part of bishops in a general council, with the legates, may err². But passing by these contra-

¹ "Notandum est apostolorum sententiam non fuisse permissam examini discipulorum sed simpliciter imperatum fuisse ut obedirent.

"Præterea in concilio Chalcedonensi act. 4. cum decem episcopi Egyptii nollent acquiescere iudicio majoris partis, pro hæreticis habebantur. Quæ omnia sunt apertissima argumenta, concilia esse vera iudicia.

"Si non esset conciliis agendum suffragiis, sed disputationibus tantum, perperam fieret ut soli episcopi sententiam ferrent, cum munus disputandi sit hominum eruditorum, sive sint episcopi, sive non."— [Bellarm. de Conciliis, ubi supra.]

² "Leo irritaverat quoddam decretum concilii Chalcedonensis cui etiam major pars concilii assenserat, ut ipse Leo testatur:—

"Nota posse quatuor modis contingere ut fiat generalis concilii definitio. Primo, ut patres consentiant et definiant dissentientibus legatis apostolicæ sedis. Secundo, ut definiant consentientibus legatis sed contra instructionem pontificis agentibus. Tertio assentientibus omnibus etiam

dictions and absurdities of the cardinal, let us see if he can clear this doubt any better, which hath so much troubled Canus. For the avoiding of this one poor argument he is forced to divide the pope, as otherwise finding no means to escape the force thereof. "The pope, therefore," he saith¹, "may be considered two ways; either as he is president of a council, and so he is tied to follow the major part; or as he is chief prince in the Church, and so he may go against the major part, and resolve what he pleaseth of himself:" and yet this divided consideration no way divideth or breaketh the force of our argument, but leaveth it entire and whole as it found it. For we seek not the difference between a president and a chief and absolute prince, but whether the bishops sitting in council with the pope be his fellow-judges or not; which they cannot be, if he may not only dash what they would do, but also do what he pleaseth without them. And besides this, if the pope do sit in general councils as president, and so as bound to pronounce according to the major part of voices in all decrees, then he sitteth not there as absolute prince, having power not only to dash what others would do, but also to do what he pleaseth of himself without them, and contrary to their judgments; and so cannot define and determine contrary to the judgment and resolution of the major part. The only answer that may be imagined to this objection, is, that as inferior judges may determine a thing, which yet by a superior authority may be reversed, and the contrary decreed, so the bishops in a general council, as judges, may decree and determine, and yet the power of re-examining and reversing all, if need be, may rest in the pope

legatis, sed qui non habuerunt certam instructionem. Quarto consentientibus omnibus cum legatis, habentibus et sequentibus papæ instructionem. Ac de primo ac secundo modo nulla est difficultas. Constat enim talia concilia errare posse.—Bellarm. Lib. II. cap. 11. [p. 41.]

¹ "Dico præsidem concilii, ut præsidem, debere sequi in decreto firmando majorem partem suffragiorum, tamen pontificem non ut præsidem sed ut principem ecclesiæ summum posse retractare illud judicium, et consequenter si sit ipse præses concilii posse non ut præsidem sed ut principem summum non sequi majorem partem, quemadmodum in temporalibus judiciis debet præses a rege constitutus sequi majorem partem judicum; tamen superior potest totum judicium irritare."—Id. Lib. I. cap. 18. [p. 19.]

as superior judge unto them; which yet no way cleareth the doubt. For howsoever it be true in judges and judgments, distinct, separate, and subordinate one to another, that one may dash that the other doth, and do the contrary without the consent of the other, yet of judges joined in one commission, and of the same judgment, it cannot be so conceived. Now the judgment of the general council includeth in it the judgment of the pope; the pope and council make one judge, and are not separate, distinct, and subordinate judges, and therefore no such thing can be said of them. If it be said that he who is joined in commission with others in some inferior court, and hath a negative voice in it only, and no absolute affirmative, may in a superior court have both, and that therefore the pope, who hath no absolute voice affirmative and negative in a general council, may have such a voice in some higher court, it will be found to be too shameless a saying. For there neither is, nor can be, any higher court than that of a general council consisting of the bishop of Rome, and all the other bishops of the world. So that all answers failing, we may safely conclude, that if bishops be judges ecclesiastical, truly and properly (as we have proved them to be by unanswerable reasons, and our adversaries confess), the pope hath no absolute voice affirmative and negative in general councils; that is, to dash what the major part would do, and to do that they by no means like of. This Andradius¹ saw, and therefore he disclaimeth the position of Bellarmine², that all the assurance the council hath of finding out the truth, is originally in the pope, and from him communicated to the council; and holdeth that the council hath as good assurance of finding out the truth, and better than the pope himself; and therefore he saith, that though he thinketh it impossible the pope should dissent from the council, so as to define contrary to it, yet, if it should so fall out

¹ "Non me latet, hac nonnullos oratione nimium offendi, qui omnem putant a Romanis pontificibus auctoritatem in concilia diffundi, etc."—Andrad. de Gener. Concil. Auctorit. Lib. i. [p. 52.]

² "In præfatione quadam concilii Sardicensis quæ habetur in primo tomo conciliorum, et fortasse est Dionysii Exigui viri doctissimi, disertis verbis habetur Hosium Cordubensem in Nicæno concilio legatum egisse Romani pontificis."—Bellarm. De Concil. Lib. i. cap. 19. [p. 20.]

(as he thinketh it not impossible), that the bishop of Rome should altogether dislike in his opinion that which the council resolveth on, and which he should consent unto, and (though he define not the contrary) yet despise the decrees of the council, and in his private opinion gainsay them; he thinketh in such a case men were to conceive none otherwise of him than if he should depart from the faith and profession of the ancient councils, which the consent of all ages hath confirmed, and Gregory professeth to honour and esteem as the four gospels¹; seeing the power and authority is as great in all councils, as in those which the same Gregory saith, that “whosoever holdeth not their certain resolutions, though he seem to be a stone elect and precious, yet he lieth besides the foundation.” And because the authority of cardinal Turrecremata is great with all those that defend the dignity of the pope against the bishops that were assembled in the Council of Basil, and such as are of their judgment, therefore he produceth his opinion in these words: “If such a case should fall out,” saith cardinal Turrecremata², “that all the fathers assembled in a general council with unanimous consent should make a decree concerning the faith, which the person of the pope alone should contradict, I would say according to my judgment, that men were bound to stand to the judgment of the synod, and not to listen to the gainsaying of the

¹ “Sicut sancti evangelii quatuor libros, sic quatuor concilia suscipere et venerari me fateor . . . quia in his velut in quadrato lapide, sanctæ fidei structura consurgit, et cujuslibet vitæ atque actionis existat: quisquis eorum soliditatem non tenet, etiam si lapis esse conitur tamen extra ædificium jacet.”—Greg. Lib. i. Epist. 24. [al. Epist. 25. Tom. II. col. 515.]

² “Si talis casus contingeret quod patres universi in synodo universali convenientes unanimiter aliquam definitionem fidei facerent, cui sola persona papæ contradiceret, dicerem iudicio meo quod synodo standum esset et non personæ papæ, iudicium enim tantorum patrum universalis unius synodi in materia fidei merito proferendum videtur mihi iudicio unius hominis. In quo casu optime venit illa glossa quæ habet in cap. ‘Anastasius,’ dist. 19. quod ubi de fide agitur papa tenetur requirere concilium episcoporum; quod intelligendum est, quando casus est valde dubius, et synodus convocari poterit, et tunc synodus major est papa, non quidem potestate jurisdictionis, sed auctoritate discretivi iudicii et amplitudine cognitionis.”—De Pont. Max. generaliumque conc. auctoritate ad Basilien. oratorem respons. num. 67 et 68. [apud Andrad. fol. 52.]

person of the pope: for the judgment of so many and so great fathers in a general council seemeth worthily to be preferred before the judgment of one man. In which case that gloss upon the decrees is most excellent, that when the faith is treated of, the pope is bound to require the counsel of bishops, which is to be understood to be necessary to be done as often as the case is very doubtful, and a synod may be called, and then the synod is greater than the pope; not truly in the power of jurisdiction, but in the authority of discerning, judgment, and the amplitude of knowledge." This is the opinion of this great champion, who so mainly in defence of the pope's universal jurisdiction impugned the fathers that were assembled in the Council of Basil. Whereby it is evident that the pope may not go against the consent of a general council, and that he may not dissent from it, being greater in the authority of discerning and judgment than he is; and, consequently, that he hath no negative voice in councils. Which may further be proved, for that if he had a negative voice, as the council hath, then were there two absolute negatives: but where there are two absolute negatives, it is uncertain whether anything shall be resolved or not (whereas yet the state of the Church requireth resolution and certain concluding of matters, that men may know what they ought to believe). Therefore the pope hath none, but the only negative is that of the council, a part whereof the pope is, giving a voice as others do. And this the manner of other synods confirmeth. For in provincial, national, and patriarchal councils, the metropolitans, primates, and patriarchs, have no absolute negative, but give only a single voice; and the absolute negative, as also the affirmative, is only in the major part; and as Cardinal Turcremata learnedly and rightly maketh the authority of the general council, in discerning and defining what is to be believed, greater than the authority of the pope; and that the council is rather to be listened unto than the pope, dissenting from the council; so there is no doubt but that (the authority of councils being as great in making necessary laws for the good of the Church, as in resolving doubts, and clearing controversies), the council is greater than the pope in the power of making laws, and consequently in the power of jurisdiction; which he denieth, and they of Basil affirm.

The greatest allegation on the contrary side is the confirmation that ancient councils sought of the bishop of Rome; for that may seem to import, that their decrees are of no force unless they be strengthened by his authority: whereunto Andradius¹ answereth out of Alfonsus à Castro² and others, that general councils carefully sought to be confirmed by the bishop of Rome, not as if in themselves without his confirmation they were weak and might err, nor for that they thought him to have as much or more assurance of not erring than they; but that it might appear that he that hath the first place in the Church of God, and the rest, did consent and conspire together in the delivery, and the defence of the truth. But because happily this answer may seem too weak, therefore, for the clearing of this doubt, we must observe, that all the ancient councils were holden in the East, and that in some of them neither the bishop of Rome, nor any of his western bishops, were present, and in others very few: for there were only three out of the West, in the name of all the rest, in the great Council of Chalcedon, wherein 630 bishops met. Now seeing the authority of general councils is from the consent of all other bishops of the Christian Church, as well as those that meet in them, it was necessary that the bishop of Rome, as patriarch of the West, and the bishops subject to him, though they were no more infallible in judgment than the other, yet should, by consenting with the rest, confirm that was done, seeing they were not present to give consent when it was done. If it be said, that in divers of them there were some for the bishop of Rome, and some in the name of the synods subject to him, who, having instructions from them, gave consent in their names, and that therefore there needed no further confirmation; it will be easily answered,—First, that it was possible for those legates, being but few, to forsake their instructions, and to do contrary to them, as Rodoaldus and Zachary, the legates of pope

¹ Ubi supra.

² “Etiam in conciliorum definitionibus quibus legati sedis apostolicæ interfuerunt, post definitionem de fide datam ab eisdem legatis cum toto concilio semper ecclesia petivit sententiam summi pontificis; nec ante ipsius summi pontificis confirmationem unquam certum habere voluit, et firmum, quod a legatis ejusdem sedis fuerat definitum.”—Alphons. a Castro, De Just. Hæret. Punit. Lib. 1. cap. 6. [col. 1079.]

Nicholas, did in the council under Michael the emperor, wherein Photius was set up, and Ignatius put down¹. Secondly, that it was necessary that the fathers should wholly follow those instructions that they brought, and absolutely agree unto them²: and therefore when things were concluded, it was fit there should be a signifying of that which was done, and a desire of the confirmation of the same. Thirdly, some things might be concluded to which the instructions reached not, and in respect of them a confirmation was necessary; as the Council of Chalcedon decreed certain things without the compass of Leo's instructions, and therefore sought his confirmation³. Besides all this, we must note that the confirmation which the ancient councils sought was not from the person of the bishop of Rome alone, but from him and his synods, as I have proved before; and Bellarmine himself confesseth⁴, saying, that in the second and third synods there were no bishops of the West present, but that the bishop of Rome in his own name, and in the name of the bishops and synods subject to him, did confirm them. So that this confirming of councils by the pope proveth no more that he is infallible in judgment, or that all the assurance of finding out the truth is originally in him, and from him communicated to general councils, than that all the bishops and synods subject to him are free from possibility of erring; and that national or provincial synods in the West are more infallible in their judgments

¹ Ut patet in Epist. Nicol. ad Patriarchas. [Labbe, Tom. ix. col. 1289.]

² "Sciendum est pontificem mittere solere legatos instructos de sententia apostolicæ sedis cum ea conditione, ut si concilium consentiat judicio apostolicæ sedis formetur decretum; sin minus, differatur decreti formatio donec Romanus pontifex consultus respondeat."—Bellarm. De Concil. Lib. ii. cap. 11. [p. 42.]

³ "Accedit ad hæc quod concilium Chalcedonense in Epist. ad Leonem quæ habetur act. 3. dum petit confirmationem decretorum aperte dicit se scribere pontifici, et petere confirmationem; quoniam præter decretum de fide contra Dioscorum alia etiam quædam statuerint sine expressa pontificis sententia."—Bellarm. Ibid.

⁴ "In concilio 2. et 3. nulli fuerunt ex occidente, sed tamen pontifices Damasus et Coelestinus concilia illa confirmarunt, nomine suo, et aliorum episcoporum occidentis quos ipsi Romæ collegerant."—Id. Lib. i. cap. 17. [p. 17.]

than those that are general in the East. The next allegation to prove that the council is nothing without the pope, is, that a promise was made to Peter, that "his faith should not fail¹," but that no promise was made to the council; that promise of Christ, "that where two or three are gathered together in his name, he will be in the midst of them²," being no way proper to councils and bishops, having no authority when they are assembled, which they have not when they are single and divided³. This allegation is contradictory to the resolution, and contrary to the practice of all times. For, first, that promise of Christ, "that where two or three are gathered in his name, he will be in the midst of them," was ever thought to assure his presence in a lawful general council, in very special sort, and otherwise than anywhere else; and that upon very good ground of reason. For if God be present with private men, meeting together in his fear about the things that concern them, and with a few particular pastors of Churches, for the direction of them in things that concern them, there is no question but in general meetings, wherein all the variety of the gifts of God bestowed on men is gathered together, and things concerning the state of the whole Christian Church treated of, he is present in most peculiar sort and manner. Secondly, though Christ the Son of God gave no authority to the whole universality of Christian men, and therein the Church and commonwealth may seem to differ, yet he gave commission to the generality of pastors, more than to each one apart, and, being assembled, they have that power which severally they have not, as to ordain, judge, suspend, and depose pastors and bishops. And howsoever in each province the rest are to know him that is the first among them, and to do nothing pertaining to the whole province, without consulting him first, yet may he do

¹ Luke xxii. 32.

² Matt. xviii. 20.

³ "Quod si ecclesiæ universitati non est data ulla auctoritas, ergo neque concilio generali quatenus ecclesiam universalem representat. Ergo in concilio non est auctoritas summa sive papalis sed tantum episcopalis seu archiepiscopalis, prout sunt personæ quæ ibi conveniunt. Siquidem summa seu papalis auctoritas non ponitur in concilio ab adversariis nisi quatenus concilium gerit vicem ecclesiæ universæ. Si ergo secluso papa ecclesia universa non habet papalem auctoritatem, ergo multo minus concilium habet."—Id. Lib. ii. cap. 16. [p. 47.]

nothing without them. And as this is the canon and law of the Church in particular provinces, so in Churches of larger extent, comprehending whole countries, subject to one patriarch; and much more in the whole Church, wherein there is no one having so much power in respect of the rest, as the metropolitan hath in respect of the bishops of the province, and the patriarch in respect of the metropolitans. For the bishops are to be ordained by the metropolitan, and the metropolitans are to be ordained, or at least confirmed, by the patriarch; whereas among the patriarchs there is no one to whom it pertaineth to ordain the rest, or to confirm them in any special sort, or otherwise than they are to confirm him.

Thus then it being proved by convincing reasons, and the confession not only of such papists as make the pope among bishops to be but as the duke of Venice among the great senators of that state (greater than each one, but inferior to the whole company of them), but of such also as attribute much more unto him; that he hath no such presidency in general councils, as that he may determine what he will against the liking of all, or the greater part of bishops, but that he is bound to follow the greater part; and that general councils are of force, not from the absolute authority of the pope only advising with other bishops, but from their consents as well as his: let us proceed to see if the practice of former times prove not the same. "I find," saith Cusanus¹, "that in all the first eight general councils

¹ "In omnibus universalibus universalis ecclesiæ conciliis invenio legatos papæ absque differentia pariformaliter aliis se subscripsisse. Unde unusquisque episcopus vel dicit 'annuens' vel 'consentiens' vel 'statuens' vel 'definiens, subscripsi.' Ita pariformiter apostolicæ sedis legati papæ, quia in octo universalibus conciliis non invenio papam per se interfuisse. Unde ut sciatur hoc dubium non habere, ex gestis Chalcedonensis concilii de depositione Dioscori apponam. Postquam enim Dioscorus tertio monitus noluit comparere, tunc Paschasinus legatus Leonis Papæ ad synodum dixit, 'Quæ placita sunt canonibus fiant.' Paschasinus dixit, 'Jubet reverentia vestra ut ultione canonica contra eum utamur, consentitis an illud placet?' Sancta synodus dixit, 'Etiam consentimus,' nullus dissentit, totius synodi voluntas est una. Julianus episcopus Hipponensis dixit ad legatos Leonis, 'Petimus vestram sanctitatem in eo quod magis inter cæteros eminentis, habentes locum sanctissimi papæ Leonis, justam in contumacem promulgare vindictam, ac regulis insitam contra eum ferre sententiam; omnes enim

the popes, or the legates of the popes, (for themselves were never present in person), did ever subscribe in the very same sort that the other bishops did, without note of any singularity. For every bishop was wont to subscribe in this form, *Annuens, vel consentiens, vel statuens, vel definiens, subscripsi*: and this was the form the legates of the bishop of Rome observed. But,"—saith Cusanus, "that no man may doubt but that all things were determined by the joint consent of such as met in general councils, and not by the sole authority of the bishop of Rome alone, we find in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon, that Dioscorus being the third time warned to appear, and refusing so to do, Paschasinus, the legate of Leo the pope, said unto the synod, 'We desire to learn of your holiness what punishment he is worthy of?' To which the synod answering, 'Let that be done that is agreeable to the canons:' Paschasinus said, 'Doth your righteousness or reverend worthiness command us to use canonical vengeance against him? Do you consent? or do you resolve otherwise?' The holy synod said, 'We consent, none dissenteth: this is the agreeing and consenting will of the whole synod.' Julian, the bishop of Hypepa, said to the legates of Leo, 'We desire your holiness, in that you are more eminent than the rest, having the place of the most holy pope Leo, to pronounce the sentence of just vengeance against this contumacious person, the canons requiring the same: for we all, and the whole synod, agree to the sentence of your holiness.' Paschasinus said, 'Let what pleaseth your blessedness be pronounced with unanimous consent.'

nos et sancta synodus consors efficitur vestræ sententiæ sanctitatis.' Paschasinus dixit, 'Quod placet beatitudini vestræ unanimiter proferatur.' Maximus Antiochenus episcopus dixit, 'Quod videtur sanctitati vestræ censendum, in hoc concordēs efficimur simul.' Post hoc legati apostolici pronunciarunt sententiam qua Leo papa deposuisset Dioscorum, et eum damnasset, et subjungunt, 'Sancta hæc synodus quæ placent canonicis regulis super memorato Dioscoro decernere non movetur.' Anatolius archiepiscopus Constantinopolitanus et quisque de concilio sententiam dedit dicendo, 'Eum alienum judico omnis sacerdotalis sive episcopalis ministerii.' Ecce quod legati apostolici in concilio quia primo loco existant, prius proferunt sententiam si synodus jubet, et per illos omnes secundum ordinem et ex unitate voluntatis et concordia dependet sententiæ vigor."—Cusan. De Concord Cathol. Lib. ii. cap. 8. [p. 712.]

Maximus of Antioch said, 'What your holiness thinketh fit to be done, we consent unto.' After this the apostolical legates pronounced the sentence whereby Leo the pope had deposed and condemned Dioscorus, and then added, 'Let not this holy synod be slack to determine what is agreeable to the canons touching Dioscorus.' Whereupon Anatolius of Constantinople, and every bishop in the council, gave sentence against him, saying, 'I judge him to be rejected from all sacerdotal and episcopal ministry.' Here,"—saith Cusanus, "the reader may see that the apostolical legates (because they have the first place in the council) pronounce the sentence, and yet no otherwise; but if the council command them so to do, that all in order pronounce sentence likewise; and that the force of the sentence dependeth on the unity and consent of will in them that are present. Neither is this course observed only in general councils; but that in those also that were patriarchical, the other bishops subscribed in the very same form that the bishop of Rome did, it is evident. For, in the council under pope Martin, before the sixth general council, Martin subscribed in this sort¹: 'I Martin, bishop of the city of Rome, decreeing and determining, have subscribed to this definition of confirmation of the true faith, and condemnation of Sergius of Constantinople, Pyrrhus, and Paulus.' And in the very same sort subscribed Maximus of Aquileia, defining and confirming the true faith, and condemning the heretics: and so did a hundred and three bishops more. And in the council under Symmachus we read that the synod said: 'Whatsoever clerk, monk, or layman, either of the superior or inferior order, shall presume to go against these decrees, let him by the sentence of the

¹ "Martinus sanctæ catholicæ et apostolicæ episcopus urbis Romæ huic definitioni confirmationis orthodoxæ fidei, et damnationi Sergii Constantinopolitani, Pyrrhi, et Pauli statuens subscripsi.'

"Coelius Symmachus episcopus sanctæ catholicæ ecclesiæ urbis Romæ huic constituto a nobis inspirante Domino peracto subscripsi.'

"Laurentius episcopus sanctæ Mediolanensis ecclesiæ huic constituto a nobis inspirante Domino peracto scripsi.'

Gennadius dixit, 'Quæ ab omnibus sunt dicta propria debemus subscriptione roborare,' et ab universis episcopis dictum est, 'Fiat, fiat.'

"Quoniam providentia Dei in prosperum finem omnia devenerunt negotia ecclesiæ, oportet nos in scriptis manu propria hæc roborare.'"

canon be rejected as a schismatic.' And the bishops subscribed thus: 'I Symmachus, of the holy catholic Church of the city of Rome, have subscribed to this constitution made by us, by the inspiration of the Lord.' 'I Lawrence, bishop of the Church of Millaine, have subscribed to this constitution made by us, &c.' And so the rest in order. In the Council of Africa, Gennadius said, 'We must by our several subscriptions give force and strength to the things we have spoken.' And all the bishops said, *Fiat, fiat*, that is, 'Let us so do.' So the vicars of old Rome said in the eighth general council: 'Seeing by the happy providence of God all things are come to a good end, we must by subscription give strength to that which is done.' And the like we find in the end and conclusion of all councils¹: whereby it appeareth that the strength, vigour, and force of all canons made in councils, is from the uniform consent of them that have voices in councils, and not from the pope, or head of such assemblies." In the Council of Chalcedon we find² that a form of a decree touching the faith was agreed on by all, besides the Romans, and certain of the East, who would have some things added out of the epistles of Leo. The bishops urged, that all had liked and approved that form the day before, and that it did confirm the epistle of Leo, which they all had received, and desired the judges that all might be cast out of the synod that would not subscribe. The vicars of Rome on the contrary side told them, that if they would not consent to the epistle of Leo, they would return, that a synod might be holden in the West: and the judges commanded them to come to some conference, a certain selected number of them; or else to declare their faith by their several metropolitans, that so there might remain no further doubt or discord: and told them, that if they would follow none of these courses, nor agree to make a certain decree touching the true faith, a synod should be holden in the West. So that we see that, without the concurrence of the other bishops, nothing could be done by the Romans, and those of the East; that there

¹ "Ex qua re sequitur juxta subscriptiones præactas, vigorem statutorum canonum in concilio, non ex papa nec capite concilii, sed ex unico concordanti sensu vigorem habere."—Hactenus ex Cusan. loco citato.

² Actione v. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 1445.]

was no other remedy, in case they would not have agreed in determining the doubts then a-foot, but to call another synod, wherein a greater number of the western bishops might be present. So that the pope was not at that time reputed an absolute commander in general councils.

CHAPTER LI.

OF THE ASSURANCE OF FINDING OUT THE TRUTH, WHICH
THE BISHOPS ASSEMBLED IN GENERAL COUNCILS HAVE.

HAVING shewed who have decisive voices in general councils, what presence of bishops is necessary to the being of them, what order is to be observed in their proceedings, who is president in them, and what his authority is, it remaineth that we proceed to see what assurance they have of finding out the truth, and who is to call them. Touching the first of these two, some have been of opinion, that the bishops and fathers in councils are so guided by the Spirit of truth, that their decrees and determinations may be joined to the canonical Scripture, and reckoned parts of it. This position Melchior Canus saith¹, a man excellently learned,

¹ “ *Alia quæstio etiam existit, quæ non est ad exponendum facilis. Si enim concilium summi pontificis auctoritate firmatum Spiritu sancto regitur fidei causis judicandis, ejus ergo definitiones ad sacram scripturam pertinebunt. Nam scriptura sacra vocatur, quæ Spiritu sancto afflante scripta est. Hujus vero argumenti conclusionem vir apprime doctus, et qui tantos habebat in theologia progressus, ut cum excellentibus theologis compararetur, non est veritus me præsentem concedere. Atque in hanc opinionem Gratianus quoque videtur descendisse, Divi Augustini testimonio confirmatus, Dist. xix. cap. ‘In Canonis,’ ubi summorum pontificum epistolas decretales canonicas scripturas esse dicit: eadem igitur ratione concilii decreta in canonicis scripturis habebuntur. Sed et Innocentius, de Celebratione Missæ, cap. ‘Cum Martha,’ eandem sententiam videtur amplecti. Ait enim scripturam sacram asserere, quod injuriam facit martyri, qui orat pro martyre. Hoc autem testimonium alicujus nimirum vel pontificis, vel concilii est. Ratio item his testimoniis consentit. Fides enim catholica nihil credit nisi quod est a Deo revelatum; quod si concilii decreta tenemur certa secundum fidem habere, ea sunt certe a Deo revelata,*

and that had so profited in divinity, that he might be thought matchable with great and eminent divines, feared not to hold in his hearing: and addeth, that Gratian¹ seemeth to have been of the same opinion, where he affirmeth that the decretal epistles of popes are canonical Scripture, and allegeth Austin for proof thereof. But the same Canus refuteth that opinion as absurd, and sheweth that Gratian mistook St Austin. For whereas St Austin hath these words, *In canonicis Scripturis Ecclesiarum catholicarum quamplurimum auctoritatem sequatur: inter quas sane illæ sint, quæ apostolicas sedes habere, et epistolas accipere meruerunt*²; that is, “In reckoning the books of canonical Scripture, let the diligent searcher of the Scriptures follow the authority of the greater number of catholic Churches; among which, they truly which were so happy as to have apostolic seats, and to receive epistles from apostles, are specially and principally to be regarded,”—Gratian citeth the place thus: *In canonicis Scripturis Ecclesiarum catholicarum quam plurimum Scripturarum solertissimus indagator auctoritatem sequatur: inter quas sane illæ sint quas apostolica sedes habere et ab ea alii meruerunt accipere epistolas.* So that whereas St Augustine saith, that in reckoning the canonical books of Scripture a man must follow the authority of the greater number of catholic Churches, and among them especially such as either had apostolical seats, as Hierusalem and the like; or received epistles from some of the apostles, as did the Churches of Corinth and Galatia; Gratian maketh him say, that the epistles which the apostolical see received, or other received of it, are to be reckoned among canonical Scriptures. This oversight of Gratian Picus Mirandula³ long since observed, and after him Alfonsus à Castro⁴:

atque ex consequenti scriptura canonica.”—Melchior Canus, *Loc. Theol. Lib. v. cap. 5.* [p. 263. Colon. Agripp. 1605.]

¹ Dist. xix. cap. ‘In Canonicis.’ [cap. 6. col. 89. ed. fol. Par. 1612.]

² Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. Lib. ii. cap. 8. [Tom. iii. Part. 1. col. 23, c.]

³ “Animadvertendum item eos longe aberrare, qui ab eis non minus putant nefas discedere quam ab evangeliiis, uti Gratianus decretorum compiler putasse videtur, ob Augustini sententiam perpere intellectam, mirum in modum hallucinatus.”—Pic. Mirand. de Fid. et Ord. Credendi, Theorem. 15. [Tom. ii. p. 203. Bas. 1601.]

⁴ “Oportebat hunc errorem omnibus palam facere, ne aliis deinceps errandi occasionem Gratianus præberet, prout hactenus multis

whereby we may see how easy it was for men in former times to run into most gross errors, before the reviving of learning in these latter times, while the blind did lead the blind. For Gratian was the man out of whom the greatest divines of former times took all their authorities of fathers and councils, as appeareth by their marginal quotations¹. And how ignorantly and negligently he mistook them, and mis-alleged them, this one example is proof sufficient.

But whatsoever we think of Gratian, we shall find that not only our divines, but the best learned among our adversaries also, put a great difference between the sacred Scriptures of the holy canon and the decrees of councils. For, first they say, the Scripture is the word of God revealed immediately, and written in a sort from his own mouth; according to that of St Peter, "The holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost²;" and that of St Paul, "All Scripture is by divine inspiration³:" which is not so to be understood, as if always the holy writers had had new revelations, and had always written that which before they were ignorant of: for it is certain that the evangelists Matthew and John wrote those things which they saw, and Mark and Luke those things they heard from others, as Luke himself confesseth in the beginning of his Gospel. But the holy writers are therefore said to have had immediate revelation, and to have written the words of God himself, because either some new things, and not known before, were revealed to them by God, or because God immediately inspired and moved the writers to write those things which they had seen and heard, and directed them that they should

magni nominis viris præbuit, qui sola Gratiani auctoritate freti, verba illa Augustini in suis scriptis citarunt corrupta et lacerata, quemadmodum in Gratiani decreto legerant. Nam Joannes de Turrecremata (ut alios multos præteream,) hunc Augustini locum, prout Gratianus illum corruerat, citat libro quarto, de summa ecclesiæ. Thomas de Vio Cardinalis Cajetanus in libro de primatu Romanæ ecclesiæ hæc Augustini verba, prout a Gratiano corrupte citantur, adfert ad probandum Romanæ ecclesiæ primatum.—Alphons. a Castro, *Advers. Hæres. Lib. i. cap. 2. [col. 15.]*

¹ Turrecremata, *Lib. iv. Summæ de Ecclesiæ, Part. 2. cap. 9. et Cajetan. in Lib. de Primatu Rom. Ecclesiæ, cap. 14,* were misled in this point by Gratian, as Alphonsus noteth.

² 2 Pet. i. 21.

³ 2 Tim. iii. 16.

not any way err in writing : whereas councils neither have, nor write immediate revelations or words of God, but only declare which is that word of God uttered formerly to the prophets and apostles, how it is to be understood, and what conclusions may be deduced from it by discourse of reason. Secondly, the holy writers performed that which they did, without any further labour or travail, than that in writing and calling to mind what they had seen and heard ; but in councils, the bishops and fathers, with great pain and travail, seek out the truth by discourse, conference, reading and deep meditation ; and therefore the holy writers were wont to attribute all to God only, and the prophets were wont often to repeat, “The Lord saith.” Thirdly, in the Scriptures, not only the whole sentences, but every word pertaineth to faith : for no word is therein vain or ill-placed. But in councils there are many disputations going on before resolution, many reasons brought for confirmation of things resolved on, many things added for explication and illustration, many things uttered *obiter*, and in passage, that men are not bound to admit as true and right : nay, many things are defined in councils that men are not bound to stand unto. For it is the manner of councils, sometimes to define a thing as certainly and undoubtedly true, pronouncing them heretics that think otherwise, and subjecting them to curse and anathema ; and sometimes as probable only, and not certain, as the Council of Vienna¹ decreed, that it is more probable, that both grace, and virtues accompanying grace, are infused into infants when they are baptized, than when they are not ; and yet is this no matter of faith in the Church of Rome. Fourthly,

¹ “Quia quantum ad effectum baptismi in parvulis reperiuntur doctores quidam theologi opiniones contrarias habuisse: quibusdam ex ipsis dicentibus per virtutem baptismi parvulis quidem culpam remitti, sed gratiam non conferri: aliis e contra asserentibus quod et culpa eisdem in baptismo remittitur, et virtutes ac informans gratia infunduntur quo ad habitum, et si non pro illo tempore quo ad usum. Nos attendentes generalem efficaciam mortis Christi quæ per baptismum applicatur pariter omnibus baptizatis, opinionem secundam, quæ dicit tam parvulis quam adultis conferri in baptismo informantem gratiam et virtutes, tanquam probabiliorem et dictis sanctorum et doctorum modernorum theologiæ magis consonam et concordem, sacro approbante concilio duximus eligendam.”—Clementina unica, de Summa Trinitate et fide catholica. [Lib. I. Tit. I. col. 12. ed. fol. Par. 1612.]

in the Scripture all things, (as well concerning particular persons, as in generality) are undoubtedly true. For it is as certain that Peter and Paul had the Spirit of God, as that no man can be saved without the illumination and sanctification of the Spirit; but in the determinations and decrees of bishops assembled in a general council it is not so: for they may err in judging of the persons of men, and therefore there is no absolute certainty in the canonization of saints, as both Thomas¹ and Canus² do confess. Fifthly, in Scriptures there are no precepts touching manners, either concerning the whole Church or any part of it, that are not right, equal, and just. But councils may err, if not in prescribing things evil instead of good, yet in prescribing things not fitting nor expedient, if not to the whole Church, yet to some particular part of it, as not knowing the condition of things therein. Yea, some there are that think it not heretical to believe that general councils may prescribe some laws to the whole Church that are not right, profitable, and just: as to honour such a one for a saint, who is indeed no saint³; to admit such orders of religious men as are not profitable; to receive the communion only in one kind, and the like⁴. And there are many that confidently pronounce⁵, that general councils may decree such things as may breed inconvenience, and may savour of too great severity and austerity, which the guides of the Church in the execution of the same must be

¹ Quodlibet. 9. art. ult.

² Præterea in canonizatione sanctorum, sic enim nostri vocant, fidem ecclesiæ detrahare sine fidei discrimine possumus. Compertum est autem eam rem ad mores spectare; errare igitur ecclesia in morum judicio potest. Illud vero Thomæ et Antonini testimonio comprobatur, qui non aiunt certo et firmiter, sed pie credendum esse, ecclesiam in re hujusmodi non errare.—Melchior Canus, Loc. Theol. Lib. v. cap. 5. [p. 274.] Citat etiam Antoninum, Part. 3. Tit. xii. cap. 8. Idem et Cajetan. Opusc. de indulgent. ad Julium. cap. 8.

³ “In ipsa canonizatione sanctorum utrum ecclesia possit errare, scilicet, canonizando eum qui non est sanctus, . . . Thomas dicit quia et si papa possit errare, pie tamen credendum est quod Deus non permetteret ecclesiam in hujusmodi errare: et forte ratio est; quia et talis determinatio pertinet ad ecclesiam universalem, fit tamen per attestaciones hominum, quæ fallere possunt.”—Antonin. Florent. Summ. Part. 3. Tit. xii. cap. 8. [s. p. ed. fol. 1485.]

⁴ Vide Canum, loco citato.

⁵ Andrad. de Auctoritate Concilior. Lib. i. [fol. 66.]

forced to qualify and temper. So that the only question is, whether a general council may certainly define any thing to be true in matter of faith, that is false; or command the doing of any act as good and an act of virtue, that in deed and in truth is an act of sin. Touching this point, there are that say, that all interpretations of holy Scriptures agreed on in general councils, and all resolutions of doubts concerning things therein contained, proceed from the same Spirit from which the holy Scriptures were inspired; and that therefore general councils cannot err either in the interpretation of Scriptures, or resolving of things doubtful concerning the faith. But these men should know, that though the interpretations and resolutions of bishops in general councils proceed from the same Spirit from which the Scriptures were inspired, yet not in the same sort, nor with like assurance of being free from mixture of error¹. For the fathers assembled in general councils do not rely upon immediate revelation in all their particular resolutions and determinations, as the writers of the books of holy Scripture did, but on their own meditation, search and study, the general assistance of Divine grace concurring with them. That the fathers assembled in general councils rely not upon any special and immediate revelations, may easily be proved by sundry good and effectual reasons. For first, whensoever we hope to know any thing by special and immediate revelation from God, we use not to betake ourselves to study and meditation, but to prayer only, and other good works, or at least principally to these. Whence it is that Daniel, when he hoped to obtain of God the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream by special and immediate revelation, did not exhort his companions and consorts by study to search out the secret he desired to know, but by prayer and supplication to seek it of God. And after he had found out the secret he sought for, he said, "O God of my fathers, I confess unto thee, and praise thee, because thou hast given me wisdom and strength, and hast shewed unto me those things which we desired of

¹ "Ad primam cum innuit quod pie tenendum est interpretationes concilii generalis esse nobis revelatas ab eodem Spiritu a quo revelatæ sunt divinæ scripturæ, respondetur quod non est necesse nec semper oportet omnes Christianos hoc credere."—Ockam, Dialog. Part. 3. Tract. 1. Lib. III. cap. 8. [p. 824.]

thee, and hast opened unto us the word of the king¹:" whence also it is, that Christ promising his apostles that he would reveal unto them what they should speak when they should be brought before kings and rulers, willeth them "to take no care how or what to speak, for that it should be revealed unto them in that hour what they should speak. It is not you that speak," saith our Saviour, "but the Spirit of my Father that speaketh in you²." When as therefore we hope to learn any thing of God by immediate revelation, we must not apply ourselves to study and meditation, but to prayer. But when men meet in general councils to determine any doubt or question, they principally give themselves to meditation, study and search; therefore they hope not to be taught of God by immediate revelation. Secondly, when we desire to have things made known to us by immediate revelation from God, we go not to them that are most learned, but to them that are most devout and religious, whether they be learned or unlearned, whether of the clergy or the laity, whether men or women; because for the most part God revealeth his secrets not to them that are wiser and more learned, but to them that are better and more religious and devout; according to that of our Saviour, "I give thee thanks, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and men of understanding, and hast opened them unto babes³." And therefore the good king Josias⁴, when he desired by revelation to know the will of God touching the words of the volume that was found in the temple, he sent Hilkiab the high priest to Huldah the prophetess, and sought not concerning the words of the law among the priests, whose lips are to preserve knowledge, and at whose mouth men ought to seek the law: because though the law be to be sought at the mouth of the priest, in all those things which may be learned by study, meditation, and search, yet in those things that are to be learned by revelation, recourse must be had to them that have the spirit of prophecy, if any such be; or else to them that are most holy, and whose prayers are most acceptable unto God. Neither are men, for satisfaction in these things, rather to go

¹ Dan. ii. 23.² Matt. x. 19, 20.³ Matt. xi. 25.⁴ 2 Kings xxii. 14.

to the priests, than to any layman that is utterly unlearned: but in councils men go to them that are more learned, and of better place in the Church, though they be not the best and holiest men: therefore questions touching matters of faith are not determined in councils by immediate revelation. If it be said that the apostles and elders, in that first council which is mentioned in the Acts¹, relied on the knowledge they had of the Scriptures and truth of God, and did not wait for a new immediate revelation, and that therefore this kind of reasoning will bring them within compass of the same danger of erring that we subject their successors unto, because they rely not upon immediate revelation, but search and study; it will be easily answered, that though the apostles and others assembled in that council depended not upon immediate revelation, but the knowledge they had of the Scriptures and truth of God, and thence inferred what was to be thought of the matter then in question, yet were they not in danger of erring, as their successors are, because they relied not on such imperfect knowledge as study and meditation begets, but such as divine revelation causeth: to wit, perfect and absolute; whence they knew how to derive the resolution of any doubt or question, being specially assisted by the Spirit of truth. Neither let any man think that the apostles assembled in this council were any way doubtful what to resolve, when they heard the matter proposed, because there is mention made of great disputation in that meeting: for, as it may be thought, that questioning and disputing was among the elders and brethren, and not among the apostles; the meanest of them being able to resolve a far greater matter without any the least doubt or stay. So that it is absurd that Melchior Canus from hence inferreth², that the decrees of this council, wherein there was so great a dispute, are not canonical Scripture, any other ways than the words of Pilate are because they are recorded by the evangelists in the holy Scripture. But to return to

¹ Acts xv. 6.

² “*Quemadmodum verba Pilati ad canonem pertinent, non qua Pilatus dixit, sed qua scripsit evangelista: sic et concilii Hierosolymitani definitio sacra scriptura est, quod Lucas eam reliquis historiæ suæ partibus contexuerit.*”—Melchior Canus, *Loc. Theolog. Lib. v. cap. 5.* [p. 266.]

the matter whence this objection made us digress, it is no way necessary to think that the fathers are any otherwise directed by the Spirit of truth in general councils, than in patriarchal, national, or provincial; seeing general councils consist of such as come with instructions from provincial, national, and patriarchal synods, and must follow the same in making decrees, as has been shewed before; and, consequently, that they are not led to the finding out of the truth in any special sort or manner beyond the general influence that is required to the performance of every good work. So that as God assisting Christian men in the Church only in a general sort to the performance of the works of virtue, there are even some well-doers, and yet no particular man doth always well; and there is no degree or kind of moral virtue commanded in the law but is attained by some one or other, at one time or other, one excelling in one thing, and another in another; yet no particular man, or company of men, hath all degrees and perfections of virtue, as Hierome fitly noteth against the Pelagians¹; so in like sort God, assisting Christian men in the Church in seeking out the truth only in general sort, as in the performance of the actions of virtue, and not by immediate revelation and inspiration, as in the apostles' times, there are ever some that hold and profess all necessary truth; though no one man, or company of men, do find the truth ever, and in all things, nor any assurance can be had of any particular men that they should always hold all necessary truths.

And therefore we may safely conclude that no man can certainly pronounce, that whatsoever the greater part of bishops assembled in a general council agree on is undoubtedly true. Neither are we alone in this conclusion, but sundry excellently learned among our adversaries in former times, even in the midst of the papacy, concurred in the same. For Waldensis expressly affirmeth, that² "General councils have

¹ Hieronym. Lib. i. contra Pelagianos. [§ 21. Tom. ii. col. 703 B.]

² "Hæc est ecclesia symbolica, ecclesia Christi inquam catholica, et apostolica, mater credentium populorum, quæ fidem habet indefectibilem, secundum promissum Christi ad Petrum, qui tunc figuram gessit ecclesiæ: 'Ego rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua.' Non est ergo specialis ecclesia, non Africana, ut Donatus dixit, nec atque particularis illa Romana, sed universalis ecclesia, non quidem

erred, and may err; and confidently delivereth, that it is no particular church that hath assurance of holding the truth and not erring from the faith, neither that of Africa, which Donatus so much admired, nor the particular Church of Rome, but the universal Church: nor that universal Church which is gathered together in a general council, which we have found to have erred sometimes (as that at Ariminum under Taurus the governor, and that at Constantinople under Justinian the younger, in the time of Sergius the pope, according to Beda and certain other), but that catholic Church of Christ which hath been dispersed throughout the whole world by the ministry of the apostles, and others their successors, ever since the baptism of Christ, and continued unto these times, which undoubtedly keepeth the true faith, and the faithful testimony of Christ, teaching babes heavenly wisdom, and retaining the truth constantly in the midst of all extremities of errors." And again in another place, speaking of councils, he saith¹; "That which the multitude of catholic doctors, with unanimous consent, resolveth and delivereth to be true, catholic, and orthodox, is not lightly to be esteemed; though haply all that are there present are not led by the Spirit: for this very unanimous consenting is a great and excellent thing, and much to be respected: though sometimes by the faults of men carried with sinister respects, it tend to scandal and ruin:" and thereupon, having shewed the different degrees of authority found in the Church (which I have elsewhere set down at large²) he pronounceth³: "*That in generali synodo congregata, quam aliquotiens errasse percepimus, velut illa Ariminensis congregata sub Tauro præfecto, et illa Constantinopolitana sub Justiniano minore, tempore Sergii papæ, secundum Bedam, et quædam aliæ; sed est ecclesia Christi catholica per totum mundum dispersa, a baptismo Christi per apostolos, et cæteros successores eorum ad hæc tempora devoluta, quæ utique veram fidem continet, et testimonium Christi fidele, sapientiam præstans parvulis, inter extremos errores stabilem retinens veritatem.*"—Thom. Waldens. Doctrinal. Fid. Lib. II. Art. 2. cap. 19. [Tom. I. p. 193.]

¹ "Non ergo parvi pendendum est quod verum esse catholicum et orthodoxum catholicorum doctorum unanimis multitudo concludit, quamvis forsan non omnes ibi spiritu Dei aguntur. Sed et ipsa unanimitas virtus grandis est, quamvis interdum culpa abutentium proficit in scandalum et ruinam."—Id. cap. 27. [p. 223.]

² Book IV. cap. 5. [Vol. II. p. 404.]

³ "Ecce ecclesiam sanctam patrum successive quasi per totum

only the consent of the fathers successively from the beginning (as absolutely free from danger of erring, and next in degree of authority to the canonical Scripture) is to be listened and hearkened unto: and that no man should think it strange that the fathers successively in all ages should be accounted more certain and infallible judges in matters of faith, than a general council of bishops meeting at one time and in one place, seeing so many wise, just, and holy fathers can neither be contained within the straits of one place, nor are in the world at one time, but were given successively by Almighty God, to give testimony unto the faith in their several times, in a constant and a perpetual course: all which fathers we may gather together, and have present at once, so often as we desire to consult them and to be resolved by them in matters of difficulty and doubt, though they could never be all assembled into one place, or meet together, while they lived in the flesh." Neither is this the private conceit of Waldensis only, but Picus Mirandula affirmeth¹, that howso-

tempus durationis ejus, a temporibus scilicet apostolorum . . usque ad sua tempora decurrentem, qui utique judices certiores esse debent in causa fidei, etiam quam synodus antistitum generalis, eo quod tot sapientes et justos patres nec facile unus locus capit, sed nec in uno tempore capiuntur ab orbe: sed ad testificandum continue fidem ecclesiae successive Deus dedit eos in orbem, quos cum volumus consulere valemus in arduis et ad unum librum colligere, ut simul præsentes sint in fidei testimonio qui simul præsentes nunquam aderant uni loco."—Id. cap. 19. [p. 197.]

¹ "Theologorum multi etiam juris interpretum plerique voluero concilium ipsum, si una cum pontifice maximo in eis controversiis quæ sunt ad essentiam fidei, aut ad necessarios bene Christianeque vivendum mores pertinent, sententiam ferat, nullo pacto errare posse, qui validissimis dubio procul et rationibus et auctoritatibus nixi sunt.

"Restiterunt alii affirmantes errare posse concilia et jam errasse, ut Ariminense illud tam celebriter damnatum, Ephesinum quoque secundum, item Constantinopolitanum illud de ponendis imaginibus, sed et Aquisgranense, cujus sententiæ de matrimonio raptæ Hieronymi determinatio præponitur: propterea si hæc aberraverunt, alia quoque errare posse dicunt. Qua de re fatentur nonnulli concilia ea, sive universales synodos, in quibus auctoritas pontificis summi præsidet, errare posse, non autem ex quibus intervenit; instant illi ex adverso Ephesinum secundum legitime fuisse congregatum, præsedentibus etiam legatis pontificis, nihilominus in eversionem fidei agitatum, et in ejus correctionem a Leone pontifice Chalcedonensem synodum institutam."—*Pic. Mirand. De Fid. et Ord. Credend. Theorem. iv.* [Tom. ii. p. 176.]

ever many divines are of opinion that general councils, wherein the pope is present, cannot define anything amiss concerning faith and good living, yet there are other that dissent from them, affirming that councils have erred, and may err, as at Ariminum, and the second at Ephesus. Whereas the former sort answer, that these councils might err, because the pope was not present in them, they reply, that the second Council of Ephesus was lawfully called, the pope's legate being present, and yet tended to the overthrow of the true faith, so that Leo was forced to procure the Council of Chalcedon for the reversing the acts of it. And this their opinion of the possibility of the erring of general councils, they prove and confirm by the possibility of their dissenting one from another; and the possibility of their dissenting one from another, by the directions which the divines do give, to shew to which we are to stand, when they are found contradictory one to another¹. Besides these, there are other who say that general councils may err for some short time, but that they cannot long persist in error²: and a third sort, who think that general councils may err when they proceed disorderly, or use not that diligence they should³.

Neither is this opinion of the possibility of the erring of general councils the private conceit of late writers, but the ancient accord with them in the same. For Austin⁴ pro-

¹ See Clemangis his Disputation with a certain schoolman of Paris, wherein he proveth by excellent reasons that general councils may err. This disputation is found in the book intituled *Speculum Ecclesiæ Pontificiæ*, lately printed at London. [*Speculum Ecclesiæ Pontificiæ Nicolai Clemangis archidiaconi Baiocensis, de Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu. Huic accesserunt duæ ejusdem epistolæ super materia concilii generalis, etc. Opera et studio Edwardi Bulklei, S. Theol. Doct. 12mo. Lond. 1606.*]

² "Alter vero scrupulus ita Sylvestri animo residet, ut vix eum inde pellere potuerit. Meliusque fuisset oculere quam stimulare cæteros, quo ipse scrupulo pungebatur."—Canus, *Lib. v. cap. 5.* [p. 266.]

³ "Ac sunt etiam qui non obscure dicant quod si quando Romanus pontifex in definitione fidei erravit, inde evenire potuit, quod non tantam, quantam debuit, adhibuit diligentiam, antequam sententiam proferret. Quoniam vel rem non plene examinavit, vel non eos, quos oportebat, consuluit."—Canus. [*Ibid.*]

⁴ "Quis nesciat . . . episcoporum litteras quæ post confirmatum canonem vel scriptæ sunt, vel scribuntur, et per sermonem forte sapi-

nounceth that the writings of the bishops that have been published since the canon of the Scripture was perfected, may be censured and reprov'd by such as see more, by the graver authority of other bishops, by the prudence of the learned, and by councils, if in anything they be found to have erred from the truth; that councils holden in several regions and provinces, must without all resistance give way to those that are general; and that among general councils, the former must be content to be amended by the latter, when by experiment that which was shut up is opened, and that which lay hid is found out and known. Neither doth Bellarmine's evasion¹, that Austin speaketh of matters of fact, wherein councils may err, or of conversation and manners which may vary, serve the turn; seeing the drift of Austin is to shew that no writings of men are free from errors, but only the canonical Scriptures: and that therefore they must be content to be examined, judged, and controlled, even in matters of faith. And Isidore², speaking of differences in doctrine and

entio rem cujuslibet in ea re peritioris, et per aliorum episcoporum gravio rem auctoritatem doctioremque prudentiam, et per concilia licere reprehendi, si quid in eis forte a veritate deviatum est: et ipsa concilia, quæ per singulas regiones vel provincias fiunt, plenariorum conciliorum auctoritati quæ fiunt ex universo orbe Christiano sine ullis ambagibus cedere; ipsaque plenaria sæpe priora posterioribus emendari, cum aliquo experimento rerum aperitur quod clausum erat, et cognoscitur quod latebat."—August. de Baptismo, Lib. II. cap. 3. [Tom. II. col. 98.]

¹ "Respondeo primo, forte loqui Augustinum de conciliis illegitimis, quæ per posteriora legitima emendantur, ut accidit concilio Ephesino secundo quod in Chalcedonensi emendatum est. Secundo dico, si de legitimis loquatur, agere eum de quæstionibus facti non juris, in quilibet quæstionibus non dubium est concilium posse errare: et certe Augustinus videtur de ejusmodi quæstionibus agere; nam præcipua quæstio catholicorum cum Donatistis erat de Cæciliano, libros ne sacros tradidisset hostibus fidei, an non. Potest etiam tertio dici, si contendunt adversarii eum loqui de universalibus quæstionibus, concilia priora emendari per posteriora, quoad præcepta morum, non quoad dogmata fidei: præcepta enim mutantur juxta temporum, locorum, et personarum mutationes, et illæ mutationes dicuntur emendationes non quod res mala esset eo tempore quo est instituta, sed quod mala esse ceperit mutatis circumstantiis."—Bellarm. de Concil. Lib. II. cap. 7. [Tom. II. col. 62. ed. fol. Par. 1608.]

² "In fine autem hujus epistolæ hoc adjiciendum putavi, ut quotiescunque in gestis conciliorum discors sententia invenitur, illius concilii

matters of faith, and not of fact only, as Bellarmine in the same place confesseth, acknowledgeth that councils may dissent one from another, and consequently err: and giveth direction which is to be followed, in case such difference do fall out. "I have thought good," saith he, "to add in the end of this epistle, that so often as in the acts of councils there is found disagreement of judgment, the sentence and judgment of that council is rather to be holden which in antiquity or greatness of authority excelleth the other."

But what need we insist upon authorities to prove that councils may err? In the time of Constantius the emperor we know there was a general council holden, consisting of exceeding many bishops, gathered together out of all parts of the world, one part of them meeting at Ariminum in the West, and the other at Seleucia in the East¹. In both these divided assemblies there were exceeding many right believing bishops, and between these there was a continual intercourse: and yet things were so carried, that both parts consented to the betraying of the sincerity of the Christian profession, and the wronging of worthy Athanasius: some purposely out of an heretical disposition; some out of a mistaking of things, being abused by cunning companions; some for that they could no longer endure to stay in a strange country, consenting to that which they should not have consented unto. If it be said that Liberius, bishop of Rome, did not consent to this council, it will easily be answered, that though at the very first he did not consent to the heretical practices of the Arians, yet in the end he did, after he had been in banishment for a time. As likewise Vigilius refused to subscribe to the fifth general council, till he was banished for his refusal. The only thing that can be said is, that they proceeded not orderly in this council, but violently, and fraudulently. But this absolutely overthroweth the infallibility of councils, and their decrees: for if councils may err when they proceed disorderly, and use not that diligence for the finding out of the truth which they should, what certainty can there be in their decrees? seeing it may be doubted whether

sententia magis teneatur, cujus antiquior aut potior exstat auctoritas."—Isidor. apud Gratian. Decret. Part. 1. Dist. l. cap. 'Domino Sancto.' [Col. 273.]

¹ Socrates, Lib. ii. cap. 29.

they proceeded orderly, and, consequently, whether they erred or not. Leo confesseth¹, that in the second Council of Ephesus there were a great number of worthy bishops, who might have been sufficient to have found out and cleared the truth, if he that obtained the chief place had used accustomed moderation, and suffered every one to speak his mind freely, and not forced all to serve his vile designs. If it be said, that howsoever this was a general council, and lawfully called, yet the resolution was not the resolution of a general council, because it was not consented unto, but mainly resisted by the legates of the bishop of Rome; we shall find that in the councils under Michael the emperor², the legates of the bishop of Rome consented also to an ill and unlawful conclusion there made. If it be further alleged, that, howsoever the legates of the bishop of Rome may err as well as other bishops in the council, when they presume to define without instructions, or to go against their instructions, yet the pope himself cannot give consent to any thing that is not true and right; it will be proved that popes also may be so misled by sinister affections, as not only to consent to that they should not, but also to miscarry all in council as well as others. For Sigebert reporteth³ that Stephen, bishop of Rome, and after him Sergius, called councils, and proceeded in them in furious manner against Formosus their predecessor, not only by pulling his dead body out of the grave, and despitefully re-ordaining such as he ordained, but judicially pronouncing and defining that his ordinations were void; which was an error in faith, seeing he was known

¹ "Ad episcopale concilium, quod haberi apud Ephesum præcepistis, tam instructi sunt missi; ut si scripta, quæ vel ad sanctam synodum, vel ad Flavianum episcopum detulerunt, episcoporum publicari auribus Alexandrinus permisisset antistes, ita manifestatione purissimæ fidei, quam divinitus inspiratam et accipimus et tenemus, omnium concertationum strepitus quievisset, ut nec imperitia ultra desiperet, nec occasionem nocendi æmulatio reperiret. Sed dum privatæ causæ religionis exercentur obtentu, commissum est impietate paucorum, quod universam ecclesiam vulneraret."—Leo, Epist. 25. [Al. 44. Tom. i. col. 913. Ven. 1753.]

² Ut patet ex Epist. Nicol. ad Patriarch. etc. Episc. Orientis, [al. ad cler. Constant. Labbe, Tom. ix. col. 1375.] et ex Zonara in Vita Mich. Imp. [Annal. Lib. xvi. cap. 4.]

³ In Chron. an. 900. [See above, chap. XLIII. Vol. III. p. 472.]

once to have been a true and lawful bishop, though in respect of perjury or violent intrusion he had been judged never to have been lawful bishop of Rome.

But here I cannot pass by the contradiction of Cardinal Bellarmine, strangely forgetting himself, and saying he knoweth not what. For first he saith¹, it is certain, and a matter of faith, that a general council, confirmed by the pope, cannot err. Secondly, he saith², the infallibility of councils is wholly in the pope, and not partly in the pope, partly in the bishops. And thirdly, he saith³, he dareth not to affirm it to be a matter of faith, that the pope is free from danger of erring, though he have a particular council concurring with him. So strangely doth the good man cross himself, and overthrow that in one place which he built in another. For how can it be certain and a matter of faith that the general council approved by the pope cannot err, if it have no certainty of not erring but from the pope, and it be not certain that the pope cannot err? That councils, though lawful, to which nothing wanted but the pope's consent, have erred, he saith, it is most certain and undoubted. So that general councils are not in themselves free from error, but their infallibility resteth in the pope. Now that it is not certain that the pope is free from danger of erring, he proveth, first, because they are still tolerated by the Church, and not condemned as heretics, that think the pope subject to error, even in judicial sentence and decree. Secondly, out of Eusebius, who saith⁴, that Cornelius the pope, with a national

¹ "Sit igitur prima propositio: Fide catholica tenendum est, concilia generalia a summo pontifice confirmata errare non posse, nec in fide, nec in moribus."—Bellarm. de Concil. Lib. II. cap. 2. [Tom. II. col. 53.]

² "Solum Petrum vocavit Dominus petram, et fundamentum, non Petrum cum concilio; ex quo apparet, totam firmitatem conciliorum legitimorum esse a pontifice; non partim a pontifice, partim a concilio."—Id. de Pont. Rom. Lib. IV. cap. 3. [Tom. I. col. 800.]

³ "Altera propositio: Concilia particularia, a summo pontifice confirmata, in fide et moribus errare non possunt. Hæc propositio non est æque recepta, ac prior: illam nemo catholicus negat; hanc vero non desunt qui negent. Itaque ea solum de causa non affirmamus, hanc propositionem fide catholica esse tenendam, quod auctores qui contrarium sentiunt, nondum videamus ab ecclesia damnatos pro hæreticis."—Id. de Concil. Lib. II. cap. 5. [Tom. II. col. 58.]

⁴ Hist. Eccl. Lib. VII. cap. 2, 3, et 4.

council of all the bishops of Italy, decreed, that heretics ought not to be rebaptized, and Stephen afterwards approved the same sentence, and commanded that heretics should not be rebaptized; and yet Cyprian thought the contrary¹, and earnestly maintained it, charging Stephen with error and obstinacy, which he would not have done if he had thought the pope free from danger of erring. Neither would the Church have honoured him as a catholic bishop and blessed martyr, that thus confidently contradicted the pope, and resisted his decrees and mandates, if it were certain, and a matter of faith, and all men, under pain of heresy, bound to believe that the pope cannot err. Wherefore, to conclude this point, how can we be sure, with the certainty of faith, that general councils cannot err, if their infallibility depend on the popes, who may be most prodigiously impious, and worse than infidels; not only erring in some particular points concerning the faith, but overthrowing all, as he did that Picus Mirandula² speaketh of, who peremptorily denied that there is any God; and confirmed the same his execrable impiety by the manner of his entering into the popedom, and living in it: and that other he speaketh of³, who denied the immortality of the soul, though, after his death, appearing to one of them to whom in his lifetime he had uttered that his impious conceit, he told him he now found, to his endless woe and misery, that soul he thought mortal to be immortal, and never to die.

Yet when there is a lawful general council according to

¹ Epist. 74. ad Pomp. [p. 212.]

² "Sed et alium meminimus pontificem creditum et ordinatum, quem tamen præstantes viri putarent nec pontificem eum esse nec esse posse, qui nullum Deum credens omne infidelitatis culmen excederet, pessimaque ejus opera in coemendo pontificatu, in omnigenis sceleribus exercendis id ipsum testabantur: sed et pessima quoque dicta confirmabant; neque fassum eum affirmabatur domesticis quibusdam nullum se Deum aliquando etiam dum pontificiam sedem teneret credidisse."—Pic. Mirand. De Fid. et Ord. Credend. Theorem. 4. [Tom. II. p. 177.]

³ "Et alium audiivi summum pontificem qui vivens familiari cuidam asseruerat, apud se animarum immortalitatem minime creditam. Mortuus vero eidem per vigiliam apparuit, divino judicio manifestans se quam mortalem crediderat animam, immortalem tum maximo cum damno et perpetuis cum ignibus experiri."—Id. [Ibid.]

the former description¹, to wit, wherein all the patriarchs are present, either in person or by their deputies, and the synod of bishops under them signify their opinion, either by such as they send, or by their provincial letters, if there appear nothing to us in it that may argue an unlawful proceeding, nor there be no gainsaying of men of worth, place, and esteem, we are so strongly to presume that it is true and right that with unanimous consent is agreed on in such a council, that we must not so much as profess publicly that we think otherwise, unless we do most certainly know the contrary; yet may we in the secret of our hearts remain in some doubt, carefully seeking by the Scripture and monuments of antiquity to find out the truth. Neither is it necessary for us expressly to believe whatsoever the council hath concluded, though it be true, unless by some other means it appear unto us to be true, and we be convinced of it in some other sort than by the bare determination of the council only. But it sufficeth that we believe it *implicite*, and in *præparatione animi*, that out of the due respect we bear to the council's decree we dare not resolve otherwise, and be ready expressly to believe it, if it shall be made to appear unto us. But concerning the general councils of this sort that hitherto have been holden, we confess that in respect of the matter about which they were called, so nearly and essentially concerning the life and soul of the Christian faith, and in respect of the manner and form of their proceeding, and the evidence of proof brought in them, they are, and ever were, expressly to be believed by all such as perfectly understand the meaning of their determination. And that therefore it is not to be marvelled at if Gregory profess² that he honoureth the first four councils as the four Gospels; and that whosoever admitteth them not, though he seem to

¹ "Debent singuli, etiam qui assertionem contrariam antea tenuissent, non tamen fuissent certi explicite, pro assertionem concilii generalis præsumere, et quasi conditionaliter adhærere, si non est contraria catholicæ veritati, ita ut publice non teneant opinionem contrariam etiam opinando, tamen in mente possunt opinari contrarium, et solite scrutando scripturas quærere veritatem."—Ockam, Dialog. Part. 3. Tract. 1. Lib. III. cap. 6. [Apud Goldast. Monarch. S. Rom. Imp. Tom. II. p. 821. Francof. 1614.]

² Greg. Lib. I. Epist. 24. [p. 34, supra.]

be a stone elect and precious, yet he lieth beside the foundation, and out of the building. Of this sort there are only six; the first, defining the Son of God to be coessential, coeternal, and coequal with the Father. The second, defining that the Holy Ghost is truly God, coessential, coeternal, and coequal with the Father and the Son. The third, the unity of Christ's person. The fourth, the distinction and diversity of his natures, in and after the personal union. The fifth, condemning some remains of Nestorianism, more fully explaining things stumbled at in the Council of Chalcedon, and accursing the heresy of Origen and his followers touching the temporal punishments of devils and wicked castaways: and the sixth, defining and clearing the distinction of operations, actions, powers, and wills in Christ, according to the diversity of his natures. These were all the lawful general councils (lawful, I say, both in their beginning, and proceeding, and continuance,) that ever were holden in the Christian Church touching matters of faith. For the seventh, which is the second of Nice, was not called about any question of faith, but of manners; in which our adversaries confess there may be something inconveniently prescribed, and so as to be the occasion of great and grievous evils; and surely that is our conceit of the seventh general council, the second of Nice: for howsoever it condemn the religious adoration and worshipping of pictures, and seem to allow no other use of them but that which is historical, yet in permitting men by outward signs of reverence and respect towards the pictures of saints to express their love towards them, and the desire they have of enjoying their happy society, and in condemning so bitterly such as upon dislike of abuses wished there might be no pictures in the Church at all, it may seem to have given some occasion, and to have opened the way unto that gross idolatry which afterwards entered into the Church. The eighth general council was not called about any question of faith or manners, but to determine the question of right between Photius and Ignatius, contending about the bishoprick of Constantinople. So that there are but seven general councils that the whole Church acknowledgeth called to determine matters of faith and manners. For the rest that were holden afterwards, which our adversaries would have to be accounted general, they are not

only rejected by us, but by the Grecians also, as not general, but patriarchal only; because either they consisted only of the Western bishops, without any concurrence of those of the East; or, if any were present, (as in the Council of Florence there were), they consented to those things which they agreed unto, rather out of other respects than any matter of their own satisfaction. And therefore, howsoever we dare not pronounce that lawful general councils are free from danger of erring (as some of our adversaries do), yet do we more honour and esteem, and more fully admit all the general councils that ever hitherto have been holden, than they do; who fear not to charge some of the chiefest of them with error, as both the second¹, and the fourth², for equalling the bishop of Constantinople to the bishop of Rome; which I think they suppose to have been an error in faith.

CHAPTER LII.

OF THE CALLING OF COUNCILS; AND TO WHOM THAT RIGHT PERTAINETH.

FROM the assurance of truth which lawful general councils have, let us proceed to see by whom they are to be called. The state of the Christian Church, the good things it enjoyeth, and the felicity it promiseth, being spiritual, is such, that it may stand, though not only forsaken, but grievously oppressed, by the great men of the world: and doth not absolutely depend on the care of such as manage the great affairs of the world, and direct the outward course of things here below: and therefore it is by all resolved on, that the Church hath her guides and rulers distinct from them that bear the sword, and that there is in the Church a power of convocating these her spiritual pastors, to consult of things concerning her welfare, though none of the princes of the world do favour her, nor reach forth unto her their helping hands: neither need we to seek far to find in whom

¹ Can. 3. [Labbe, Tom. II. col. 1126.]

² Actione 15. Canon 28. [Labbe, Tom. IV. col. 1692. Cf. cap. XL. Vol. III. p. 420.]

this power resteth : for there is no question but that this power is in them that are first, and before other, in each company of spiritual pastors and ministers ; seeing none other can be imagined, from whom each action of consequence, and each common deliberation, should take beginning, but they who are in order, honour, and place before other, and to whom the rest that govern the Church in common have an eye, as to them that are first in place among them. Hereupon we shall find that the calling of diocesan synods pertaineth to the bishop ; of provincial, to the metropolitan ; of national, to the primate ; and of patriarchal, to the patriarch ; in that they are in order, honour, and place before the rest ; though some of these (as Bellarmine¹ truly noteth) have no commanding authority over the rest. Touching diocesan synods, I shewed before² that the bishop is bound, once every year at least, to call unto him the presbyters of his church, and to hold a synod with them ; and the Council of Antioch ordaineth³ that the metropolitan shall call together the bishops of the province by his letters to μαζὲ ἃ synod. And the Council of Tarracon in Spain decreeth⁴, that if any bishop warned by the metropolitan neglect to come to the synod (except he be hindered by some corporal necessity), he shall be deprived of the communion of all the bishops until the next council. The Epaunine Council in like sort ordereth⁵, that when the metropolitan shall think good to

¹ “Primates non imperant proprie aliis episcopis ; et tamen quia primum locum inter episcopos nationis suæ tenent, jure suo concilia nationalia indicare possunt.”—Bellarm. De Concil. [Lib. i. cap. 12. col. 21.]

² Chap. 30. [Vol. III. p. 254.]

³ Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι δίχα συνόδου, καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς ἐπαρχίας. Τούτου δὲ παρόντος ἐξ ἅπαντος βέλτιον μὲν συνεῖναι αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ συλλειτουργοὺς Διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων διαλύσεις, καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξε συνόδους καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῶν ἐπισκόπων γίνεσθαι δεύτερον τοῦ ἔτους.—Concil. Antioch. Can. 19, 20. [Labbe. Tom. II. col. 593.]

⁴ “Si quis episcopus commonitus a metropolitano, ad synodum, nulla gravi intercedente necessitate corporali, venire contempserit, sicut statuta patrum censuerunt, usque ad futurum concilium cunctorum episcoporum caritatis communione privetur.”—Concil. Tarracon. Can. 6. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 698.]

⁵ “Prima et immutabili constitutione decretum est, ut cum metropolitanus fratres vel comprovinciales suos ad concilium aut ad

call his brethren the bishops of the same province to a synod, none shall excuse his absence without an evident cause. Touching national councils, and such as consist of the bishops of many provinces, such as were the councils of Africa, the calling of them pertained unto the primate, as it appeareth by the second Council of Carthage¹, in that the bishop of Carthage being the primate of Africa by virtue of particular canons concerning that matter, by his letters called together the rest of the metropolitans and their bishops. And concerning patriarchal councils, the eighth general council taketh order² that the patriarch shall have power to convocate the metropolitans that are under him; and that they shall not refuse to come when he calleth them, unless they be hindered by urgent causes. And to this purpose it was that the bishops within the patriarchship of Rome were once in the year to visit the apostolical thresholds; which to do, they take an oath still even to this day (as Cusanus³ noteth), so that it is evident that there is a power in bishops, metropolitans, ~~primates~~, and patriarchs, to call episcopal, provincial, national, and patriarchal synods; and that neither so depending of, nor subject to the power of princes, but that when they are enemies to the faith, they may exercise the same without their consent and privity, and subject them that refuse to obey their summons to such punishments as the canons of the Church do prescribe in cases of such contempt or wilful negligence. But that we may see to whom the calling of general councils doth pertain in the times of persecution, and when there are no Christian princes, we must

ordinationem cujuscunque consacerdotis crediderit evocandos, nisi causa tædii evidentis extiterit, nullus excuset.—Concil. Epaonens. Can. 1. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 712.]

¹ “Genethliacus episcopus dixit, Omnipotenti Deo gratias refero qui permisit ut secundum commune consilium in præterito, etiam juxta tenorem petitionis literarum mearum, ad Carthaginem pro fide atque utilitate ecclesiastica veniretis.”—Concil. Carthag. II. [Sub Genethlio. Labbe, Tom. II. col. 1243.]

² Concil. Constant. IV. Can. 17. [Labbe, Tom. x. col. 643.]

³ “Non sicut antiquitus metropolitani et episcopi, quanquam forte jurent adhuc ex forma antiqua, ut cap. ‘Episcopi,’ et seq. Dist. 93, annuatim ad papam conveniunt, quorum concilio solebant Romani pontifices in decidendis arduis uti.”—Cusan. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. II. cap. 18. [p. 742.]

observe, that among the patriarchs, though one be in order before another, (as the patriarch of Alexandria is before the patriarch of Antioch, and the patriarch of Rome before the patriarch of Alexandria,) yet is not one of them superior to another in degree, as bishops are to presbyters; nor so in order, honour, and place, as metropolitans are to bishops, or patriarchs to metropolitans, whom they are to ordain, or at the least to confirm; and therefore no one of them singly and by himself alone hath power to call unto him any patriarch, or any bishop subject to such patriarch; but as in case when there groweth a difference between the patriarchs of one see and another, or between any of the patriarchs and the metropolitans and bishops subject to them, the superior patriarch, not of himself alone, but with his metropolitans, and such particular bishops as are interested, may judge and determine the differences between them, if without danger of a further rent it may be done (as in the case of Chrysostom and Theophilus it could not); so if there be any matter of faith, or anything concerning the whole state of the Christian Church, wherein a common deliberation of all the pastors of the Church is necessary, he that is in order the first among the patriarchs, with the synods of bishops subject to him, may call the rest together, as being the principal part of the Church, whence all actions of this nature do take beginning. And this is that which Julius, bishop of Rome, hath, when writing to the bishops of the East, he telleth them¹, that the manner and custom is, that they should write to him and the Western bishops first; that from thence might be decreed the thing that is just: and, again, that they ought to have written to them all, that so that which is just might be decreed by all. And hence it is that Damasus, Ambrose, Brito, Valerianus², and the rest of the holy bishops assembled in the great city of Rome, out of their brotherly love, sent for the bishops of the East, as their own members, praying and desiring them to come unto them, that they might not reign alone. So that the power of calling general councils, when the Church hath no princes to assist her, is not in the pope, but in the Western synod: and yet hath not this synod any power over all the other Churches,

¹ Apud Athanas. Apol. ii. [Tom. i. p. 145.]

² Theod. Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. cap. 9.

as a supreme commander, but is only (as a principal part among the rest) to begin, procure, and set forward, as much as in her lieth, such things as pertain to the common good: neither may it by virtue of any canon, custom, or practice of the Church, excommunicate the rest for refusing to hearken when it calleth; as it appeareth by the former example, in that they of the East came not when they were called, and entreated to come to Rome by Damasus, Ambrose and the rest, but stayed at Constantinople, did some things which they disliked, and yet were forced to give way unto them, and as being greater in authority than they, bare the name of the general council: though they were assembled at Rome at the same time in a very great number. But if the greater part concur with them, they may excommunicate those few that shall wilfully and causelessly refuse to obey them. If it be said, that hence it will follow, that there is no certain means of having a general council at all times, as there is of provincial or patriarchal, (which may seem absurd) it will be answered¹, that there is not the like necessity of having general councils, as there is of having those more particular synods; and that therefore it is not absurd to grant that the Church hath not at all times certain and infallible means to have a general council, as it hath to have the other. Nay, that it hath not, it most plainly appeareth, in that² in the case of Chrysostom, greatly distressed, and grievously wronged, Innocentius professed unto him he knew no means to help him but a general council; which to obtain, he became a humble suitor to the emperor, but was so far from prevailing, that the messengers he sent were returned back again unto him with disgrace.

Thus we see to whom the calling of councils pertaineth, when there is no Christian magistrate to assist the Church; but when there is a Christian magistrate, it pertaineth to him to see that these assemblies be duly holden accordingly as the necessity of the Church requireth, and the canons prescribe. And therefore we shall find, that though Christian emperors, kings and princes, within their several

¹ Bellar. ait aliqua Concilia simpliciter esse necessaria, generalia non simpliciter sed suo quodam modo.—Lib. i. de Conciliorum Autorit. cap. 10, 11. [p. 8.]

² Sozom. Lib. viii. cap. 18.

dominions, oftentimes permitted bishops, metropolitans and patriarchs, to hold episcopal, provincial, national, or patriarchal councils, without particular intermeddling therein, when they saw neither negligence in those of the clergy, in omitting to hold such councils when it was fit, nor intrusion into their office ; yet, so often as they saw cause, they took into their own hands the power of calling these more particular synods : and touching general, there was never any that was not called by the emperor.

That emperors, kings, and princes, in their several dominions respectively called particular councils, is proved by innumerable examples. For Constantine the Great called the first Council of Arles, as it appeareth by his epistle to Chrestus¹ : and Binius confesseth it. The Council of Aquileia was called by the emperors, as it appeareth by the epistle of the council to Gratian Valentinian and Theodosius, the emperors, in the first tome of the councils². The Council of Burdegalis³ was called by the emperor against Priscillian : the Council of Agatha by the permission of the king, as appeareth in the second tome of the councils⁴. The first of Orleans was called by Clodoveus⁵. The Epaunine Council by Sigismund, the son of Gundebald⁶. The second of Orleans by the command of Childebert the French king⁷. The Council of Auverne by the permission of king Theodo-

¹ Πλείστους ἐκ διαφόρων καὶ ἀμυθῆτων τόπων ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Ἀρεταλησίῳ πόλιν εἰσω Καλανδῶν Αὐγούστων συνελθεῖν ἐκελεύσαμεν.—
Epist. Constantin. ad Chrest. [Apud Euseb. H. E. x. 5.] Latine apud
Bin. Concil. Tom. i. p. 267. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 1447.]

² “Gratias agimus vobis, clementissimi principes, qui ad removendas altercationes congregare studuistis sacerdotale concilium, et episcopis dignatione vestra honorificentiam reservastis, ut nemo deesset volens, nemo cogeretur invitus.”—Epist. Concil. Aquiliens. ad Gratian. Valentin. et Theodos. Apud Bin. Tom. i. p. 523. [Labbe, Tom. ii. col. 1178.]

³ Tom. i. Concil. p. 535, Binius ex Severo Lib. ii., et Prospero in Chronico, Maximum Imp. indixisse ostendit. [Labbe, Tom. ii. col. 1232.]

⁴ P. 304. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 521.]

⁵ Tom. ii. Concil. p. 309. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 543.]

⁶ Tom. ii. p. 314. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 717.]

⁷ Tom. ii. p. 477. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 926.]

bertus¹. The fifth of Orleans by Childebert². The first of Bracar by Ariamirus, or (as some will have it) Theodomirus³. The second of Turon with the connivance of the king⁴. The second of Bracar by Ariamirus⁵. The first Cabilon Council by the mandate of Gunthram⁶; as likewise that of Matiscon⁷ and Valentia⁸. The third of Toledo by Richaredus⁹. The Councils of Narbonne¹⁰ and Cæsar-Augusta¹¹ by Richaredus, king of Sueveland. Many other examples might be produced, but these suffice to shew what the ancient practice was, and what Christian princes in former times took upon them in this behalf. And that they did lawfully so to intermeddle, it appeareth, in that St Gregory, writing to Theodoricus¹², exhorteth him, by the crown of life, to call councils, and reform abuses.

Wherefore let us proceed to see who called the general councils that have been holden in the Christian Church. "Having perused," saith Cusanus¹³, "the acts of all the general

¹ Tom. II. p. 508. [Siv. Childebertus, vid. Sirmond. apud Labbe, Tom. V. col. 1389.]

² Tom. II. p. 514. [Labbe, Tom. V. col. 1377.]

³ Tom. II. p. 640. [Siv. Bracar. II. Labbe, Tom. VI. col. 516.]

⁴ Tom. II. p. 656. [Labbe, Tom. VI. col. 534.]

⁵ Tom. II. p. 663. [Siv. Bracar. III. Labbe, col. 577.]

⁶ Tom. II. p. 697. [Labbe, col. 649.]

⁷ Tom. II. p. 698. [Labbe, col. 658.]

⁸ Tom. II. p. 705. [Labbe, col. 669.]

⁹ Tom. II. p. 706. [Labbe, col. 693.]

¹⁰ Tom. II. p. 722. [Labbe, col. 725.]

¹¹ Tom. II. p. 956. [Labbe, col. 1331.]

¹² "Ut magnum omnipotenti Domino munus valeatis offerre, synodum congregari præcipite: . . . quatenus hanc vobis mercedem et hic et in futura vita Redemptor noster, cujus sacerdotes interius ab hoste perire non sinitis, recompenset."—Greg. Lib. VII. Epist. 115. [Al. Lib. IX. Epist. 110. Tom. II. col. 1018.]

Cusan. Lib. III. Concord. Cathol. cap. 9. [p. 790.]

¹³ "Ex superioribus habetur imperatores sanctos congregationes synodales universalium conciliorum totius ecclesiæ semper fecisse. Ita ego perlustrans gesta omnium universalium conciliorum usque ad octavum inclusive Basilii tempore celebratum, verum esse reperi. Ita in eadem octava synodo in quinta actione Heliam colendissimum presbyterum et syncellum throni Hierosolymorum in auditione omnium affatum legitur, 'Scitote quia in præteritis temporibus imperatores

councils, to the eighth inclusively, which eighth was holden in the time of Basilius the emperor, I find that they were all called by the emperors. Whereupon," saith he, "Elias, the most holy presbyter, that supplied the place of the bishop of Hierusalem, said openly in the eighth general council, in the hearing of all, that emperors did ever call councils, and that Basilius was not inferior to those that went before him, in the care of providing for the Church by synodal meetings." And Anastasius, the pope's library-keeper, in his gloss upon the same place, saith, that the emperors were wont to call councils out of the whole world. Which thing is so clear, that Hierome writing against Ruffinus¹, and taking exception against a certain council, biddeth him say what emperor it was that commanded that council to be called; and therefore Bellarmine² confesseth it, and giveth

erant qui congregabant synodos ex toto terrarum orbe, vicarios ad hujusmodi dispositionem causarum colligebant, quorum ergo et Dei cultor imperator noster universalem hanc synodum fecit. Et legi in glossula Anastasii bibliothecarii apostolicæ sedis, qui eandem synodum de Græco transtulit, super eodem dicto, quod universales synodos de omni terra imperatores colligere soliti fuerant, locales vero nunquam eos legitur collegiasse."—Cusan. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. III. cap. 13. [p. 793.]

¹ Apolog. ii. contra Ruffinum. [Al. Apol. i. Tom. II. col. 513.]

² "Prima causa fuit, quia tunc adhuc vigeat lex illa imperialis antiqua quæ prohibebat omnia collegia et frequentes hominum conventus sine imperatoris auctoritate, eo quod metuerent imperatores ne seditio aliqua fieret.

"Secunda, quia etiam si lex illa non fuisset, cum imperatores eo tempore in magna pace orbis terræ imperarent, non poterat fieri concilium nisi in aliqua urbe imperiali, nulla autem ratio sinit, ut in aliquo loco ex toto orbe conventus fiat sine licentia domini illius loci.

"Tertia, quia eo tempore concilia generalia fiebant sumptibus publicis, præsertim quoad transvectiones episcoporum ad locum concilii: vehebantur enim equis, aut vehiculis civitatum, sine dispendio ecclesiarum.

"Quarta ratio est, quia eo tempore pontifex etsi in spiritualibus esset caput omnium etiam imperatorum, tamen in temporalibus subiciebat se imperatoribus, et ideo non poterat invito imperatore aliquid agere: et cum tantum debuisset petere ab imperatore auxilium ad convocandam synodum, vel ut permitteret synodum convocari, tamen quia dominum suum temporalem eum de facto agnoscebat, supplicabat, ut juberet convocari synodum."—Bellarm. de Concil. Lib. I. cap. 13. [p. 13.]

four reasons why it was so : whereof the first is, for that there was an imperial law that there should not be any great assemblies without the emperor's privity, consent, and authority, for fear of sedition. The second, for that all those cities in which such councils might be holden, being the emperor's, they might not be holden without his consent. The third, for that the councils were holden at the emperor's charges, both in respect of carriages, and the diet and entertainment of the bishops, during the time of their being in council, as Eusebius in the life of Constantine doth testify¹, and Theodoret in his History². The fourth, for that it was fit the popes in those times, acknowledging the emperors to be their sovereign lords, should (as we read they did) as suppliants beseech them to command councils to be called. And surely, if we had neither his confession, nor reasons, we need not doubt hereof, having the testimony of all stories to confirm the same. For Ruffinus saith³, "Constantine called the Council of bishops at Nice:" and with him Theodoret agreeth, saying expressly⁴ that "Constantine called the noble Synod of Nice:" and Eusebius in his book of the life of Constantine⁵, affirming, that by his letters most honourably written, he drew together the bishops out of all parts, marshalling them as a mighty army of God, to encounter the enemies of the true faith. The occasion of calling this council was the heresy of Arius, denying the Son of God to be consubstantial with the Father. The next general council after this was the first at Constantinople, called for the suppressing of the heresy of Macedonius and Eunomius, who denied the Holy Ghost to be God co-essential and co-eternal with the Father; and this council was called by Theodosius the elder, as Theodoret testifieth⁶. The third was holden at Ephesus⁷, and called by Theodosius the younger, at the suit of Nestorius bishop of Constantinople, fearing the proceedings of Cyril bishop of Alexandria, and Coelestinus bishop of Rome, against him. The fourth council was holden at Chalcedon, and called by Martian the emperor. The occa-

¹ Euseb. de vita Constant. Lib. iii. cap. 6.

² Theodoret. Lib. i. cap. 7.

⁴ Lib. i. cap. 7.

⁶ Lib. v. cap. 9.

³ Lib. x. cap. 1.

⁵ Lib. iii. cap. 6.

⁷ Evagrius, Lib. i. cap. 3.

sion was this¹: In the time of Flavianus, bishop of Constantinople, the heresy of Eutyches began, about which a provincial council was called at Constantinople; whereunto unfortunate Eutyches being called, was found to have uttered horrible blasphemies: for he affirmed that, howsoever before the personal union there were two distinct natures in Christ, yet after the union there was but one; and besides affirmed, that his body was not of the same substance with ours: whereupon he was put from the ministry of the Church and degree of priesthood. But not enduring thus to be deprived of his place and honour, he complaineth to Theodosius the emperor, pretending that Flavianus had feigned and devised matters against him, and rested not till he procured a synod at Constantinople of the neighbour bishops to re-examine the matters, who, confirming that which was formerly done, another by his procurement was called at Ephesus by Theodosius, and Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, made president of it. In which council all things were carried in a very disordered and violent sort: for Dioscorus permitted not the bishops to speak freely, neither would he suffer the letters of the bishop of Rome (who was absent) to be read; such bishops as he disliked he violently cast out of the council, and retained none but such as were fit to serve his turn. He deposed Flavianus bishop of Constantinople, Eusebius of Dorileum, Domnus bishop of Antioch, and Theodoret, with sundry other. The legates of the bishop of Rome, offended with these violent proceedings, protested against them as unlawful; and Flavianus (who was not only deprived, but so beaten, that not long after he died) appealed to the bishop of Rome, and other bishops of the West, for help and remedy: upon the hearing of which complaints, Leo², then bishop of Rome, with many other bishops of the West, went to the emperor, and in most humble and earnest manner upon their knees besought him to call a council in Italy, which he would not yield unto, but called one at Chalcedon, commanding him and all other bishops to come unto it. The fifth council was holden at Constantinople, and called by Justinian the elder,

¹ Evagrius, Lib. i. cap. 9, 10.

² Ut patet in Epist. Leon. 42, 43. [Al. 82, 90. Tom. i. coll. 1043, 63. ed. fol. Ven. 1753.]

as Evagrius testifieth¹. I have shewed before² what the occasion of calling this council was, and that though Vigilius bishop of Rome, and the Western bishops refused to be present in it, together with the rest, or to confirm it when it ended, yet it was holden a lawful council. The sixth general council was holden at Constantinople, and was called by Constantine the Fourth, as appeareth by his letters to the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, and the rest prefixed before it: the occasion whereof was the heresy of the Monothelites, who denied the diversity of wills, actions, and operations in Christ, and consequently of natures. The seventh was holden at Nice, about the use of pictures in the Church, and called by Constantine the emperor, as appeareth by his epistle to Adrian, bishop of Rome, prefixed before it. The eighth was holden at Constantinople, about the difference between Ignatius and Photius, and called by Basilius the emperor, as appeareth by the Appendix to the acts of that council, collected out of divers authors by Surius, and extant in the second part of the third tome of councils set out by Binius. So that we see all the eight general councils were called by the emperors, and not by the popes, which thing is so clear and evident, that our adversaries dare not deny it, but seek to avoid the evidence of the truth, (against which they dare not directly oppose themselves) by all the shifts they can devise; for, first, they say³, that though it be not so proper to the pope to call councils, but that others may do it, if he assent unto it, or approve it, yet that without his mandate, assent, or approbation of such indiction and calling, no council is lawful. Secondly, they say⁴, that the emperors called councils by the authority of the pope: and, thirdly⁵,

¹ Lib. iv. cap. 13.

² Chap. L. [p. 20.]

³ "Catholici munus convocandi concilia generalia ad Romanum pontificem proprie pertinere volunt, sic tamen, ut possit etiam alius, pontifice consentiente, concilium indicere; quin etiam satis sit, si indictionem factam ipse postea ratam habeat, et confirmet."—Bellarm. de Concil. Lib. i. cap. 12. [p. 10]

⁴ "Esse revera pontificis, non imperatoris congregare synodum generalem demonstrari potest."—Ibid.

⁵ "Tantam fuisse nonnunquam Cæsarum ambitionem et insolentiam, ut tanta illa potentia intoleranter abusi, et pontificiæ dignitatis obliti, in illorum se munus et ditionem obtenderent quos suspicere et observare debuissent."—Andrad. de Concil. Auctor. [Lib. i. p. 59.]

that happily they presumed above that was fit for them to do. Wherefore let us see how they prove that they say.

That the right of calling councils belongeth to the pope, and not to the emperor, and, consequently, that the emperor may call none without his assent, Bellarmine endeavoureth to prove in this sort¹. They that meet in councils must be gathered together in the name of Christ. To be gathered in the name of Christ, is to be gathered by him that hath an authority from Christ; and none hath authority from Christ to call together the pastors of the Church, but the pope only; therefore none but the pope may call councils. To this argument we answer, that indeed they must meet in the name of Christ who assemble in councils; but that to meet in Christ's name importeth not in the promise made by Christ, a gathering together of them that meet by his authority. And that the cardinal can never prove that the pope, and he only, is authorised to call together the pastors of the Churches. That to be gathered together in Christ's name, importeth not to be called together by public authority, as Bellarmine untruly affirmeth, it is evident by his own confession, in that he acknowledgeth² that the gathering together in Christ's name, to which he hath promised to join his own presence, may be verified of many or few, bishops or laymen, private or public persons, about private or public affairs; whereas private men, meeting about private businesses, are not gathered together by any one having authority to command them, but by voluntary agreement among themselves: and therefore Andradius telleth us³, that both by the circumstance of Christ's speech, and the commentaries of the holy fathers, it is evident that his words agree to every meeting

¹ "Congregari in nomine Christi, nihil videtur esse aliud quam congregari auctoritate Christi, hoc est, ab eo qui a Christo habeat congregandi auctoritatem.

"At quis non videt ovi ne conveniat congregare pastores, an pastori congregare oves? Igitur cum pontifex pastor sit, imperator ovis, non ad imperatorem, sed ad pontificem spectabit munus concilia episcopalia convocandi."—Bellarm. ubi supra.

² "Itaque sive pauci, sive multi, sive privati, sive episcopi congregentur in nomine Christi omnes habent Christum præsentem, et adjuvantem, et obtinent quod eis convenit obtinere."—Id. Lib. II. cap. 2. [p. 27.]

³ De Conc. Author. Lib. I. pp. 13, 14.

of such men, as being joined together in faith and charity, ask anything of God; and particularly produceth Chrysostom¹, expounding Christ's words as Calvin doth, whom Bellarmine taxeth; to wit, that they are said to be gathered together in Christ's name, whom neither respect of private gain induceth, nor the ambitious desire of honour inviteth, nor the pricks of hatred and envy incite and drive forward, whom the inflamed love of peace, and the fervent affections of Christian charity impel, and not the spirit of contention; and, in one word, they who meet to seek out (by force of divine grace, with common and heartiest longing desires sought and obtained) what especially pleaseth Christ, and what is true. For they that come together to set forward and advance their own private designs, and to serve their own contentious dispositions, and to deceive miserable men with the glorious name of a council, are by no means to be thought to come together in Christ's name, nor to hold ecclesiastical assemblies, but such as are most pestilent and hurtful; of which sort they were which were holden heretofore, in the time of Constantine and Constantius, at Tyrus, Hierusalem, Antioch, Sirmium, and Seleuci, and infinite other conventicles of heretics, to which that most aptly agreeth which Leo the pope pronounceth of the second Council of Ephesus², to wit, that while private causes were promoted and set forward under pretence of religion, that was brought to pass by the impiety of a few that wounded the whole Church. But (saith Bellarmine) this note of meeting in the fear of God, with desire of finding out the truth and doing good, discerneth not lawful councils from other, seeing all that meet in councils pretend that they come together out of a desire of the common good, and not for private respects; and that therefore this is not to meet in Christ's name: which is strangely said of him; as if lawful councils, rightly proceeding in their deliberations, might not be discerned from other by anything that other may pretend: or as if this his silly argument might sway against the circumstances of Christ's words, and the commentaries of the holy fathers. Wherefore, passing from this first exception against his argument, we, secondly, answer unto it, that Christ did not give

¹ Hom. lxi. in Matthæum. [Al. lx. Tom. vii. p. 608.]

² Epist. 25. [Al. 44. Tom. i. col. 911.]

the power of calling general councils to the pope alone, as he allegeth; and in what sort Christ committed his Church to Peter, to be governed by him, as likewise in what sense it is that Leo saith¹, "Though there be many pastors, yet Peter ruleth them all," we have largely declared already². So that from hence nothing can be concluded to prove that Christ gave the power and right of calling general councils to the pope alone. And, thirdly, we say, that though it be true that Christ did not leave his Church to be governed by Tiberius Cæsar, an infidel, so continuing, or to his successors, like unto him in infidelity, yet he that promised to give "kings to be nursing fathers, and queens to be nursing mothers³" unto his Church, left it to be governed by those nursing fathers and nursing mothers, which he meant in succeeding times to raise up for the good, comfort, and peace of his faithful people, after that their faith, patience, and long suffering (more precious than gold) should be sufficiently tried in the fire of tribulation. Wherefore let us pass to the cardinal's second argument, which is no better than the first. For neither hath the pope power, either civil or ecclesiastical, to enforce all bishops to be present at such assemblies as he shall appoint, neither did the emperors in former time want means to enforce all to come when they called for them. And, touching the present state of things, we are not so foolish as to think the right of calling general councils to rest in the emperor, having so little command as now he hath, but we place it in the concurrence of Christian princes, without which no lawful general council can ever be had. His third reason, taken from the proportion of metropolitans and patriarchs calling provincial and patriarchal synods, holdeth not, as I have shewed before. Neither that which seemeth of all other to be strongest, taken from the ancient canon of the Church, that without the liking, judgment, and will of the bishop of Rome, no council may be holden, mentioned by Socrates⁴ and Sozomen⁵. For, first, the canon is not to be understood of the person of the bishop of Rome, but of him and his Western bishops. Secondly, it is not so to be understood, as if simply with-

¹ Serm. iii. in die assumptionis. [Al. Serm. iv. Tom. i. col. 16.]

² Chap. xxiv. [Vol. III. p. 183.]

³ Isai. xlix. 23.

⁴ Lib. II. cap. 13.

⁵ Lib. III. cap. 9.

out him and his bishops no general council could be holden ; but that without consulting him, and first seeking to him and his, no such council may be holden ; as I have largely shewed before ¹. For otherwise we know that Vigilius, bishop of Rome, refused to have any part in the deliberations of the fifth general council, or to confirm the acts of it when it ended. Yet was it ever holden to be a lawful general council, he and his being sufficiently sought unto, and their presence desired. As likewise Leo consented to the calling of the Council of Chalcedon, only for the determination of that question of faith that was then debated, and gave no consent to the decree therein passed touching the see of Constantinople² ; yet did this council prevail, and the succeeding bishops of Rome were forced to give way to that canon their predecessors so much disliked. And therefore, whereas the bishop of Rome's legates in the Council of Chalcedon³ do except against Dioscorus for presuming to hold a synod without the authority of the apostolic see, which they say never was lawful, nor never was done : their meaning is, not that in no case a council may be holden without the bishop of Rome, and the bishops of the West, but that there never was any such synod holden without requiring and admitting the concurrence of the bishop of Rome, and the bishops of the West. And that therefore Dioscorus was justly to be condemned, who not only took upon him by the favour of one near about the emperor to be president of the second Council of Ephesus, whereof they speak, and sit before the bishop of Rome's legates, being but bishop of the second see, but also rejected the synodal letters of Leo, and the bishops of the West, not suffering them to be read⁴ ; and, as if all the power had been in him alone, deprived the bishops of Constantinople and Antioch, notwithstanding the protestation of the Roman legates against such proceedings, and their appeal from the same ; and still carried on with his furious passions, rested not till he had pronounced sentence of excommunication against blessed Leo, and all the bishops of the West. The next testimony which Bellarmine bringeth no way proveth

¹ Chap. XLIX. [p. 13.]

² Leo, Epist. 53, 54, 55. [Al. 104, 5, 6. Tom. i. col. 1143 sqq.]

³ Act. i. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 865.]

⁴ Act. iii. p. 73. apud Bin. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 1304.]

that for proof whereof it is brought; for it is not said in the place cited by him¹ that the council holden at Constantinople against the painting of those things that are reported in the story of the Bible, and for the defacing of such pictures made for historical use, was therefore void, because it was called without the consent of the Roman bishop (as he untruly reporteth); but that it was no general council, seeing many that were present consented not, but disliked the proceedings of it; and, besides, it neither had the bishop of Rome to concur, nor his bishops, neither by their vicegerents nor by provincial letters; neither yet the patriarchs of the East, to wit, Alexandria, Antioch, and Hierusalem, nor their bishops. It is true, indeed, that the bishops assembled at Rome by the command of Theodoricus, to examine the matters objected to Symmachus the pope, told him the council should have been called by the pope, and not by him²; but they spake of particular councils, which oftentimes, by the permission of princes, were wont to be called by metropolitans, primates, or patriarchs, and not of general, whereof our question is: and yet I have shewed before, by many testimonies, that princes, when they saw cause, did call councils of this sort also. So that the speech of these bishops (affected to their patriarch, and unwilling to come to any scanning of his actions) is not much to be esteemed. The next testimony out of the epistles of Leo testifieth the cardinal careth not what he saith, so he say something; for it is true, indeed, that Leo saith³, "He directed his letters to his brethren and fellow-bishops, and summoned them to a general council," but meaneth not a council absolutely general, consisting of all the bishops of the world, of which our question is, but of all the bishops of those parts to which he writeth, being subject to him as patriarch of the West; as appeareth by the circumstances of the epistle cited. But Pelagius the Second, in his epistle to those that John of Constantinople called to his synod

¹ Concil. Nicæn. II. Act. vi. [Labbe, Tom. VIII. col. 1045.]

² Concil. Rom. IV. sub Symm. [Sive Concil. III. Labbe, Tom. V. col. 457.]

³ "Habeatur inter vos episcopale concilium, et ad eum locum qui omnibus opportunus sit, vicinarum provinciarum convenient sacerdotes."—Leo, Epist. 93. cap. 17. [Al. Epist. xv. Tom. I. col. 710.]

as general, saith¹, “The authority of calling general councils was, by singular privilege of blessed Peter, given to the apostolic see;” that no synod was ever reputed lawful that was not strengthened by the authority of the see apostolic: and again, that councils may not be holden without the judgment and liking of the bishop of Rome: therefore all is true that the cardinal hath hitherto alleged. Hereunto (though Pelagius may seem somewhat partial in his own cause) we answer, first, with Bellarmine himself², that the calling of general councils is not so proper to the bishop of Rome, but that another may do it, if he consent, or if he ratify the indiction. Secondly, that though he refuse to ratify it, if his presence and concurrence be sufficiently sought and desired, it may be lawful, and of force, as it appeareth by the fifth general council, which Vigilius refused to have any part in. The last testimony that Bellarmine produceth to prove that the power of calling councils doth not properly belong to the emperors, is a saying of Valentinian reported by Sozomen³; but it maketh clearly against himself. The circumstances of Sozomen’s report are these: the bishops of Hellespont, Bithynia, and some other, professing to believe that Christ the Son of God is consubstantial with his Father, sent a legate to Valentinian the emperor, and desired him to give them leave to meet about matters concerning the faith. To whom the emperor answered, that it was not lawful for him, being one of the laity, to intermeddle in these businesses, but willed that the priests and bishops, to whom the care of these things pertaineth, should meet in one place, wheresoever it should please them: for here we see that the bishops durst not presume to assemble themselves without the emperor’s leave: which mainly crosseth the conceit of the cardinal: neither doth the emperor say, the

¹ “Relatum est ad apostolicam sedem Joannem Constantinopolitanum episcopum universalem se scribere, vosque ex hac sua præsumptione ad synodum convocare generalem, cum generalium synodorum convocandi auctoritas apostolicæ sedi B. Petri singulari privilegio sit tradita, et nulla unquam synodus rata legatur, quæ apostolica auctoritate non fuerit fulta.”—Pelag. II. Papa, Epist. 8. ad Orientales. [Inter Concill. ed. Bin. Tom. II. p. 693.]

² De Concil. Lib. I. cap. 12.

³ Soz. H. E. Lib. VI. [cap. 7.]

calling of councils pertaineth nothing to him, but the intermeddling with the matters that are brought in question in them; and therefore biddeth them meet by themselves, not intending to be present among them; not meaning that it was not lawful for him to be present (for then he should condemn Constantine, and other that were present, either in person or by deputies), nor that it was simply unlawful for him to intermeddle (for they intermeddled, as I will shew in that which followeth), but that he might not so intermeddle as bishops and priests, to whom properly it pertaineth to determine these things; yet, if princes perceive that they who meet in councils be swayed by sinister and vile affections, not seeking the clearing of the truth, but the suppressing of it, they may, and in duty are bound, to hinder their proceedings, by all lawful means that come within the compass of their princely power.

Wherefore seeing our adversaries cannot prove that the right that princes have to call councils dependeth on the consent of the pope, and that without his consent or ratification their indiction of councils is unlawful, let us see how they can prove that the emperors called general councils by the pope's authority, and as commanded or required by him so to do, and not otherwise. We know that Liberius entreated Constantine to call a council¹, and that Leo, with other bishops of the West on their knees, besought the emperor Martian to call a council in Italy², and could not obtain it, but were commanded to come to the council the emperor appointed at Chalcedon, and were straitly charged and required to come or send unto it at the time appointed; not finding so much favour as to have it deferred for a little time. And therefore it is greatly to be feared that Bellarmine's allegations will be too weak to prove that the emperors called councils by the pope's authority, and as commanded by him. For, first, touching the Council of Nice, Ruffinus sheweth³ that Arius, having broached his devilish heresy, and being often admonished by his bishop, Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, no way reforming himself, Alexander wrote to other bishops, signifying what was fallen out in his Church, so that in the

¹ Theod. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II.

² Leo, Ep. 42, 43. [Al. 82, 90. coll. 1043, 63.]

³ Lib. I. cap. 2.

end the matter came to the emperor's ears; who thereupon (by the counsel of the bishops advising him so to do) called the Council of Nice; and Andradius¹ saith he was induced so to do by the persuasion of Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, but that the bishop of Rome commanded him so to do, it no way appeareth. Indeed the author of the Pontifical saith², "Constantine called it with the consent of Sylvester." And the fathers, in the sixth general council (out of him or some such author) say³, that Constantine and Sylvester called it. But the author of the Pontifical is of no credit in this behalf, reporting in the same place the curing of Constantine's leprosy, which is acknowledged by all learned men to be a mere fable: and, besides, Sozomen⁴ is of opinion that the Council of Nice was not holden in the time of Sylvester, but of Julius that succeeded him; wherefore let us proceed to the next proof. "Damasus, the bishop of Rome," saith Bellarmine, "called the first Council of Constantinople, and Theodosius the elder did but send his letters to the bishops to that purpose. Therefore the calling of general councils pertaineth to the pope." How little the Jesuits care what they write, it appeareth by the dealing of the cardinal in this matter. For whereas both Socrates⁵, Sozomen⁶, and Theodoret⁷, do testify that the emperor called the bishops to Constantinople, without making any mention of the letters of the bishop of Rome, and that they came upon his summons, he saith it was not the emperor that called them to Constantinople, but the pope; and that the emperor did nothing but transport and convey his letters unto them, wholly mistaking the story. For the letters he speaketh of were not to call them to Constantinople, whither they came upon the emperor's summons, but to Rome, where the bishops of the West were assembled in council, whither they refused to come. Neither doth he shew any more faithfulness and sincerity in that he hath touching the Council of Ephesus.

¹ De Auth. Gen. Conc. Lib. i. p. 59.

² "Hujus temporibus factum est concilium cum ejus consensu in Nicæa Bithyniæ."—Damas. in Lib. Pontif. in vit. Sylvestri. [Inter Conc. ed. Bin. Tom. i. p. 259.]

³ Act. xviii. p. 88. apud Bin. [Labbe, Tom. vii. col. 1085.]

⁴ Lib. i. cap. 16.

⁵ Lib. v. cap. 8.

⁶ Lib. vii. cap. 7.

⁷ Lib. v. cap. 7.

For whereas the stories report¹, that things were managed in that council by the industry of Cyril, with the concurrence of the authority of Cœlestinus, and that Cyril was there present and president, not only in his own name, but also as supplying the place of Cœlestinus, he inferreth from hence that it was the pope that called the council. That the Council of Chalcedon was called by the emperor, it is most evident, the pope (as I have shewed) being not able to prevail so much as to get it deferred for a time: yet will Bellarmine prove that Leo called that council, though not without the help of the emperor. First, out of the epistle of the emperor to Leo, prefixed before the council. And, secondly, out of the epistle of the bishops of the lesser Moesia, written to the emperor. But these proofs are too weak: for the emperor having resolved to have a council, telleth Leo in his epistle², that it remaineth that he come unto it; or, if it seem troublesome unto him, that he signifyeth so much to him by his letters, that he may write to Illyricum, Thracia, and the East, that all the holy bishops may come together into the place he shall appoint; and may declare, publish, and set forth by their decree, such things as may be behoveful to the religion of Christians and the catholic faith, accordingly as his holiness also shall define, according to the ecclesiastical canons: but saith nothing whence it may be inferred that Leo called the council. For I think it will not follow, that because the bishop of Rome was to come to the council, or otherwise to send synodal and

¹ Const. ex Evag. Lib. i. cap. 4. Epist. Cœlest. ad Cyril. [In Concil. Ephes. Part 1. cap. 15. Tom. iii. col. 896, sqq.] Photio in Lib. de vii. Synod. [p. 176, ad calc. Nomocanon. ed. 4to. Par. 1615.]

² Λοιπόν ἐστὶν ἵνα εἰ ἀρέσκη τῇ σῇ ὁσιότητι ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ μέρη παραγίνεσθαι, καὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἐπιτελέσαι, τοῦτο ποιεῖν τῷ περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν ἔρωτι καταξιώσῃ. Καὶ γὰρ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἐπιθυμίαις ποιήσῃ τὸ ἱκανὸν ἢ σὴ ὁσιότης, καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ θρησκείᾳ τὰ χρήσιμα διατυπώσῃ. Εἰ δὲ ἐπαχθὲς τοῦτό ἐστι, τὸ σὲ πρὸς ταῦτα παραγίνεσθαι τὰ μέρη, τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἡμῖν ἰδίοις καταμηνώσῃ γράμμασιν ἢ σὴ ἀγιωσύνη, ὥστε πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν ἀνατολὴν, καὶ τὴν Θράκην, καὶ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν, θεῖαι ἡμέτεραι ἀποσταλήσονται προσφωνήσεις· ὅπως πρὸς τινα ὠρισμένον τόπον, ἔνθα ἂν ἡμῖν δόξῃ, πάντες οἱ ἀγιώτατοι ἐπίσκοποι παραγίνωνται, καὶ ἅπερ τῇ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας εἰρήνῃ καὶ τῇ καθολικῇ πίστει συμφέρουσι καθὼς ἢ σὴ ἀγιωσύνη κατὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς κανόνας διέτυπωσε κατατεθήσονται.—Epist. Marciani ad Leonem. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 833. D.]

provincial letters from himself and his bishops, that so with one uniform consent things might be agreed on, therefore the pope called the council. The epistle of the bishops of the lesser Moesia is less to the purpose than the former of the emperor; for they say¹, "The Council of Chalcedon was holden by the command of Leo, bishop of Rome, the chief of all bishops, and the most honourable bishop and patriarch Anatolius," joining the bishop of Rome and the bishop of Constantinople together in commanding this council to be holden. So that if the cardinal will prove from hence that the pope called the council, he may prove likewise that the patriarch of Constantinople called it. But the truth is, they might command the bishops under them to assemble, after they received the emperor's letters, but the council was called by neither of them. And therefore whereas Gelasius saith², the see apostolic only decreed that the Council of Chalcedon should be holden, his meaning is not to exclude the emperor and his authority, but the other patriarchal sees, and to let the world know that the see of Rome alone, by the authority it had with the emperor, prevailed so far as to obtain his royal edict for the gathering together of the bishops in this council; or else he speaketh untruly, for we know the emperor took upon him in such peremptory sort to call this council, that he would not be intreated by the Roman bishop, and other bishops of the West, neither for the time nor place, but out of his absolute authority appointed both, as it seemed good unto himself. Three other proofs the Jesuit hath yet behind. The first is out of Socrates, out of whom he saith it may be proved that Julius the pope called the Council of Sardica; but how I cannot tell. For Socrates saith expressly³ that the Council of Sardica was called by the two emperors, Constans and

¹ "In Chalcedonensium civitate multis sanctis episcopis convenientibus per jussionem Leonis Romani pontificis, qui vere caput est episcoporum, et venerabilis sacerdotis et patriarchæ Anatolii, concilio celebrato, sub duobus imperatoribus confirmata est."—Inter Epist. ad Concilium pertinentes. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 1860. B.]

² "Ac pro veritate [sedes apostolica] ut synodus Chalcedonensis fieret, sola decrevit."—Gelas. Epist. xiii. ad Episc. Dardan. [Inter Concill. Labbe, Tom. v. col. 329 B.]

³ Lib. ii. cap. 16. [al. 20.]

Constantius, whereof the one reigned in the East, the other in the West; the one by his letters desiring it, the other most willingly performing that he desired. But of Julius calling it he maketh no mention. If the Jesuit think it may be proved that Julius called it, because, among them that sought to excuse themselves from coming upon feigned pretences, some complained of the shortness of the time appointed for this meeting, and cast the blame thereof upon Julius, he is greatly deceived, seeing Julius might be blamed for procuring the emperor Constans by his letters directed to Constantius his brother, to set so short a time as he did; though he did not call the council himself. And that it was not the authority of the pope that brought the bishops together in this council, it is most evident, in that when he wrote to them to restore Athanasius to his place¹, they rejected his letters with contempt, marvelling that he meddled more with their matters than they did with his. Neither is it likely that Constantius would be commanded by Julius to call this council, seeing when the council had commanded Athanasius to be restored to his place, yet he refused to give way, till his brother threatened to make war upon him for it². But if this proof fail, Bellarmine hath a better; for he saith, Sixtus the Third, in an epistle to those of the East, writeth, that Valentinian the emperor called a synod by his authority, whence it followeth that the calling of general councils pertaineth in such sort to the popes, that the emperors may not call them but by warrant and authority from them. If the reader will be pleased to consider of this proof, he shall easily discern how little credit is to be given to jesuited papists in their allegations. For first, Sixtus doth not say the emperor Valentinian called a synod by his authority, but that he commanded a synod should be called by his authority; that is, commanded him to call it. And the author of the *Pontifical*³, speaking of the calling of the same synod, saith, the emperor commanded that the council and holy synod

¹ Sozom. Lib. iii. cap. 7.

² Socrat. Lib. ii. cap. 18. [al. 22.]

³ "Hic post annum unum et menses octo, incriminatur a quodam Basso. Eodem tempore audiens hoc Valentinianus Augustus jussit concilium et sanctam synodum congregari."—Damas. in Lib. Pontif. in vit. Sixti III. [Inter Concill. Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 499.]

should be congregated. Secondly, it was but a diocesan synod, consisting of the presbyters and clergy of Rome called together about certain crimes objected to Sixtus, whereof he purged himself before them. Now I think it will not follow that, if the bishop of Rome might call together the clergy of his own diocese, the calling of general councils pertained to him only; or that, if the emperor thought fit rather to command the Roman bishop to call together his clergy, than to do it immediately by his own authority, therefore he would have done the like in summoning general councils, consisting of all the bishops of the world. Wherefore let us pass to the last of his proofs, taken out of the epistle of Adrian the Second to Basileius the emperor, prefixed before the eighth general council, which undoubtedly, upon proof, will be found to be no better than the rest. For first, it is grounded on the saying of a pope, that lived many hundred years after Christ, and long after the division of the empire, and the withdrawing of the Church of Rome from the obedience of the emperors of the East, and so not much to be regarded in a question concerning the right of the emperor. Secondly, he speaketh not in his own name, but in the name of all the West Church. And thirdly, that he saith¹, "We will that by your industry a great assembly be gathered," proveth not that the pope took upon him peremptorily to command the emperor. For seeing in the whole epistle he useth words of exhorting, praying, and entreating, these words may seem to import no more, but, Our desire is that there should be such an assembly by your industry, in which our legates sitting as presidents, matters may be examined, and all things righted. Or we, though no way subject to your empire, yet, at your request, are content that such a council be called, and that our legates do sit in it, with the bishops subject to your imperial command. For that Basileius called the council, appeareth by his words to the bishops in the beginning of it.

But if none of these exceptions against the emperor's ancient practice of calling councils will hold, our adversaries, rather than they will suffer the pope to be a loser,

¹ Adrian wrote this Epistle after he had received the emperor's letters calling him to the council, and therefore it may be thought that when he saith, "We will," &c., he expresseth his consenting to the emperor's mandate, and not any commanding of him.

will not stick to charge the emperors with usurpation, and taking more on them than pertained to them. "Whosoever," saith Andradius¹, "shall think that the power and authority of emperors is to be esteemed and judged of by the things done by them in the Church, rather than by Christ's institution, the decrees of the elders, and the force and nature of the papal dignity itself, he shall make unbridled pride and headlong fury to be chief commander, and to sway most in the ecclesiastical hierarchy." Thus doth Andradius censure the ancient Christian emperors, and exemplifieth not only in Constantius the Arian, but Justinian also (as himself confesseth) a good emperor. For refutation of which most unjust exception we say, that howsoever it be not to be doubted, but that ill-affected or ill-directed emperors did sometimes that which was not fit, yet that in calling councils by their princely authority, and commanding all bishops to come or send unto them, they exceeded not the bounds and limits of their commission, it is evident, in that never any bishop durst blame them for it. But all sought unto them, even the bishops of Rome themselves, praying them so to do, as I shewed before by the examples of Liberius, Innocentius, and Leo: which thing also Bellarmine himself confesseth². Wherefore seeing it is evident, by the allowed practice of former times, that the calling of general councils belonged to the emperors, after they became Christians, let us see what they took on them in these councils, after they had called them; and, consequently, what right, power, and authority Christian princes have to manage the affairs, and command the holy bishops and ministers of the Church.

¹ Lib. i. de Authorit. Gener. Conc. p. 59.

² De Conc. Lib. i. cap. 13.

CHAPTER LIII.

OF THE POWER AND AUTHORITY EXERCISED BY THE ANCIENT EMPERORS IN GENERAL COUNCILS: AND OF THE SUPREMACY OF CHRISTIAN PRINCES IN CAUSES AND OVER PERSONS ECCLESIASTICAL.

THE first thing that Christian emperors in ancient times assumed to themselves in general councils was, to be present in them when they pleased: as we read of Constantine the Great, that he not only called the Council of Nice, but was present in it¹; of Martian, that he was present in the council of Chalcedon, with Pulcheria the empress²; of Constantine the Fourth, that he was present in the sixth general council³; and Basileius in the eighth⁴: and when they pleased to be absent, to send some in their stead; as Theodosius the younger sent Candidianus to be present for him in the Council of Ephesus⁵, and Martianus, though present in the first session⁶, yet being for the most part of the time absent, appointed certain secular judges to sit in the Council of Chalcedon⁷.

The second thing that they assumed to them was, to sit in the highest place: and so we read, that in the council of Nice⁸, all the bishops being placed in order, the emperor (some few going before him) entered into the council; at whose coming all the bishops rose up, and did reverence unto him, and he passed through the midst of them, as an heavenly angel of God, having on a purple robe, and shining vesture bedecked with gold, pearls, and precious stones; and stayed not till he came to the highest place, where a little seat of gold was prepared: wherein yet he sat not down, but

¹ Euseb. de vita Const. Lib. iii. cap. 10.

² Conc. Chalced. Act. i. p. 4. apud Bin. [Labbe, Act. vi. Tom. iv. col. 1470.]

³ Conc. 6. Act. i. Tom. iii. apud Bin. p. 8. [Labbe, Tom. vii. col. 628.]

⁴ Ut patet in Act. Conc. 8. [e.g. Act. vi. Labbe, Tom. x. col. 566.]

⁵ Act. Ephes. Conc. Tom. i. cap. 32. [ed. Bin. p. 732.]

⁶ [Not till the sixth session. See the note of the editors, Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 863.]

⁷ Vide Act. Synod. Chalced.

⁸ Euseb. de vita Constant. Lib. iii. cap. 10.

stood upright till the bishops had bowed and beckoned unto him to sit down. In like sort we read of Martian, that he sat in the highest place in the Council of Chalcedon, with the senators and judges by his side¹; and of Constantine the Fourth, that he sat in the highest place in the sixth general council². And when they were not present in person, the senators and secular judges deputed by them sat in the midst in the highest room: as we shall find they did in the Council of Chalcedon, at such times as the emperor was away.

The third thing which the emperors took on them either in their own persons, or by such as they deputed, besides the defence of the bishops from outward violence, was a kind of direction of things that were to be done in the council. This direction consisted in seven things: First, in providing that nothing should be done passionately, violently, and by clamour of multitudes, but that the ground of each thing should be sought out. Secondly, in providing that nothing should be extorted by fear and terror from them that meet to decree for truth and justice, without all private and sinister respects. Thirdly, in seeing that nothing should be omitted that the holy canons require to be done for the finding out of that which is true and right; that so both error and wrong might be avoided. Fourthly, in not suffering them to pass from one thing to another, before that they had in hand were fully ended; nor to digress to things impertinent, which might breed confusion, and hinder the effecting of that which was intended; and in putting an end to each action, when they saw as much done as was fit, or otherwise deferring the farther deliberation to some other time. Fifthly, when they found an indisposition in them to agree to such and so clear determination of matters in question, as might satisfy all, to dissolve the council and to call another. Sixthly, in judging and pronouncing according to that they saw alleged with the approbation and assent of the council. Lastly, in subscribing and confirming by their royal assent the things resolved and agreed on. All these things (as Cusanus rightly noteth³)

¹ Ubi supra.

² Ubi supra.

³ "Ipse imperator habet curare, ut detur per suos iudices et senatores maxima diligentia, ut canonico more sancto et justo servato ordine, non ex abrupto vel præcipitanter aut passionate, per timorem vel impressionem seriatim absque materiæ inculcatione tractanda

the emperors took on them in general councils; and the performance of every of these we may find in the Council of Chalcedon, but specially the first and the fifth. For whereas the ten bishops of Egypt¹ that were there in the name of the rest refused to subscribe to the acts of the council, till they should have a new patriarch chosen and ordained (not out of any dislike of that was done, or as being of another judgment, but because the custom of their country permitted them not to subscribe unless their patriarch went before them in so doing), there was a general clamour against them, of all the bishops, crying out aloud, that they were to be excommunicated and anathematized. And though they fell prostrate on their faces before the whole council, professing their refusal to proceed from no private conceit, and desiring to be pitied, and not urged to any formal subscription, for that if they should do any such thing, they were sure never to be endured by the bishops of their country; yet could they find no favour or relenting, till the secular judges, out of their discretion, finding the true ground of this their stay to subscribe, to be such as they alleged, delivered their opinion, that it was a thing reasonable, and in pity to be granted unto them, that they should be foreborne, and stay in the city till their archbishop were chosen: which when Paschasius the legate of Rome heard, he said, If your glorious excellency command that it be so, let them put in sureties not to depart the city till their archbishop be chosen; and the rest of the bishops agreed to him. So that the matter which was ready to be swayed by the whole council, with clamour and outcry in a very violent sort, was stayed by the wisdom of the secular judges; the poor distressed suppliants pitied, and the hard proceeding of the bishops against them hindered. And in the same council we read², that the bishops having agreed on a form of confession of faith, were desired by the emperor's deputies, the secular judges, for the satisfaction of all men, to add certain words

expediantur, ut nihil de institutis per sacros canones, ad inquirendam veritatem, tam in judicialibus definitionibus quam etiam disputatoriis omittatur, tanquam neutrales iudices.—Cusan. de Concord. Cathol. Lib. III. cap. 18. [p. 800.]

¹ Concil. Chalced. Act. iv. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 1399.]

² *Actione ead.*

out of the epistle of Leo, to that form of confession: which when they all (some few of the East, and the legates of Rome excepted) with great clamour refused to do, the judges told them, the emperor should know of their clamorous courses; and that if they would not agree together to make some good end, a council should be called in the West and they forced to walk thither.

Neither did Christian emperors only thus intermeddle in general councils, as chief lords of the whole world, but particular kings and princes likewise within their several dominions and kingdoms did as much. For we read that Charlemagne¹, with the advice and counsel of the servants of God and his nobles, gathered together into a synod all the bishops in his kingdom, with their presbyters, that they might advise him how the law of God and religion (well-established in the times of former princes, but now much fallen and decayed) might be restored, and Christian people attain salvation, and not be misled by false priests: and by the advice of his bishops and nobles, according to this his good intent and purpose, he ordained bishops in his cities, and set over them Bonifacius as their archbishop: he decreed that a synod should be holden once every year, that in his presence the decrees of the canons and laws of the Church might be restored, and what should be found amiss in Christian religion amended: he degraded false priests and deacons, and clerks that were whoremongers and adulterers: he prescribed penance to certain offenders, and subjected them to imprisonment and other corporal punishments and corrections. This act of Charlemagne is alleged by Cusanus², and greatly approved: yea, the same Cusanus³ complaining of the abuses

¹ Naucier. Vol. II. Gener. 25.

² “Ecce regem congregare concilium, et quæ sunt justa cum aliis ordinare. Et utinam ad hoc hodie principes etiam operam darent,” &c.—Cusan. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. III. cap. 8. [p. 790.]

³ “Non moveat quempiam commune dictum quod sæcularis potentia de hac ecclesiastica ordinatione ita introducta ex auctoritate Romani pontificis, sive in collationibus beneficiorum, sive gratiis ac litibus, se impedire non habeat. Si de ecclesiasticis constitutionibus ad augmentum divini cultus, et pro libertate Deo servientium institutis, nihil immutare habeat laicalis potestas, habet tamen nihilominus providere reipublicæ illis præfatis semper salvis; non deceret quempiam dicere sanctissimos imperatores qui pro bono reipublicæ in electionibus epis-

of the court of Rome (in that things are carried thither that should be determined in the provinces where they begin, in that the pope intermeddleth in giving benefices before they be void, to the prejudice of the original patrons, by reason whereof young men run to Rome and spend their best time there, carrying gold with them and bringing back nothing but paper, and many like confusions, which the canons forbid and need reformation,) addeth, that the common saying, that the secular power may not restrain or alter these courses brought in by papal authority, should not move any man: for that, though the power of temporal princes ought not to change any thing established canonically for the honour of God and good of such as attend his service, yet it may and ought to provide for the common good, and see that the ancient canons be observed. Neither ought any one to say that the ancient christian emperors did err, that made so many sacred constitutions, or that they ought not so to have done: "For," saith he, "I read that popes have desired them for the common good, to make laws for the punishment of offences committed by those of the clergy. And if any one shall say that the force of all these constitutions depended upon papal or synodal approbation, I will not insist upon it, though I have read and collected fourscore and six chief heads of ecclesiastical rules and laws made by old emperors, and many other made by Charles the Great and his successors; in which order is taken, not only concerning others, but even concerning the bishop of Rome himself, and other

coporum, et collationibus beneficiorum, et observatione religionum multas sacras constitutiones ediderunt, errasse, et ita statuere non potuisse. Immo legimus Romanum pontificem eosdem rogasse ut constitutiones pro cultu divino, pro bono publico, etiam contra peccatores de clero ederent. Et si forte diceretur, robur omnium illarum constitutionum ab approbatione apostolicæ aut synodicæ auctoritatis dependebat, nolo in hoc insistere, licet 86. capitula regularum ecclesiasticarum antiquorum imperatorum legerim et collegerim, quæ hic inserere super vacuum foret, et multa alia Caroli Magni et ipsius successorum; in quibus etiam de ipso Romano pontifice, ac aliis omnibus patriarchis, dispositiones, quod de consecrandis episcopis et aliis capere debeant, inveniantur. Et tamen nunquam reperi aut papam rogatum ut approbaret, vel etiam eapropter quia si approbatio ipsius intervenit ligasse legitur: bene ut superius loco quodam habetur, aliquos Romanos pontifices fateri se illas ordinationes venerari."—Id. cap. 40. [p. 820.]

patriarchs, what they shall take of the bishops they ordain, and many like things; and yet did I never find that the pope was desired to approve them, or that they have no binding force but by virtue of his approbation. But I know right well that some popes have professed their due regard of those imperial and princely constitutions." But though it were granted that those constitutions had no further force than they received from the canons, wherein the same things were formerly ordered, or from synodal approbation, yet might the emperor now reform things amiss by virtue of old canons, and princes' constitutions grounded on them. Yea, if he should with good advice (considering the decay of piety and divine worship, the overflowing of all wickedness, and the causes and occasions thereof,) recall the old canons, and the ancient and most holy observation of the elders, and reject whatsoever privileges, exemptions, or new devices contrary thereunto, (by virtue whereof suits, complaints and controversies, the gifts and donations of benefices, and the like things, are unjustly brought to Rome, to the great prejudice of the whole Christian Church), I think no man could justly blame him for so doing. Yea, he saith the emperor Sigismund had an intention so to do, and exhorteth him, by no feigned allegations of men favouring present disorders, to be discouraged: for that there is no way to preserve the peace of the Church (whatsoever some pretend to the contrary), unless such lewd and wicked courses, proceeding from ambition, pride, and covetousness, be stopped, and the old canons revived.

From that which hath been observed touching the proceeding of Christian kings and emperors in former times, in calling councils, in being present at them, and in making laws for persons and causes ecclesiastical, it is easy to gather what the power of princes is in this kind, and that they are indeed supreme governors over all persons, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil: which is that we attribute to our kings and queens, and the papists so much stumble at, as if some new and strange opinion were broached by us. Wherefore, for the satisfaction of all such as are not maliciously obstinate, refusing to hear what may be said, I will endeavour in this place, upon so fit an occasion, to clear whatsoever may be questionable in this point; and will first

entreat of the power and right that princes have in causes ecclesiastical, and then of that they have over persons ecclesiastical: and in treating of causes ecclesiastical, I will first distinguish the diversities of them, and the power of meddling with them. Causes ecclesiastical therefore are of two sorts; for some are originally and naturally such; and some only in that (by favour of princes out of due consideration) they are referred to the cognisance of ecclesiastical persons, as fittest judges, as the probations of the testaments of them that are dead, the disposition of the goods of them that die intestate, and if there be any other like. Causes ecclesiastical of the first sort are either merely and only ecclesiastical and spiritual, or mixed. Merely ecclesiastical are of three sorts. First, matters of faith and doctrine. Secondly, matters of sacraments, and the due administration of them. Thirdly, the orders, degrees, and ordination of such as attend the ministry of the word and sacraments. Mixedly ecclesiastical are of two sorts; either such as in one respect belong to one kind of cognisance, and in another to another, as marriages, which are subject to civil disposition, in that they are political contracts, and to spiritual, in that they are ordered by the divine law; or such as are equally censurable by civil and ecclesiastical authority, as murders, adulteries, blasphemies, and the like. All which in the time when there is no Christian magistrate, or when there is over-great negligence in the civil magistrate, are to be punished by the spiritual guides of the Church. Whereupon we shall find that the ancient councils prescribed penance to offenders in all these kinds. But when there is a Christian magistrate doing his duty, they are to be referred specially either to the one or the other of these; and, accordingly, to be censured by the one or the other; as we see the punishment of adultery, usury, and things of that nature, is referred to ecclesiastical persons, and the punishment of murder, theft, and the like, to the civil magistrate. This distinction of causes ecclesiastical premised, it is easy to see what authority princes have in causes ecclesiastical. For first, touching those causes that are ecclesiastical, only in that they are put over to the cognisance of spiritual persons, there is no question but that the prince hath a supreme power, and that no man may meddle with them any otherwise than as he is pleased to allow.

And likewise touching those things which in one respect pertain to civil jurisdiction, and in another to spiritual, or which are equally censurable by both, there is no question but that the prince hath supreme power, in that they pertain to civil jurisdiction. So that the only question is, touching things naturally and merely spiritual. The power in these is of two sorts : of order, and of jurisdiction. The power of order is the authority to preach the word, minister the sacraments, and to ordain ministers to do all these things : and this power the princes of the world have not at all, much less the supreme authority to do these things, but it is proper to the ministers of the Church. And if princes meddle in this kind, they are like to Uzziah¹, that offered to burn incense, for which he was stricken with leprosy. The power of jurisdiction standeth first in prescribing and making laws ; secondly, in hearing, examining, and judging of opinions touching matters of faith ; and thirdly, in judging of things pertaining to ecclesiastical order and ministry, and the due performance of God's divine worship and service. Touching the first, the making of a law is the prescribing of a thing under some pain or punishment, which he that so prescribeth hath power to inflict. Whence it is consequent that the prince (having no power to excommunicate, put from the sacraments, and deliver to Satan) can of himself make no canons, such as councils of bishops do, who command or forbid things, under pain of excommunication, and like spiritual censures ; but (having power of life and death, of imprisonment, banishment, confiscation of goods, and the like) he may, with the advice and direction of his clergy, command things pertaining to God's worship and service under these pains, both for profession of faith, ministration of sacraments, and conversation fitting to Christians in general, or men of ecclesiastical order in particular ; and, by his princely power, establish things formerly defined and decreed against whatsoever error, and contrary ill-custom, and observation. And herein he is so far forth supreme, that no prince, prelate, or potentate, hath a commanding authority over him : yet do we not (whatsoever our clamorous adversaries untruly report, to make us odious,) make our princes with their

¹ 2 Chron. xxvi. 16.

civil states supreme in the power of commanding in matters concerning God, and his faith, and religion, and without seeking the direction of their clergy, (for the statute that restored the title of supremacy to the late Queen Elizabeth, of famous and blessed memory, provideth¹ that none shall have authority newly to judge anything to be heresy, not formerly so judged, but the high court of parliament, with the assent of the clergy in their convocation), nor with them so as to command what they think fit, without advising with others, partakers of like precious faith with them, when a more general meeting for farther deliberation may be had, or the thing requireth it. Though, when no such general concurrence may be had, they may by themselves provide for those parts of the Church that are under them. From the power and authority we give our princes in making laws, and prescribing how men shall profess and practise touching matters of faith and religion, let us proceed to treat of the other part of power ascribed unto them, which is in judging of errors in faith, and disorders, or faults in things pertaining to ecclesiastical order and ministry, according to former determinations and decrees. And first, touching errors in faith, or aberrations in the performance of God's worship and service, there is no question but that bishops and pastors of the Church (to whom it pertaineth to teach the truth) are the ordinary and fittest judges: and that ordinarily and regularly, princes are to leave the judgment thereof unto them.

¹ "Provided always and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such person or persons to whom your highness, your heirs or successors, shall hereafter, by letters patent under the great seal of England, give authority to have or execute any jurisdiction, power or authority spiritual, or to visit, reform, order or correct any errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, or enormities by virtue of this act, shall not in any wise have authority or power to order, determine, or adjudge, any matter or cause to be heresy, but only such as heretofore have been determined, ordered, or adjudged to be heresy by the authority of the canonical scriptures, or by the first four general councils, or any of them, or by any other general council wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the said canonical scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be ordered, judged or determined to be heresy by the high court of parliament of this realm, with the assent of the clergy in their convocation: any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding."—1 Eliz. cap. 1. § 20. [Statutes at large, Vol. iv. p. 354. Lond. 1819.]

But because they may fail, either through negligence, ignorance, or malice, princes having charge over God's people, and being to see that they serve and worship him aright, are to judge and condemn them that fall into gross errors, contrary to the common sense of Christians; or into any other heresies formerly condemned. And though there be no general failing, yet if they see violent and partial courses taken, they may interpose themselves to stay them, and cause a due proceeding, or remove the matter from one company and sort of judges to another. And hereunto the best learned in former times agreed, clearly confessing that when something is necessary to be done, and the ordinary guides of the Church do fail, or are not able to yield that help that is needful, we may lawfully fly to other for relief and help. "When these two things do meet in the state of the Church," saith Waldensis¹, "to wit, extreme necessity, admitting no delay, and the want of ability to yield relief in the ordinary pastor or guide, we must seek an extraordinary father and patron, rather than suffer the frame, fabric, and building of the Lord Christ to be dissolved." If any man happily say that Ambrose², a most worthy bishop, refused to come to the court to be judged in a matter of faith by Valentinian the emperor, and asked, when ever he heard that emperors judged bishops in matters of faith? seeing if that were granted, it would follow that laymen should dispute and debate matters, and bishops hear; yea, that bishops should learn of laymen, (whereas, contrariwise, if we look over the Scriptures, and consider the course of times past, we shall find that bishops have judged of emperors in matters of faith, and not emperors of bishops), and that therefore it cannot be without usurpation of that which no way pertaineth to them, that princes should at all meddle with the judging

¹ "Ubi ista duo concurrunt in communitate ecclesie, scilicet extrema et non ulterius differenda necessitas, et ordinarii pastoris, aut præsidis ad succurrendum desperata facultas, quærendus est extraordinarius pater, prius quam Christi Domini fabrica dissolvatur."—Thom. Waldens. Doctrinal. Fid. Lib. II. Art. 3. cap. 80. [Tom. I. p. 396. Ven. 1571.]

² "Quando audisti, clementissimo imperator, in causa fidei laicos de episcopo judicasse?"—Ambros. Epist. XXXII. [al. LXXXIII. Tom. II. col. 860. E.]

of matters of faith. This objection, what shew soever it may seem to carry, is easily answered, for first, the thing that Valentinian took on him was not to judge according to former definitions, but he would have judged of a thing already resolved on in a general council, called by Constantine the emperor, as if it had been free, and not yet judged of at all: whereas we do not attribute to our princes, with their civil estates, power newly to adjudge anything to be heresy without the concurrence of the state of their clergy, but only to judge in those matters of faith that are resolved on, according to former resolutions. And besides this, Valentinian was known to be partial; he was but a novice, and the other judges he meant to associate to himself suspected; and therefore Ambrose had reason to do as he did. Wherefore let us proceed to the other part of the power of jurisdiction, that consisteth in judging of things pertaining to ecclesiastical order and ministry. Concerning which point, first it is resolved, that none may ordain any to serve in the work of the ministry but the spiritual pastors and guides of the Church. Secondly, that none may judicially degrade or put any one lawfully admitted from his degree and order, but they alone. Neither do our kings or queens challenge any such thing to themselves; but their power standeth, first, in calling together the bishops and pastors of the Church, for the hearing and determining of such things, and in taking all due care that all things be done orderly in such proceedings, without partiality, violence, or precipitation, according to the canons and imperial laws made to confirm the same. Secondly, when they see cause, in taking things from those whom they justly suspect, or others except against, and appointing others in their places. Thirdly, in appointing some selected men for the visitation of the rest. Fourthly, in joining temporal men in commission with the spiritual guides of the Church, to take view of, and to censure the actions of men of ecclesiastical order, because they are directed not only by canons, but laws imperial. Fifthly, when matters of fact are objected, for which the canons and laws imperial judge men deprivable, the prince, when he seeth cause, and when the state of things require it, either in person, if he please, or by such other as he thinketh fit to appoint, may hear and examine the proofs of the same, and either ratify that others

did, or void it ; as we see in the case of Cæcilianus¹, to whom it was objected that he was a traditor, and Felix Antumnitanus, that ordained him, was so likewise, and that therefore his ordination was void. For first, the enemies of Cæcilianus, disliking his ordination, made complaints against him to Constantine ; and he appointed Melchiades, and some other bishops, to sit and hear the matter. From their judgment there was a new appeal made to Constantine. Whereupon he sent to the proconsul to examine the proofs that might be produced : but from his judgment the complainants appealed the third time to Constantine, who appointed a synod at Arles². All this he did to give satisfaction (if it were possible) to these men, and so to procure the peace of the Church. And though he excused himself for meddling in these businesses, and asked pardon for the same ; (for that regularly he was to have left these judgments to ecclesiastical persons ;) yet it no way appeareth that he did ill in interposing himself in such sort as he did, the state of things being such as it was, nor that the bishops did ill that yielded to him in these courses ; and therefore in cases of like nature princes may do whatsoever he did, and bishops may appear before them, and submit themselves to their judg-

¹ “ Deinde diximus aliquanto post Majorini ordinationem quem contra Cæcilianum nefario scelere levaverunt, erigentes altare contra altare, et unitatem Christi discordiis furialibus dissipantes, eos petiisse a Constantino tunc imperatore iudices episcopos, qui de suis quæstionibus quæ in Africa exortæ pacis vinculum dirimebant, arbitro medio judicarent. Quod postea quam factum est, præsentem Cæciliano, et illis qui adversus eum navigaverunt, judicante Melchiade tunc Romanæ urbis episcopo cum collegis suis quos ad preces Donatistarum miserat imperator in Cæcilianum nihil probari potuisse, ac per hoc illo in episcopatu confirmato Donatum, qui adversus eum tunc aderat, improbatum. Quibus peractis rebus, cum illi omnes in pertinacia scelestissimi schismatis permanerent, post apud Arelatum in memoratum imperatorem eandem causam diligentius examinandam terminandamque curasse. Illos vero ab ecclesiastico iudicio provocasse, ut causam Constantinus audiret. Quo postea quam ventum est, utraque parte assistente, innocentem Cæcilianum fuisse judicatum ; atque illos recessisse superatos, et in eadem tamen perversitate mansisse. Nec de Felice Aptungitani causa negligentiam consecutam, sed ad ejusdem principis jussionem proconsularibus gestis etiam ipsum fuisse purgatum.”—August. Epist. CLXII. [al. XLIII. Tom. II. col. 90.]

² Euseb. H. E. Lib. x. cap. 5.

ment; though in another case Ambrose refused to present himself before Valentinian the emperor, for trial of an ecclesiastical cause. Neither is it strange in our state that kings should intermeddle in causes ecclesiastical. For Matthew Paris¹ sheweth that the ancient laws of England provided that in appeals men should proceed from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop, and that, if the archbishop should fail in doing justice, the matter should be made known to the king; that by virtue of his commandment it might receive an end in the archbishop's court, that there might be no further proceeding in appeals without the king's consent.

From the power which princes have in causes ecclesiastical, let us proceed to the power they have over persons ecclesiastical; and see whether they be supreme over all persons, or whether men of the Church be exempt from their jurisdiction. That they are not exempted by God's law, we have the clear confession of cardinal Bellarmine² and others; who not only yield so far unto the truth, forced so to do by the clear evidence thereof, but prove the same by Scripture and fathers. The cardinal's words are these: *Exceptio clericorum in rebus politicis, tam quoad personas, quam quoad bona, jure humano introducta est, non divino*³; that is, "The exemption of clergymen in things civil, as well in respect of their persons as their goods, was introduced and brought in by man's law, and not by the law of God." Which thing is proved, first, out of the precept of the apostle to the Romans⁴, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers:" and addeth⁵, "Therefore pay ye tribute." For when the apostle saith, "Let every soul be subject," he includeth clergymen, as Chrysostom witnesseth: and therefore when he addeth, "for this cause pay ye tribute," he speaketh of clergymen also. Whence it will follow, that clergymen are bound to

¹ "De appellationibus, si emerint, ab archidiacono debet procedi ad episcopum, ab episcopo ad archiepiscopum; et si archiepiscopus defuerit in justitia exhibenda, ad dominum regem perveniendum est postremo; ut præcepto ipsius in curia archiepiscopi controversia terminetur; ita quod non debeat ultra procedi absque assensu domini regis."—Matth. Paris. in Henrico II. [Tom. i. p. 100. Lond. 1641.]

² De Clericis, Lib. i. cap. 28. [Tom. ii. p. 162.]

³ ["jure humano pariter et divino."]

⁴ Rom. xiii. 1.

⁵ Rom. xiii. 16.

pay tribute, unless they be exempted by the favour and privilege of princes freeing them from so doing: which thing Thomas Aquinas also affirmeth, writing upon the same place. Secondly, the same is proved out of the ancient. For Urbanus saith¹, "The tribute-money was therefore found in the mouth of the fish taken by St Peter, because the Church payeth tribute-money out of her outward and earthly possessions." And St Ambrose saith, "If tribute be demanded, it is not denied; the church-land payeth tribute²." Now if Urbanus, bishop of Rome, and worthy Ambrose, bishop of Milan, (than whom there was never any bishop found more resolute in the defence of the right of the Church,) say that tribute is not to be denied, but paid unto princes by men of the Church, and in respect of church-land, I think it is evident there is no exemption by any law of God that freeth the goods of church-men from yielding tribute to princes. For touching that text (where our Saviour saith unto Peter³, "What thinkest thou, Simon? of whom do the kings of the Gentiles receive tribute? of their own children, or of strangers?" and Peter answereth, "of strangers;" whence Christ inferreth that "the children are free,") brought by some to prove the supposed immunity of clergymen to be from God's own grant, Bellarmine sufficiently cleareth the matter. For first he sheweth that Christ speaketh of himself⁴ only, making this argument,—Kings' sons are free from tribute, as being neither to pay to their own fathers, seeing their goods are common, nor to strangers, to whom they are not subject: therefore himself being the son of the great King of kings, oweth no tribute to any mortal man. So that when he said "the children are free," he meant not to

¹ "Tributum in ore piscis piscante Petro inventum est, quia de exterioribus suis quæ palam cunctis apparent ecclesia tributum reddit."—Gratian. Decret. Part. 2. Caus. 23. Quæst. 8. cap. 'Tributum.' [col. 1497.]

² "Si tributum petit, non negamus. Agri ecclesiæ solvunt tributum."—Ambros. Orat. de tradend. basilicis. [Ad calc. Epist. xxi. Tom. II. col. 872. F.]

³ Matt. xvii. 25.

⁴ "Secundum hanc expositionem quæ verissima nobis videtur vis argumenti hæc est. Reges terræ non exigunt tributum a filiis suis, sed ab alienis: igitur neque rex cœli exiget tributum a me, qui sum ejus proprius et naturalis filius."—Bellarm. De Clericis. [ubi supra.]

signify that any other are free; but only that himself was free. Secondly, he rightly observeth that this place would prove that all Christians are free from tribute, if it proved any other than Christ to be so; for all Christians are the sons of God by adoption and grace. And Hierome¹, writing upon this place, hath these words: "Our Lord was the King's son both according to the flesh, and according to the spirit, descending of the stock of David, and being the Word of the Almighty Father: and therefore as being the Son of the kingdom owed no tribute; but because he assumed the humility of flesh, it behoved him to fulfil all righteousness: but, unhappy men that we are! we are called after the name of Christ, and do nothing worthy so great an honour. He, for the great love he bare towards us, sustained the cross for us, and paid tribute: but we for his honour pay no tribute, and as kings' sons are free from tribute." These words are brought by some to prove the imagined freedom we speak of: but first, they are so far from proving any such thing, that Erasmus² thinketh Hierome reprehended it, and disliked it as a thing savouring of arrogancy, that clergymen should refuse to pay tribute, which he saith is contrary to the conceit of men in our time, who think it the height of all piety to maintain this immunity. And Sixtus Senensis saith³, that Hierome speaketh not of that tribute

¹ "Dominus noster et secundum carnem et secundum spiritum filius regis erat, vel ex David stirpe generatus, vel omnipotentis Verbum patris. Ergo tributa quasi regum filius non debebat, sed qui humilitatem carnis assumpserat, debuit adimplere omnem justitiam. Nosque infelices qui Christi censemur nomine, et nihil dignum tanta facimus majestate; ille pro nobis et crucem sustinuit et tributa reddidit, nos pro illius honore tributa non reddimus, et quasi filii regis a vectigalibus immunes sumus."—Hieron. [In Matt. Lib. III. cap. 18. Tom. VII. col. 136.]

² "Hieronymum hæc exponentem Erasmus Roterodamus annotationibus suis notavit his verbis. . . . Videtur Hieronymus hoc arrogantiae tribuere quod ecclesiastici graventur tributum pendere principibus, cum hodie summa pietas habeatur pro immunitate clericorum modis omnibus digladiari."—Erasm. citat. a Sixto Senensi, Biblioth. sanct. Lib. VI. Annot. 75. [p. 453. Par. 1610.]

³ "Hæc Erasmus: cui ne pro aculeis aculeos referamus, breviter, servata evangelica modestia, respondemus, Hieronymum non loqui de eo tributo quod principibus hujus mundi eorum subditi debent; sed de eo tributo quod omnes debemus Christo; qui cum talis ac tantus

which subjects pay to their princes here in this world, but of that which we all owe to Christ; so that this is that he saith, Why do not we wretched men, professing ourselves to be the servants of Christ, yield unto his Majesty the due tribute of our service, seeing Christ, so great and excellent, paid tribute for our sakes? St Austin, in his first book of "Questions upon the Gospels," saith¹, that "Kings' sons in this world are free, and that therefore much more the sons of that kingdom under which all kingdoms of the world are, should be free in each earthly kingdom:" which words Thomas² and Sixtus Senensis³ understand of a freedom from the bondage of sin, but Jansenius⁴ rejecteth that interpretation, because Austin saith, "the children of kings are free from tribute," and thinketh that Austin's meaning is, that if God the King of heaven and earth had many natural sons, as he hath but one only begotten, they should all be free in all the kingdoms of the world: and other apply these words to clergymen, though there be nothing in the place leading to any such interpretation. But whatsoever we think of the meaning of Austin, Bellarmine saith it cannot be inferred

pro nobis vectigalia solverit, cur nos miseri, inquit Hieronymus, qui servos Christi nos esse pro se profitemur majestati ipsius debitum servitutis tributum non reddimus."—Sixtus Senens. [Ibid.]

¹ "Quod dixit, Ergo liberi sunt filii, in omni regno intelligendum est liberos esse filios, id est, non esse vectigales. Multo ergo magis liberi esse debent in quolibet regno terreno filii regni illius sub quo sunt omnia regna terrena."—August. Quæst. Evang. Lib. i. Quæst. 23. [Tom III. Part. 2. col. 244. B.]

² "Illi qui fiunt filii Dei per gratiam liberi sunt a spirituali servitute peccati."—Thom. Aquin. Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. 104. Art. 6. [Tom. VI. p. 114.]

³ "Opinor Augustini expositionem esse mysticam, et in ea agi de tributo carnalis et diabolicæ servitutis, a quo filii regni in libertatem spiritus evocati ubicunque vivant, liberi esse debent; non autem de externo et politico tributo."—Sixt. Senens. Lib. VI. Annot. 76. [p. 454.]

⁴ "Dicit potest melius, Augustinum dum dicit filios supremi regis liberos esse in quolibet regno terreno, loqui de filiis naturalibus, sicut de his est sermo in conclusione Domini, unde illud infert Augustinus, ut quod Augustinus dicit pluraliter tantum locum habeat in Christo, habiturum tamen locum etiam in pluribus, si plures essent filii naturales."—Jansen. Comment. in Concord. Evang. Cap. 69. [p. 444. Mogunt. 1612.]

from these his words that clergymen by God's law are free from the duty of paying tribute: because (as Chrysostom noteth) Christ speaketh only of natural children: and besides prescribeth nothing, but only sheweth that usually among men kings' sons are free from tribute; and therefore, whereas the authority of Bonifacius the Eighth¹, who affirmeth that the goods and persons of clergymen are free from exactions, both by the law of God and man, is brought to prove the contrary; he answereth, first, that haply the pope meant not that they are absolutely freed by any special grant from God, but only that there is an example of Pharaoh², an heathen prince, freeing the priests of his gods mentioned in Scripture, which may induce Christian kings to free the pastors of Christ's Church. Secondly, that it was but the private opinion of the pope, inclining to the judgment of the canonists; and that he did not define any such thing. So that men may lawfully dissent from him in this point. So that we see, by the testimonies of Scripture and fathers, and the confession of the best learned among our adversaries themselves, that Almighty God did not by any special exemption free either the goods or persons of clergymen from the command of princes, and that in the beginning they were subject to all services, judgments, payments, and burdens, that any other are subject to, and required by Christ the Son of God, and his blessed apostles, to be so.

But some man happily will say, that though Christ did not specially free either the goods or persons of clergymen from the subjection to princes, yet there are inducements in reason, and in the very light of nature, such and so great, to move princes to set them free, that they should not do well if they did not so. Whereunto we answer, that there is no question to be made but that the pastors of the Church that watch over the souls of men are to be respected, and tendered more than men of any other calling; and so they are, and ever were, where any sense of religion is, or was. The apostle St Paul testifieth of the Galatians³, "that they received him as an angel of God, yea, as Christ Jesus himself;

¹ In 6. cap. 'Quanquam' de Censibus. [Lib. sext. decret. Lib. III. tit. 20. cap. 4. col. 417. fol. Par. 1612.]

² Gen. xlvii. 22.

³ Gal. iv. 14, 15.

and that they would have even plucked out their eyes to have done him good." The emperor Constantine¹ honoured the Christian bishops with the name and title of gods, acknowledged himself subject to their judgment, though he swayed the sceptre of the world; and refused to see what the complaints were that they preferred one against another, or to read their bills, but professed that to cover their faults he would even cast from him his purple robe. Whence it came that many privileges were anciently granted unto them, both in respect of their persons and goods. For first, Constantine the Great not only gave ample gifts to the pastors of the churches, but exempted them also from those services, ministries, and employments, that other men are subject to. His epistle to Anylinus, the proconsul of Africa, wherein this grant was made to them of Africa, is found in Eusebius². Neither is it to be doubted but that he extended his favours to the bishops of other churches also, as well as to them. The words of the grant are these: "Considering that the due observation of things pertaining to true religion and the worship of God bringeth great happiness to the whole state of the commonwealth and empire of Rome; for the encouragement of such as attend the holy ministry, and are named clergymen, my pleasure is, that all such in the Church wherein Cæcilianus is bishop be at once and altogether absolutely freed and exempted from all public ministries and services." Neither did the emperors only exempt them from these services, but they freed them also from secular judg-

¹ Ruffin. Lib. i. cap. 2. Theodoret. Lib. v. cap. 11.

² Ἐπειδὴ ἐκ πλείωνων πραγμάτων φαίνεται παρεξουθενθεῖσαν τὴν θρησκείαν ἐν ᾗ ἡ κορυφαία τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἐπουρανίου αἰδῶς φυλάττεται, μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐνηνοχέειν τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν, αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἐνθέσμως ἀναληφθεῖσαν καὶ φυλαττομένην μεγίστην εὐτυχίαν τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ ὄνοματι, καὶ σύμπασιν τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγμασιν ἐξαίρετον εὐδαιμονίαν παρεσχηκέναι, τῶν θείων εὐεργεσιῶν τοῦτο παρεχουσῶν ἔδοξεν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς τῇ ὀφειλομένῃ ἀγιότητι καὶ τῇ τοῦ νόμου τούτου παρεδρία τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τὰς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, τῇ τῆς θείας θρησκείας θεραπείᾳ παρεχόντας, τῶν καμάτων τῶν ἰδίων τὰ ἔπαθλα κομίσασθαι, Ἀνυλῖνε τιμιώτατε. Διόπερ ἐκείνους τοὺς εἴσω τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς σοὶ πεπιστευμένης ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ᾗ Κεκιλιανὸς ἐφέστηκε, τὴν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ὑπηρεσίαν τῇ ἀγίᾳ ταύτῃ θρησκείᾳ παρεχόντας, οὗσπερ κληρικοὺς ἐπονομάζειν εἴωθασιν, ἀπὸ πάντων ἀπαξαπλῶς τῶν λειτουργιῶν βούλομαι ἀλειτουργήτους διαφυλαχθῆναι.— Euseb. H. E. Lib. x. cap. 7.

ments, unless it were in certain kinds of criminal causes¹: wherein yet a bishop was not to be convented against his will before any secular magistrate, without the emperor's command. Neither might the temporal magistrates condemn any clergyman till he were degraded by his bishop, howsoever they might imprison and restrain such upon complaints made. And answerably hereunto the Council of Matiscon provideth², that no clergyman for any cause, without the discussion of his bishop, shall be wronged and imprisoned by any secular magistrate, and that if any judge shall presume to do so to the clergyman of any bishop, unless it be in a criminal cause, he shall be excommunicated as long as the bishop shall think fit. This was all the immunity that clergymen anciently had by any grant of princes, and as much as ever the Church desired to enjoy; but that which in latter times was challenged by some, and in defence of the claim whereof Thomas Becket resisted the king, till his blood was shed, was of another kind. For whereas it was not thought fit by the king and state of the realm at that time that churchmen found in enormous crimes by the king's justices, should be delivered over to their bishops, and so escape civil punishment, but that confessing such crimes, or being clearly convinced of them before the bishop, the bishop should, in presence of the king's justices, degrade them, and put them from all ecclesiastical honour, and deliver them to the king's court to be punished: Becket was of a contrary mind, and thought that such as bishops degraded, or put out of their ministry of the Church, should not be punished by the civil magistrates, because, as he said, one offence was not to be punished twice. The occasion of this controversy between the king and the archbishop was given by one Philip Brock, a canon of Bedford³, who, being brought before the king's justices for murder, used vile and contemptuous speeches against them; which, though it were proved against him before the archbishop, yet he was only deprived of the benefit of his prebend, and driven out of the realm for the space of two years, for so horrible and

¹ Novel. Constit. 79, 83, and 123. [Authent. Collat. vi. tit. 8, 12; et ix. tit. 6. in Corp. jur. civil.]

² Concil. Matisconens. i. Canon 7. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 659, 60.]

³ Matt. Par. in Henrico II. p. 98.

bloody a crime. This was one of those sixteen articles concerning the ancient customs of the realm whereunto Becket and the rest of the bishops did swear, and whereof he so soon repented again, namely, that clergymen accused of any crime, should, at the summons of the king's justices, appear in the king's court, to answer to such things as to that court should be thought to appertain; and in the ecclesiastical, what pertained thereunto; and that the king's justices should send to see what was there done: and that if they should be convicted of any enormous crime, or confess the same, the bishop should not protect them: than which course nothing could be devised more reasonable. Neither is it absurd for sheep to judge their pastors in these cases, as Bellarmine fondly affirmeth¹. That the Councils of Chalcedon², and Toledo³, forbid clergymen to leave the ecclesiastical judges, and to prosecute their quarrels one against another before temporal magistrates; and the Councils of Carthage⁴, and Agatha⁵, condemn them that choose rather to be tried in civil courts than ecclesiastical, when they have power to choose, or that begin suits there without the permission of

¹ "Omnino absurdum est, ut ovis pastorem suum quocunque modo judicare præsumat."—Bellarm. De Clericis, Lib. i. cap. 28. [p. 161.]

² Εἴ τις κληρικὸς πρὸς κληρικὸν πρᾶγμα ἔχοι, μὴ καταλιμπανέτω τὸν οἰκείον ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ἐπὶ κοσμικὰ δικαστήρια κατατρεχέτω· ἀλλὰ πρότερον τὴν ὑπόθεσιν γυμναζέτω παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἡγοῦν γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, παρ' οἷς ἂν τὰ ἀμφότερα μέρη βούλεται, τὰ τῆς δίκης συγκροτεῖσθω.—Concil. Chalced. Can. 9. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 1685.]

³ "Diuturna indisciplina et licentiæ inolita præsumptio usque eo illicitis ausibus aditum patefecit, ut clerici conclericos, suo neglecto pontifice, ad judicia publica pertrahant: proinde statuimus hoc de cætero non præsumi; sed si quis hoc facere præsumpserit, et causam perdat, et a communione efficiatur extraneus."—Concil. Tolet. iii. Can. 13. [Labbe, Tom. vi. col. 709.]

⁴ "Item placuit ut quisquis episcoporum presbyterorum et diaconorum seu clericorum, cum in ecclesia ei crimen fuerit intentatum, vel civili causa fuerit commota, si relicto ecclesiastico judicio publicis judiciis purgari voluerit, etiam si pro ipso fuerit prolata sententia, locum suum amittat, et hoc in criminali judicio. In civili vero perdat quod evicit, si locum suum obtinere voluerit."—Concil. Carthag. 3. Can. 9. [Labbe, Tom. ii. col. 1401.]

⁵ "Clericus ne quenquam præsumat apud sæcularem judicem, episcopo non permittente, pulsare; sed si pulsatus fuerit respondeat, non proponat, nec audeat criminale negotium in judicio sæculari præponere."—Concil. Agath. [Can. 32. Labbe, Tom. v. col. 526.]

their bishop, no way contrarieth any thing that I have said; for howsoever some things are to be handled in the ecclesiastical courts, as properly pertaining to them, either naturally and originally, or by grant of princes; and other things concerning churchmen, not to be brought into civil courts but in due sort, and with respect had to their places and ranks, yet never had they any such absolute exemption and immunity, but that in criminal causes, such as theft, murder, and the like, and in trial of the title of lands, and inheritances, and the right of advocacy of churches, they were to be tried in civil courts, and no other, whether the differences grew between laymen and clergymen, or clergymen among themselves. As likewise they were to do homage, and swear fealty, for such lands, honours, and baronies, as they held of princes. Thus we see how favourable princes have been in granting privileges concerning the persons of such as attend the service of God. Neither were they less careful to free such lands and possessions as they endowed the Church with, from such burthens, taxes, and impositions, as other temporal possessions are subject to. So that howsoever in the apostles' times, and long after, even till the time of Ambrose (as it appeareth by his writings¹), the churchlands paid tribute, yet afterward, by Justinian² and other Christian emperors, they were freed from those impositions. Neither is it to be marvelled at that Christian princes out of their devout and religious dispositions were thus favourable to the Church, seeing even the heathen princes did as much for the idolatrous priests of their false gods; for we read in

¹ "Si tributum petit imperator, non negamus: agri ecclesiæ solvunt tributum. Solvimus quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo. Tributum Cæsaris est, non negatur."—Ambros. in orat. de tradend. basil. [post epist. xxi. Tom. ii. col. 872. f.]

² "Sancimus res ad venerabiles ecclesias, vel xenones, vel monasteria, vel orphanotrophia, vel gerontocomia, vel ptochotrophia vel nosocomia, vel brephotrophia, vel denique ad aliud tale consortium decedentes, ex qualicunque curiali liberalitate, sive inter vivos sive mortis causa, sive in ultimis voluntatibus habita, a lucrativorum inscriptionibus liberas immunesque esse."—Cod. Justin. L. 'Sancimus,' Tit. De sacrosanctis ecclesiis. [Lib. i. Tit. 2. L. 22.]

["Lucrativi tituli sunt, hæreditas, legatum, fidei-commissum, donatio causa mortis, donatio inter vivos, dos, donatio propter nuptias, non emptio, non permutatio."—Gothofred. not. ibid.]

the book of Genesis¹, that in the time of that great famine that was in the days of Joseph, when the people of Egypt were constrained, after all their money and cattle were spent, to sell their land to Joseph, the steward of Pharaoh, in whose hands all the provision of corn was, to buy them bread, so that all the land of Egypt became Pharaoh's, yet the priests were not forced to sell their lands; for they had an ordinary from Pharaoh, and they did eat their ordinary which Pharaoh gave them. And when as afterwards Joseph let the people enjoy their land again, which he had bought for Pharaoh, yet so that only four parts of the increase thereof should be to themselves, for the seed of their fields, for their meat, and for them of their households and their children to eat, and the fifth part should be Pharaoh's, whose now the land was, the land of the priests was free from this rent and charge, as not being Pharaoh's. Yet were not the privileges and immunities which Christian princes granted to ecclesiastical persons to prejudice other men, nor to lay too heavy a burden on them; and therefore it was lawful for princes, when they saw any inconveniences, in that too much of their land, by passing into the right and possession of churchmen, was freed from services and charges, to stop the passing of any more into such dead hands as would yield them no help²; and clergymen were bound in conscience voluntarily to contribute to all public necessities when need required, though the temporal magistrates might not impose any thing upon them, as we find it ordered in the third Council of Lateran³, and in the fourth under Innocentius

¹ Cap. xlvii.

² "Videtur mihi hujusmodi statuta prodiisse ex pia quadam intentione Christiani principis suiue concilii, prohibentis talem quemdam donandi modum, quo transeant prædia pro perpetuo in manum mortuam; sic statuentis, non in odium ecclesiasticæ libertatis, neque in diminutionem cultus divini, neque ad impediendam eleemosynam pauperum, aut hospitalium aut ecclesiarum indigentium subsidiis temporalium rerum, sed ad tollendos abusus, ad moderandum donationes superfluas, ne respublica in aliqua patria sufficienter ecclesiasticis prædiis dotata nimium oneretur."—Driedo, De libertate Christiana, Lib. II. cap. 3. [Tom. IV. fol. 56. Lovan. 1552.]

³ "Ne laici imponant ecclesiis onera."—Concil. Lateran. 3. Can. XIX. [Labbe, Tom. XIII. col. 427.]

the Third¹: yea, if they should contemptuously and presumptuously refuse to bear part of the common burdens, notwithstanding any pretended privileges, the supreme prince might force them to put to their helping hand, rather than the whole state of the commonwealth should be shaken and endangered, or other parts and members of it too heavily burdened, as Duarenus² learnedly and excellently sheweth. This may suffice touching the exemption of clergymen, either in respect of their persons or goods, and the right by which they enjoy the same. And thus have we run through all the different degrees and orders of ecclesiastical ministers, and shewed what their power, office, and authority is, both severally and assembled in councils, and what power princes have to command over them, or to intermeddle with the businesses and affairs more specially belonging to them.

CHAPTER LIV.

OF THE CALLING OF MINISTERS: AND THE PERSONS TO WHOM IT PERTAINETH TO ELECT AND ORDAIN THEM.

NOW it remaineth that we first treat of the calling of ministers; for “no man taketh this honour upon him but he that is called, as was Aaron³.” Secondly, of the things required in them; and, thirdly, of their maintenance.

¹ “Adversus consules ac rectores civitatum, et alios qui ecclesias et viros ecclesiasticos talliis seu collectis et exactionibus aliis aggravare nituntur; volens immunitati ecclesiasticæ Lateranense concilium providere, præsumptionem hujusmodi sub anathematis districtione prohibuit; transgressores et factores eorum excommunicationi præcipiens subjacere, donec satisfactionem impendant competentem.”—Concil. Lateran. 4. Can. xlv. [Labbe, Tom. XIII. col. 978.]

² “Tolerabilius visum est eam exactionem quæ vitari omnino non potest, in profanos homines quam in ecclesiam ecclesiasticasque personas derivari. Fit tamen nonnunquam, ut ecclesiasticos viros horum munerum participes esse omnino oporteat.

“Ac ut summatim omnia complectar, nam omnia sigillatim enumerari non possunt, quoties flagitat necessitas, principi licet ecclesiasticas facultates impendere.”—Duaren. De sacr. eccles. ministr. et benef. Lib. vii. cap. 10. [p. 1203. Francof. 1598.]

³ Heb. v. 4.

Touching the first, which is the calling of ecclesiastical ministers, St Hierome noteth¹ that there are four sorts of such men as are employed in the businesses and affairs of Almighty God. The first are such as are sent neither of men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ, as the prophets in old time, and since the coming of Christ, those twelve designed immediately to the work of the ministry by Christ's own voice, specially called Apostles. The second, such as are sent of God, but by man, as bishops and ministers, which succeed the Apostles, and derive their commission from them. The third are such as are sent of men, and not of God, who are they that are ordained by favour of men, not judging rightly of the quality of them that are to serve in this calling; who yet are not simply denied to be sent of God, as if they had no commission from him, but therefore only, because if the ordainers had done their duties they should have made a better choice, and sent other, and not these: for being sent by men that have authority, though abusing the same, they have a true and lawful ministry till they be put from it by superior authority, else were all ministration of sacraments and other sacred things void performed by such as simoniacally or by sinister means get into these holy places. The fourth are such as neither are sent of God, nor of men, nor by men, but of themselves, of whom our Saviour Christ saith, "All that came before me were thieves and robbers²;" and of whom Almighty God pronounceth, and sayeth by the prophet Jeremy, "I sent them not, and they ran: I spake not to them, and they prophesied³." This evil is carefully to be declined, and therefore Christ would not suffer the devils to speak that which was true, lest under the pretence of truth error might creep in; seeing he that speaketh of himself cannot but speak lies. These are the four sorts of them that serve in the work of the ministry; whereof the last

¹ "Quatuor genera apostolorum sunt. Unum quod neque ab hominibus est, neque per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum et Deum patrem. Aliud quod a Deo quidem est, sed per hominem. Tertium, quod ab homine, non a Deo. Quartum quod neque a Deo, neque per hominem, neque ab hominibus, sed a semetipso."—Hieron. In Galat. Lib. i. cap. i. [Tom. vii. col. 374.]

² John x. 8.

³ Jer. xxiii. 21.

have no calling at all, and all they do is void: the third have a lawful commission, though they obtained it by sinister means, and be unworthy of it, so that they could not be put into it without the fault of the ordainers: the first had a lawful but extraordinary calling, needful only in those first beginnings of Christianity, and not longer to continue: the second have that calling which is ordinary, and to continue, whereof we are now to speak. In this calling there are three things implied: election, ordination, and assignation to some particular church, whereof men elected and ordained are appointed to take charge.

In ancient times there was no ordination at large, without particular assignation, and *sine titulo*, allowed, as it appeareth by the Council of Chalcedon¹ forbidding any such thing to be done, and voiding any such act if it should be done; and therefore in those times the very electing and ordaining was an assigning of the elected and ordained to the place of charge they were to take, and a giving of them the power of jurisdiction as well as of order. But this canon in latter times grew out of use: whence ensued great confusions in the state of the Church, as Duarenus rightly noteth²: yet are we not of opinion that all such ordinations are void in the nature of the thing, whatsoever the ancients pronounced of them according to the strictness of the canons. For seeing ordination, which is the sanctifying of men to the work of the holy ministry, is a different thing in nature from the placing of them where they shall do that holy work, and a man once ordained needeth not any new ordination when he is removed from one church to another, it is

¹ Μηδένα δὲ ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι, μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον, μήτε ὅλως τινὰ τῶν ἐν ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τάγματι· εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κύμης, ἢ μαρτυρίῳ, ἢ μοναστηρίῳ, ὁ χειροτονοῦμενος ἐπικηρύττοιο. Τοὺς δὲ ἀπολύτως χειροτονοῦμένους ὥρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἄκυρον ἔχειν τὴν τοιαύτην χειροθεσίαν, καὶ μηδαμοῦ δύνασθαι ἐνεργεῖν ἐφ' ὕβρει τοῦ χειροτονήσαντος. Concil. Chalced. [Can. vi. Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 1684.]

² “Posterioribus vero constitutionibus pontificum huic juri derogaverunt, quibus constitutum est, ut irrita non sit ordinatio, sed is qui ordinavit, ordinatum, si egens sit, interim alere cogatur, dum certus ei titulus assignatus fuerit. Quæ constitutiones confusionem incredibilem et dedecus attulerunt ecclesiæ.”—Duaren. De sacr. eccles. minist. et benef. Lib. i. cap. 16. [p. 1162.]

evident, that in the nature of the thing ordination doth not so depend on the title and place of charge the ordained entereth into, as that ordinations at large should be void; yet are they not to be permitted, neither are they in our Church. For the ordinations of ministers in colleges in our universities are not within the compass of those prohibited ordinations at large, and *sine titulo*: and none other, by the order of our Church, may be ordained, unless he be certainly provided of some definite place of charge and employment. And as the ancient were thus precise in admitting none into the holy ministry, but with assignation of the particular place of his employment, so they took as strict order that men once placed should not be suddenly removed and translated to any other church or charge. In the Council of Sardica¹, Hosius the president of that council said, “that same ill custom and pernicious corruption is wholly to be plucked up by the roots, that it may not be lawful for a bishop to pass from his city to any other city. For the cause why they do so is known to all, seeing none is found to pass from a greater city to a lesser; whence it appeareth that they are inflamed with ardent desires of courteousness, and that they serve their own ambitious designs, that they may exercise dominion, and grow great. If therefore it seem good to

¹ Οὐ τοσοῦτον ἡ φαύλη συνήθεια, ὅσον ἡ βλαβερωτάτη τῶν πραγμάτων διαφθορά ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν θεμελίων ἐστὶν ἐκριζωτέα· ἵνα μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐξῇ ἀπὸ πόλεως μικρᾶς εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν μεθίστασθαι. Ἡ γὰρ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης πρόφασις φανερά ἐστι, δι’ ἣν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιχειρεῖται. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ πώποτε εὐρεθῆναι ἐπισκόπων δεδύνηται, ὃς ἀπὸ μείζονος πόλεως εἰς ἐλαχιστοτέραν πόλιν ἐσπούδασε μεταστῆναι, ὅθεν συνέστηκε διαπύρῳ πλεονεξίας τρόπῳ ὑπεκκαίεσθαι τοὺς τοιούτους, καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ ἀλαζονείᾳ δουλεύειν, ὥς ἐξουσίαν δοκοῖεν μείζονα κεκτήσθαι. Εἰ πᾶσι τοίνυν τοῦτο ἀρέσκει, ὥστε τὴν τοιαύτην σκαιότητα αὐστηρότερον ἐκδικηθῆναι, ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ μηδὲ λαϊκῶν ἔχειν τοὺς τοιούτους χρῆναι κοινωνίαν; Πάντες οἱ ἐπίσκοποι εἶπον· Ἀρέσκει πᾶσιν.

Ὁσιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν· Εἰ δέ τις τοιοῦτος εὐρίσκειτο μανιώδης ἢ τολμηρὸς, ὥς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων δόξαι τινὰ φέρειν παραίτησιν, διαβεβαιούμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἑαυτὸν κεκομίσθαι γράμματα, δηλὸν ἐστὶν ὀλίγους τῶς δεδυνῆσθαι μισθῷ καὶ τιμήματι διαφθαρέντας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ στασιάσειν, ὥς δῆθεν ἀξιοῦντας τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐπίσκοπον· καθάπαξ οὖν τὰς ῥαδιουργίας τὰς τοιαύτας καὶ τέχνας κολαστέας εἶναι νομίζω, ὥστε μηδένα τοιοῦτον μηδὲ ἐν τῷ τέλει λαϊκῆς γοῦν ἀξιοῦσθαι κοινωνίας. Εἰ τοίνυν ἀρέσκει ἡ γνώμη αὕτη, ἀποκρίνασθε. Ἀπεκρίναντο· Τὰ λεχθέντα ἤρεσεν.—
Concil. Sardic. Can. 1, 2. [Labbe, Tom. II. col. 658.]

you all that such an evil as this is may be more severely punished, let him that is such a one be rejected from all communion, even such as laymen enjoy." To whom all the bishops answered, "It pleaseth us well." To whom Hosius replied, "Though any shall be found so ill advised as haply in excuse of himself to affirm that he received letters from the people to draw him from his own city to another, yet, I think, seeing it is manifest that some few not sincere in the faith might be corrupted by reward, and procured to desire his translation, all such frauds should altogether be condemned; so that such a one should not be admitted so much as to the communion which laymen enjoy, no not in the end; which thing if it seem good unto you all, confirm and settle it by your decree." And the synod answered, "It pleaseth us well." Leo to the same purpose writeth thus¹; "If any bishop, despising the meanness of his own city, shall seek to get the administration and government of some more noted and better respected place, and shall by any means translate and remove himself to a greater people and more large and ample charge, let him be driven from that other chair which he sought, and let him be deprived also of his own. So that he be neither suffered to rule over them whom out of a covetous desire he would have subjected to himself, nor over them whom in pride he contemned and scorned." And the like is found in other; but, as Theodoret sheweth², it was ambition, and such other like evils, that these holy fathers sought to stop and prevent, rather than generally to condemn all translation of bishops from one church and city to another. For these changes may sometimes bring so great and evident utility that they are not to be disliked. And therefore the same Theodoret sheweth³, that notwithstanding this canon, Gregory Nazianzen was removed from his church, and constituted bishop of Constantinople. And

¹ "Si quis episcopus, civitatis suæ mediocritate despecta administrationem loci celebrioris ambierit, et ad majorem se plebem quacunque ratione transtulerit, a cathedra quidem pellatur aliena, sed carebit et propria; ut nec illis præsideat quos per avaritiam concupivit, nec illis quos per superbiam sprexit. Suis igitur terminis quisque contentus sit, nec supra mensuram juris sui affectet augeri."—Leo, Epist. 84. [al. 14.] Cap. 8. [Tom. i. col. 689.]

² Lib. v. cap. 8.

³ Ibidem.

Socrates reporteth¹, that Proclus was removed thither from Cyzicum. Wherefore passing by these matters as clear and resolved of, let us proceed to see, first, to whom it pertaineth to elect; secondly, to whom it belongeth to ordain such as are duly elected and chosen to the work of the ministry.

Touching election, we think² that each church and people that have not by law, custom, or consent, restrained themselves, stand free by God's law to admit, maintain, and obey no man as their pastor without their liking; and that the people's election by themselves or their rulers dependeth on the first principles of human fellowships and assemblies; for which cause, though bishops by God's law have power to examine and ordain before any may be placed to take charge of souls, yet have they no power to impose a pastor on any church against their wills, nor to force them to yield obedience and maintenance to any without their liking. And therefore anciently (as Leo sheweth)³, the custom was that he should be chosen of all that was to be over all, that the wishes and desires of the citizens should be expected, the testimonies of the people should be sought, the will and liking of the noble and honourable should be known, and the clergy should choose. All which things are wont to be observed and kept in ordinations by them that know the rules of the fathers, that the rule of the apostle may be followed in all things, who prescribeth that "he who is to be over the church," should not only have the "allowance of the faithful," giving witness unto him, but the "testimony also of them that are without;" and that no occasion of any scandal may be left, while he who is to be the doctor of peace is ordained in peace and concord, pleasing unto God, with the agreeing and consenting desires of all. And in the same epistle he addeth *teneatur subscriptio clericorum, honoratorum testimonium, ordinis consensus et plebis*; that is, "let the subscription of the clergy be had, the testimony of the honourable, and the consent of the order and people." Cyprian to the same purpose writeth thus⁴: "The people being

¹ Lib. vii. cap. 39.

² D. Bilson, Perpet. Government, cap. xv. p. 339. [4to. Lond. 1593.]

³ "Qui præfutura est omnibus, ab omnibus eligatur."—Leo, Epist. lxxxix. [al. x. Tom. i. col. 639.]

⁴ "Plebs obsequens præceptis dominicis et Deum metuens, a pec-

obedient to the precepts of the Lord, and fearing God, ought to separate themselves from a sinful and wicked ruler, and not intermingle themselves, or to have anything to do with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest; especially seeing they have power either to choose such priests as are worthy, or to refuse such as are unworthy." And a little after, in the same epistle he hath these words: "For which cause it is diligently to be observed and kept, as from the tradition of God, and the apostles, (which thing also is observed and kept with us, and almost throughout all provinces,) that for the due performance of the work of ordination, when any ruler and governor is to be ordained, the bishops of the same province which are nearest should come together unto that people over whom he is to be set, and that the bishop should be chosen in the presence of the people, which most fully and perfectly knoweth the life of every one, and hath perceived by their conversation what kind of works they are wont to do. Which thing also we see to have been done in the ordination of Sabinus our colleague, to wit, that upon the voices of the whole brotherhood, and the judgment of the bishops, which came together, and which sent their letters expressing their opinion of him, the episcopal dignity was conferred upon him, and with the imposition of hands he was ordained into the void room of Basilides." That in the time of Chrysostom the people had interest in choosing their pastors, it is evident out of his book of the priesthood¹. The fathers of the Nicene council (as we find in Theodoret²)

cattore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere, quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi.

"Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina et apostolica observatione servandum est et tenendum, quod apud eos quoque et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe presente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit. Quod et apud vos factum videmus in Sabini collegæ nostri ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, et de episcoporum qui in præsentia convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, judicio, episcopatus ei deferretur, et manus ei in locum Basilidis imponerentur."—Cyprian. Lib. i. Epist. 4. [al. Epist. lxvii. p. 172.]

¹ Lib. iii. [§ 15. Tom. i. p. 392.]

² Εἰ δέ τινα ποτὲ συμβαίη ἀναπαύσασθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τηλικαῦτα

write to the Church of Alexandria, and to the beloved brethren of Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis in this sort: "If haply any bishop of the Church do fall asleep, let it be lawful for such of the sect of Meletius, as have been not long since restored to the communion of the Church, to succeed into the place of him that is dead, if so be that they shall seem to be worthy, and the people shall choose them: yet so notwithstanding, that the voice and consent of the bishop of the Church of Alexandria be added to seal and confirm the same." And touching the election of Nectarius, the bishops of the first Council of Constantinople write thus¹: "We have ordained the most reverend and beloved of God, Nectarius, bishop, before the whole council, with all consent and agreement, in the presence of Theodosius, the emperor, beloved of God, and of the whole clergy, the whole city likewise with unanimous consent agreeing thereunto." And Leo provideth and taketh order what shall be done, when they that should elect agree not. His words are these²: "When ye go about the election of the chief priest or bishop, let him be advanced before all upon whom the consenting desires of the clergy and people concur with one accord; and if their voices be divided betwixt twain, let him be preferred before the other, in the judgment of the metropolitan, which hath more voices and merits; but let none be ordained against their wills and petitions, lest the people despise or hate the bishop which they never affected, and less care for

συναρπαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος τοὺς ἄρτι προσληφθέντας, μύνον εἰ ἄξιοι φαίνονται, καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἰροῖτο, συνεπιψηφίζοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπισφραγίζοντος τοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπου. Τοῦτο δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἅπασιν συνεχωρήθη· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Μελετίου προσώπου οὐκετι ταῦτα ἔδοξε.—Theodoret. H. E. i. 8.

¹ Τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον Νεκτάριον ἐπίσκοπον κεχειροτονήκαμεν, ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς συνοδοῦ, μετὰ κοινῆς ὁμονοίας, ὑπ' ὧν ὅψεσι καὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου, παντός τε τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ πάσης ἐπιψηφιζομένης τῆς πόλεως.—Id. v. 9.

² "Cum ego de summi sacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur quem cleri plebisque consensus concorditer postularit; ita ut si in aliam forte personam partium se notu diviserint, metropolitani judicio is alteri præferatur qui majoribus et studiis juvatur et meritis; tantum ut nullus invitis et non petentibus ordinetur: ne civitas episcopum non optatum aut contemnat, aut oderit: et fiat minus religiosa quam convenit, cui non licuerit habere quem voluit."—Leo. Epist. lxxxiv. cap. 5. [al. Epist. xiv. Tom. i. col. 688.]

religion when their desires are not satisfied." And Gregory the bishop of Rome long after, allowing the election by the people, hath these words¹: "If it be true that the bishop of Salona be dead, hasten to admonish the clergy and people of that city to choose a bishop with one consent that may be ordained for them." And to Magnus, about the election of the bishop of Milan, he saith²: "Warn the clergy and people that they dissent not in choosing their priest, but that with one accord they elect some one, that may be consecrated their bishop." By all which testimonies we see what interest anciently the people had in the choice of their bishops, and how careful good bishops were that they should have none thrust upon them against their wills, that they should proceed to election with one accord if it might be; or otherwise, that such should be ordained as were desired by the greater part, and that all things might be done peaceably and without tumult.

But how much in time they abused this their power it is too evident. For Nazianzen³ reporting the choice of Eusebius to be bishop of Cæsarea, saith, the city of Cæsarea was in a tumult, and the people divided about the choice of their bishop; and the sedition was sharp, and hardly to be appeased; and that, as men distracted in many minds, some proposing one, and some another, as is often seen in such

¹ "Natalem Salonitanæ ecclesiæ fratrem et episcopum nostrum obiisse, discurrens in partibus istis fama vulgavit. Quod si verum est, experientia tua omni instantia, omnique sollicitudine clerum et populum ejusdem civitatis admovere festinet; quatenus uno consensu ordinandum sibi debeant eligere sacerdotem."—Greg. Lib. ii. [al. iii.] Epist. xxii. [Tom. ii. col. 639.]

² "Admone clerum et populum ut ad eligendum nullatenus dissentiant sacerdotem; sed uno consensu talem sibi eligant consecrandum episcopum, cujus et actus laudabiles, et grata Deo et hominibus possit esse persona."—Id. Lib. ii. [al. iii.] Epist. xxvi. [col. 642.]

³ 'Ὡς δὲ εἰς πλείους τοῦ δήμου διαιρεθέντος, καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλον προβαλλομένων, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν ἡ φιλίας πρὸς τινὰς ἔχων, ἡ πρὸς Θεὸν εὐλαβείας, τέλος συμφρονήσας ὁ δῆμος ἅπας τῶν πρώτων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἓνα, βίῳ μὲν ἐξειλεγμένον οὕτω δὲ τῷ θείῳ βαπτίσματι κατεσφραγισμένον, τοῦτον ἅκοντα συναρπάσαντες καὶ ἅμα στρατιωτικῆς χειρὸς συλλαβομένης αὐτοῖς τηνικαῦτα ἐπιδημούσης, ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔθεσαν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις προσήγαγον, τελεωθῆναί τε ἡξίου καὶ κηρυχθῆναι, πειθοῇ βίαν ἀναμίξαντες.—Greg. Naz. in epitaph. patris. [Orat. xviii. Tom. i. p. 354.]

cases; at length the whole people agreeing on one of good calling among them, commended for his life, but not yet baptized, took him against his will, and with the help of a band of soldiers that was then come to the city, placed him in the bishop's chair, and offered him to the bishops present, and mixing threats with persuasions, required to have him ordained and pronounced their bishop. Likewise at Antioch (as Eusebius reporteth¹) there was raised a grievous sedition about the deposing of Eustathius; and after, when another was to be chosen, the flame thereof so increased that it was likely to have consumed the whole city. For the people being divided into two parts, the magistrates of the city supported the sides, and bands of soldiers were mustered as against an enemy: and the matter had undoubtedly been tried by the sword, if God, and the fear of the emperor writing to them, had not assuaged the rage of the multitude. But howsoever, such was the dissension, that eight whole years the place was without a bishop. When Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, was deposed by the Council of Chalcedon², and Proterius set in his place, a mighty and intolerable sedition grew among the people for it; some affecting Dioscorus, and some cleaving to Proterius. The people opposed themselves against the magistrates, and when they thought with strong hand to suppress the uproar, the multitude with stones beat the soldiers into the church, besieged them in it, and destroyed a number of them with fire; and, upon the death of Martian, the emperor, they chose a new bishop, and brought him into the church on Easter-day. They slew Proterius, and six others with him in the temple, and drew his body wounded and mangled along through the quarters of the city. The like dissension³ grew in the Church of Milan after the death of Auxentius, the Arian bishop; but the issue was very happy. For Ambrose, at that time a secular magistrate, seeing the division to be very dangerous, and threatening the overthrow of the state of the city, entered into the church, and made an excellent oration, persuading them to peace; wherewith all sides were so well pleased that with one consent they desired to have Ambrose for their bishop, who was not yet baptized; and the emperor

¹ Lib. i. cap. 24.

² Evag. Lib. iii. cap. 7, 8.

³ Ruffinus, Lib. ii. cap. 11.

was careful to satisfy their desire, and commanded that it should be as they had desired¹. In the Church of Rome, after Liberius, Damasus succeeded in the episcopal office: whom Ursinus, a certain deacon of that Church, not enduring to be preferred before him, waxed so mad, that having persuaded and drawn unto him a certain ignorant and rude bishop, and gathered together a company of turbulent and seditious persons in the church of Sicinius, he procured himself to be made bishop against all order, law, and ancient custom. From which fact proceeded so great sedition, nay so great war (some of the people defending Damasus as lawful bishop, and some Ursinus), that the places of prayer were filled with the blood of men. The people in this sort abusing their authority and power, were restrained by the decrees of councils, and by the laws of princes, and their right and power to choose their pastors many ways limited and straitened, till in the end it was wholly taken from them. For first the Council of Laodiceæ forbade² that elections of such as were to serve in the holy ministry of the Church, and execute the priest's office, should be left to the multitudes. But that council was but particular, and could prescribe no laws to the whole world; and therefore after this the people swayed things very much still, and Leo, bishop of Rome, after this time charged the bishops to thrust none upon the people without their consent³. And even in the Roman Church the election of the people continued a long time after this decree of the Council of Laodiceæ. For pope Nicholas the Second, in the Council of Lateran, in the year of our Lord 1059, with the consent of the whole synod, decreeth on this sort⁴: "Instructed and guided by the authority of

¹ Ibid. cap. 10.

² Περὶ τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μελόντων καθίστασθαι εἰς ἱερατεῖον.—Concil. Laodic. Can. xiii. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 1533.]

³ "Instructi prædecessorum nostrorum aliorumque sanctorum patrum auctoritate decernimus atque statuimus, ut obeunte hujus Romanæ ecclesiæ universalis pontifice, in primis cardinales episcopi diligentissime simul de electione tractantes, mox Christi clericos cardinales adhibeant: sicque reliquus clerus et populus ad consensum novæ electionis accedant."

⁴ "Sed quia sedes apostolica cunctis in orbe terrarum præfertur ecclesiis, atque ideo super se metropolitanum habere non potest, car-

our predecessors, and other holy fathers, we decree and determine, that when the bishop of this universal Church of Rome dieth, first of all the cardinal bishops shall most diligently consult together about the election of a new, and soon after they shall take unto them the cardinal clergymen, and so the rest of the clergy and people shall come to give consent to the new election. And because the see apostolic is preferred before all the Churches in the world, and therefore can have no metropolitan over or above it, the cardinal bishops doubtless supply the place of the metropolitan, and are to promote and lift up the new elected bishop to the top of apostolic height." Yea, the presence and testimony of laymen was not excluded in such elections a long time after: for Gregory the Seventh¹ was elected by the cardinals of the Church of Rome, clerks, acolytes, subdeacons, and presbyters, many bishops, abbots, and others both of the clergy and laity being present.

But Christian princes, kings, and emperors being chief among those of the laity, and so having a sovereign consent among and over the rest, in such elections as pertained unto them by the right of human fellowship and government, interposed themselves in these businesses, and sundry ways abridged that liberty that the people in some places took unto them. Sozomen noteth², that after the death of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, the clergy and people resolved to have Chrysostom, a presbyter of Antioch, a man famously renowned throughout all the empire, to be their bishop. Which their resolution the emperor confirmed by his assent, and sent and set him, and called a council to make his election

dinales episcopi proculdubio metropolitani vice funguntur; qui videlicet electum antistitem ad apostolici culminis apicem provehant."—Gratian. Decret. Part. i. Dist. 23. cap. 1. [col. 113.]

¹ "Gregorius septimus, Hildebrandus antea vocatus, natione Etruscus, patria Soanensis, patre Bonicio, omnium bonorum consensu pontifex creatur. Ipsius autem electionis verba ita annotata sunt. Nos sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinales, clerici, acolythi, subdiaconi, presbyteri, præsentibus episcopis, abbatibus, multisque tum ecclesiastici tum laici ordinis, elegimus hodie, x. calendas Maii, in basilica sancti Petri ad vincula, anno salutis MLXXII. in verum Christi vicarium Hildebrandum archidiaconum."—Platina, De vit. pontif. [p. 153. Colon. 1574.]

² Lib. viii. cap. 2.

more authentic. Likewise after the death of Sicinius¹, though some would have had Philip, others Proclus, presbyters of that Church, to succeed, yet the emperor, by the persuasion of certain vain men called a stranger thither, to wit, Nestorius, who afterward proved an arch heretic. After the death of Maximianus², successor to Nestorius, the emperor took order without delay that Proclus might be placed in the bishop's chair by the bishops present, before the body of Maximianus was buried, lest any variance and quarrelling might ensue.

Neither did the emperors meddle less with the election of the bishop of Rome, than of Constantinople. For (as Onuphrius rightly observeth³) after the Goths were driven out of Italy by Narses, the lieutenant of the emperor, and the country subjected again to the empire of the East, in the days of Justinian the emperor there began a new custom in the election of the Roman bishops; which was, that so soon as the bishop of that see should be dead, the clergy and people (as formerly they had done) should presently choose

¹ Socrates, Lib. vii. cap. 29.

² Idem, Lib. vii. cap. 39.

³ "Gotthis Italia omni per Narsem patricium pulsas eaque cum urbe Roma orientalis imperii parte facta, sub Justiniano imperatore ex auctoritate papæ Vigili novus quidam in comitiis pontificiis mos inolevit. Is fuit, ut mortuo papa nova quidem electio more majorum statim a clero S. P. Q. R. fieret, verum electus Romanus pontifex non ante consecrari atque ab episcopis ordinari posset, quam ejus electio ab imperatore Constantinopolitano confirmata esset; ipseque litteris suis patentibus licentiam electo pontifici concederet, ut ordinari et consecrari posset, atque jurisdictionem pontificatus tum obtineret. Pro qua licentia consequenda electo necesse erat certam pecuniæ quantitatem imperatori transmittere.

"Hoc autem ideo Justinianum imperatorem vel ex ejus auctoritate Vigilium papam instituisse credendum est, ut imperator certus esset de conditionibus novis pontificis, cujus tum maxima esse auctoritas cœperat, imperatoribus præsertim Italia absentibus, ne aliquo pontifice factioso vel imperatoris hoste ordinato urbs et Italia eo auctore ab orientali imperio deficeret, seque finitimis barbaris traderet, quod Silverium papam aliquando quæsisse sibi persuadebat. Qua ratione fiebat, ut in novis comitiis eum potissimum Romanum pontificem crearent quem imperatori a quo confirmandus esset amicum esse scirent, et de quo ille confideret nihil in Italia contra imperium moliturum, barbaris præsertim Longobardis eam paulo post vexantibus."—Onuphr. annot. ad Plat. in Pelag. ii. [p. 73.]

another to succeed into his place; but that he might not be consecrated and ordained by the bishops till his election were confirmed by the emperor, and till he gave leave to ordain him by his letters patents. For which confirmation a certain sum of money was paid, which it is likely Justinian did, or by his authority caused Vigilius the bishop of Rome to do it, that the emperor might be assured of the conditions of the newly-elected bishop, lest a factious and busy man being chosen, he might conspire with the barbarous people that then sought to encroach upon the empire, and so cause a revolt of the city of Rome and the country of Italy from the Eastern empire, the bishop growing great, and the emperor being far off. Upon which constitution it came to pass that the Romans chose, for the most part, such a one as they thought would be acceptable to the emperor, and of whom he might be persuaded that he would attempt nothing prejudicial to the state of the empire, the Lombards about that time, or presently after, troubling Italy. This custom was continued till the time of Benedict the Second¹, in whose time Constantine the emperor, for the good opinion he had of him, and love he bare to him, gave commandment that the election of the bishop of Rome being resolved on, the bishops should presently proceed to the ordination of him, without expecting any confirmation from the emperor. But the power of confirming the newly-elected bishop of Rome, before he might be ordained, or execute the bishoply office, was again restored to Charles the Great and his successors, kings of France and emperors of the West, in more ample sort than it had been before, by Adrian the First²; which being again taken from his successors by Adrian the Third³, was restored to Otho the First, king of the Germans, and emperor of the West, by Leo

¹ "Constantinus imperator hominis sanctitate permotus sanctionem misit, ut deinceps quem clerus populus exercitusque Romanus in pontificem delegisset, eundem statim verum Christi vicarium esse omnes crederent, nulla aut Constantinopolitani principis aut Italiæ exarchi expectata auctoritate, ut antea fieri consueverat."—*Plat. in Benedict. ii.* [p. 89.]

² [*Infra.*]

³ "Hadrianus tertius, patria Romanus, patre Benedicto, tanti animi fuit, ut in initio pontificatus sui statim ad senatum populumque retulerit, anno Domini dcccxcv. ne in creando pontifice imperatoris auc-

the Eighth¹. From which time it continued till Gregory the Seventh², who though he was glad to seek the emperor's confirmation himself, when he first entered the popedom, yet afterwards he disclaimed it as unlawful: so condemning many of his predecessors that had allowed and confirmed this part of imperial power, under great pains and curses, to fall upon such as should ever go about to violate the same. After whose times other popes reserved the whole power of electing the Roman bishop to the cardinals alone, as we see the manner is unto this day. Thus writeth Onuphrius, professing that he carefully looked over all the ancient monuments of the Roman Church, to find out the certainty of these things. Neither need we to doubt of the truth of that he writeth³; yet for farther proof, lest any man should doubt, I will produce the reports of historians, and the acts of councils, to confirm that he saith. Platina, in the life of Pelagius the Second⁴, saith, nothing was done in the election of the Roman bishop in those days, without the emperor's consent and confirmation: and sheweth that the reason why Pelagius was created bishop without the command of the emperor, was, for that they could send no messenger to him, the city being besieged. And touching Gregory the First, he reporteth⁵, that when he was chosen bishop of Rome, knowing the emperor's consent necessarily to be required in the election and constitution of the bishop, unwilling to possess that place and room, he sent unto him, earnestly intreating him to make void the election

toritas expectaretur; utque libera essent et cleri et populi suffragia.—*Plat. in Hadrian. iii. [p. 127.]*

¹ Decret. Part. i. Dist. 63. cap. 22. [*infra.*]

² Decret. Part. i. Dist. 63. cap. 23. [*infra.*]

³ See before, cap. XLVI. [Vol. iii. p. 538.]

⁴ “*Hæc fuit una causa quare Pelagius injussu principis tum pontifex creatus sit, cum extra obsessam ab hoste urbem mitti quispiam non posset. Nil enim tum a clero in eligendo pontifice actum erat, nisi ejus electionem imperator approbasset.*”—*Plat. in Pelag. ii. [p. 73.]*

⁵ “*Gregorius patria Romanus, patre Gordiano viro senatorio, uno omnium consensu invitatus etiam pontifex creatur, anno Domini dxc. monachus namque erat, ac levita. Is autem cum principis consensus requireretur, nuncios cum litteris miserat qui Mauritium obsecrarent, ne pateretur electionem cleri et populi Romani ea in re valere.*”—*Id. in Greg. I. [p. 44.]*

of the clergy and people: which his suit the emperor was so far from granting, that he sent to confirm the election, and to enforce him to take the pastoral charge upon him, in that most dangerous and troublesome time. Whereby we see how far the emperors intermeddled in the election and constitution of the Roman bishops in those days. It is true, indeed, that the same Platina reporteth¹, that Constantine, admiring the sanctity and virtue of Benedict the Second, sent unto him a sanction, that ever after all men should presently take him for bishop (without expecting the concurrence of the authority of the emperor of Constantinople, or the exarch of Italy) whomsoever the clergy, people, and armies of the Romans, should choose. Notwithstanding this freedom and liberty continued not long: for (as we may read in the Decrees²) Charles the Great, and Adrian the First, held a synod in the church of St Saviour in Rome, wherein met a hundred and fifty three bishops, religious men and abbots, in which synod Adrian, with the consent of the bishops there assembled, gave unto Charles power to choose the bishop of Rome, and to order the apostolical see, together with the dignity of being a patrician or nobleman of Rome; and besides decreed, that all archbishops and bishops in the provinces abroad should seek investiture of him; and that no man should be esteemed a bishop, or be consecrated, till he were allowed and commended by the king. This decree the council published, anathema-

¹ In vita Benedicti. II. [ubi supra.]

² “Adrianus papa Romam venire Carolum regem ad defendendas res ecclesiæ postulavit; Carolus vero Romam veniens Papiam obsedit: ibique relicto exercitu in sancta resurrectione ab Adriano papa Romæ honorifice susceptus est. Post sanctam resurrectionem reversus Papiam, coepit Desiderium regem: deinde Romam reversus constituit ibi synodum cum Adriano papa in patriarchatu Lateranensi, in ecclesia sancti Salvatoris, quæ synodus celebrata est a 153 episcopis religiosis et abbatibus. Adrianus autem papa cum universa synodo tradiderunt Carolo jus et potestatem eligendi pontificem, et ordinandi apostolicam sedem. Dignitatem quoque patriciatus ei concesserunt. Insuper archiepiscopos et episcopos per singulas provincias ab eo investituram accipere diffinivit, ut nisi a rege laudetur et investiatur episcopus a nemine consecratur, et quicumque contra hoc decretum ageret, anathematis vinculo eum innodavit; et nisi resipisceret, bona ejus publicari præcepit.”—Gratian. Decret. Part. i. Dist. 63. cap. 22. [col. 351.]

tizing all that should violate it, and confiscating their goods; yet did Adrian the Third (as Platina reporteth¹) take so good heart unto him, that whereas Nicholas the First did but attempt such a thing rather than perform it, he in the very beginning of his papal dignity made a decree, that without expecting the emperor's consent or ratification, the election of the clergy, senate, and people, should be good. But Leo the Eighth, in a synod gathered together in the church of St Saviour in Rome, following the example of Adrian the First, with the consent of the whole synod, restored unto the emperor that power and authority which Adrian the First had yielded unto him, and Adrian the Third had sought to deprive him of. The words of that council are these²: "I Leo, bishop and servant of the servants of God, with the whole clergy and people of Rome, do constitute, confirm, and strengthen, and by our apostolical authority grant and give to our lord Otho the First, king of Germans, and to his successors in this kingdom of Italy for ever, power to choose a successor, and to order the bishop of this highest see apostolic, as also archbishops, and bishops, that they may receive investiture from him, and consecration whence they ought to have it, those only excepted which the emperor himself hath granted to the popes and archbishops; and that no man hereafter, of what dignity or religious profession soever, shall have power

¹ Plat. in Adr. III. [ubi supra.]

² "Ego Leo qui servus servorum Dei episcopus cum toto clero ac Romano populo constituimus, et confirmamus, et corroboramus, et per nostram apostolicam auctoritatem concedimus, atque largimur domino Othoni primo regi Teutonicorum ejusque successoribus hujus regni Italiæ in perpetuum facultatem eligendi successorem, atque summæ sedis apostolicæ pontificem ordinandi; ac per hoc archiepiscopos, seu episcopos; ut ipsi ab eo investituram accipiant et consecrationem unde debent, exceptis his quos imperator pontificibus et archiepiscopis concessit: et ut nemo deinceps cujuscunque dignitatis vel religionis eligendi vel patricium, vel pontificem summæ sedis apostolicæ, aut quemcunque episcopum ordinandi habeat facultatem, absque consensu ipsius imperatoris. Quod tamen fiat absque omni pecunia: et ut ipse sit patricius et rex. Quod si a clero et populo quis eligatur episcopus nisi a supra dicto rege laudetur et investiatur, non consecratur. Si quis contra hanc apostolicam auctoritatem aliquid molietur, hunc excommunicationi subjacere decernimus; et nisi resipuerit, irrevocabili exilio puniri, vel ultimis suppliciis affici."—Gratian. Decret. Part. I. [Dist. 63. cap. 23. col. 352.]

to choose a patrician or a chief bishop of the highest see apostolic, or to ordain any bishop whatsoever, without the consent of the emperor first had, which consent and confirmation notwithstanding shall be had without money. So that if any bishop shall be chosen by the clergy and people, he shall not be consecrated, unless he be commended and invested by the fore-named king. And if any man shall attempt to do anything against this rule and apostolical authority, we decree, that he shall be subject to excommunication; and that if he repent not, he shall be perpetually banished, or be subject to the last, most grievous, deadly, and capital punishments." Hence it came that when any bishop was dead, they sent his staff and ring to the emperor: and he to whom the emperor was pleased to deliver the same, after a solemn fashion and manner, was thereby designed and constituted bishop of the void place. Thus we see how authentically, under great pains and curses, the pope and council yield that right to the emperor, subjecting all that ever should go about to disannul their decree, to the great curse, perpetual banishment, and grievous punishments. Yet pope Hildebrand, who, as if he had been a fire-brand of hell, set all the world in a combustion, disannulled this law as impious and wicked¹: and Victor, Urbanus, and Paschalis succeeding him, were of the same mind. By reason whereof there grew a great dissension between the popes and emperors: Henry the Fourth, and after him Henry the Fifth, challenging not only the right of confirming the election of the popes, but power also to confer bishopricks and abbeys by investiture of staff and ring, as the popes, Adrian and Leo, had yielded and granted to Charles and his successors; which thing also had been enjoyed by the emperors for the space of three hundred years: and the popes, on the other side, thinking it unlawful for the emperors in this sort to bestow either bishoprick or abbey, and forbidding them so to do, under pain of the great curse. But Henry the Fifth forced pope Paschal to confirm unto him the ancient right again, and to accurse all such as should dislike, resist, or seek to disannul it: which, yet not long after, he reversed in another council: and in the days of Calixtus², the emperor resigned his right, and the pope allowed, that within his kingdom of Germany elections should be made in his presence,

¹ Naucier. Vol. II. Gener. 36. [fol. 158. ed. fol. Tubing. 1516.]

² Ibid. Gener. 38. [fol. 178]

and that with the advice of the metropolitan and bishops of the province, he might assist and strengthen the better part; and that the elected should receive from him all things belonging to the king, by the reaching forth of his sceptre. Matthew Paris saith¹, the contention between pope Paschal and Henry the emperor about the investiture of bishops and abbots, which the emperors had enjoyed three hundred years, in the times of threescore popes, was so ended, that both bishops and abbots should first swear canonical obedience to their ecclesiastical superiors, and be consecrated, and then receive institution from the emperor by rod and ring. Thus we see what right and interest ancient emperors challenged to themselves in the election of the bishop of Rome, and in conferring other dignities of the Church; and that the latter popes condemned that as evil and wicked which their predecessors not only allowed, but prescribed under great and grievous pains and curses. Whereupon Aventinus noteth², that among the popes, *Eadem facta modo superstitionis, modo pietatis, modo Christi, modo antichristi, modo justitiæ, modo tyrannidis nomina accipiunt*: that is, "that the same facts, deeds, and things, are at one time branded with the mark of superstition, and at another time set out with the glorious title of piety: at one time attributed to Christ, at another time to antichrist; at one time judged just and righteous, and at another time tyrannical and unjust." Genebrard³ (acknowledging that there have been many vile monsters that have gotten into Peter's chair, and that there were fifty popes rather apotactical and apostatical, than apostolical) layeth the blame upon the Roman emperors, as if they had placed those monsters in Peter's chair. It is well he confesseth, that such beasts have entered into the Church of Rome, but if he did not, we would easily prove the same. For (to omit Hildebrand, whom some called a monster, and an enemy to mankind, who caused more Christian blood to be shed, and more grievous confusions to rent and shake in sunder the Christian world, than any heretics or persecutors had ever done before, so that he was forced to confess at his death to God, to holy Church, and blessed Peter, that he had grievously offended in his pastoral office; and Joan the whore,

¹ Hist. Angl. in Henrico I. [p. 65. ed. fol. Lond. 1571.]

² Annal. Lib. iv. [p. 322.]

³ Chronog. Lib. iv. sæc. 10. [p. 553. fol. Lugd. 1609.]

because (as Onuphrius thinketh¹) she was not pope, but the harlot of John the Twelfth :) the stories mention such vile monsters sitting in that chair, that Benedict the Fourth is highly commended, for that though he did nothing memorable, yet he lived an honest and a good life². But that the emperors were the cause of the placing of these monsters (as Genebrard would make us believe), it may not be yielded. For between the time of Adrian the Third (who took the power of confirming popes from the emperors) and the reign of Otho the First, to whom it was restored by pope Leo, there entered Formosus, Bonifacius, Stephen, Romanus, Theodorus, John the Ninth, Christopher, and Sergius, all men of ill note: and John the Twelfth, than whom the earth did never bear a more prodigious and vile monster. This wretch, Otho³, at the earnest suit of the Romans, caused to be deposed by a council of bishops, and Leo to be chosen. Whereupon the power of choosing the pope, and ordering the see apostolic, was again, by consent of Leo the pope, and the people and clergy of Rome, given and confirmed to him and his successors for ever, in sort before expressed. For (as Sigonius saith) Leo⁴ rightly considered, that after the time of Adrian the Third, the ambition of the Romans filled the Church with beasts, disordered these elections, and set all in a tumult: and therefore thought no means so fit to reform these disorders, to repress these insolencies, and prevent these mischiefs, as to put the bridle into the emperor's hands again. Yet not long after, the Romans casting off the yoke, and breaking the bands in sunder, put in Boniface the Seventh, Benedict the Ninth, and Sylvester, who sold the popedom to Gregory the Sixth; all which popes were so intolerably wicked, that Platina⁵ calleth them *teterrima monstra*, that is, most vile, hideous, and ugly monsters. And Henry the Second called a council, and deposed Gregory⁶ the last of them, and placed Twideger, a German, in his place, who was afterwards named Clemens, who again restored the right of choosing the pope

¹ Annot. in Plat. in Joan. VIII. [p. 122..]

² Lib. Chron. in Bened. IV. [Naucler. Vol. II. Gen. 31. fol. 135.]

³ Otho Frisin. Chron. Lib. VI. cap. 23. [In Biblioth. Patr. Cisterc. Tom. VIII. p. 77.]

⁴ De Regno. Ital. Lib. VII. [p. 169. ed. fol. Franc. 1591.]

⁵ Plat. in Greg. VI. [p. 147.]

⁶ Otho Frisin. Chron. Lib. VI. cap. 31. [p. 80.]

to him and his successors : for that (as Sigonius noteth¹) after the law prescribing and requiring the emperor's consent to be had in such elections was taken away, the state of the Church was newly put in great danger. So that Henry the Second was forced to come into Italy, to set things in order. And therefore it is more than ordinary impudency in Genebrard², to impute all the confusions in the elections of the Roman bishops to the emperors, who were not the causes of them, but oftentimes stayed them by their princely power. Neither is it less strange, that he and other dare condemn that authority in the emperors as unlawful, which had continued from the time of Justinian to Benedict, and was again confirmed by Adrian, Leo, and other popes, with their councils of bishops; and by virtue whereof St Gregory and other possessed the episcopal chair, who are unjustly censured by Genebrard, as entering by the postern gate, in this respect. Neither have the popes been better, or the election freer from faction, since the emperors were wholly and finally excluded, than they were before. For what shall we say of Bonifacius the Eighth, of whom it is said³, that he entered like a fox, and died like a dog; that he cozened poor Coelestinus, his predecessor, and, by false practices, won him to resign the popedom to him; and resting not contented herewith, took upon him to dispose of all the kingdoms of the world at his pleasure? of John, the three and twentieth⁴, a vile man, and a devil incarnate? and Alexander the Sixth, of whom so many horrible things are reported by Onuphrius⁵, Volaterran⁶, and others? And touching factions and schisms, whereas there have been thirty of them in the Church of Rome, never any endured so long as the last, which was since the emperors were wholly excluded from intermeddling with papal elections. For it continued forty years, and could never be ended but by the help of Sigismund the emperor, in the Council of Constance. Wherefore seeing so many councils and popes

¹ De regno Ital. Lib. viii. [p. 203. ed. fol. Franc. 1591.]

² Ubi supra.

³ Plat. in Bonif. VIII. [p. 218.] Walsingham in Edwardo III. [Ypodeigma Neustriæ, p. 95. fol. Lond. 1574.]

⁴ Vide acta Concilii Constantiensis, Sess. 2. Act. vi. et Sess. 12. [Labbe, Tom. xvi. coll. 47 sqq., 212 sqq.]

⁵ In Alexandro VI. [p. 329.]

⁶ Anthropol. Lib. xxii. [pp. 515, 21. ed. fol. Bas. 1559.]

yielded the power of electing, or at least of allowing and confirming the popes to the emperors, and seeing so good effects followed of it, and so ill of the contrary, there is no reason why our adversaries should dislike it. For seeing the people anciently had their consent in these affairs, Frederick the emperor had reason when he said, that himself as king and ruler of the people, ought to be chief in choosing his own bishop¹.

Neither had the emperors only this right in disposing of the bishopric of Rome and other dignities ecclesiastical, but other Christian kings likewise had a principal stroke in the appointing of bishops. For (as Naclere noteth²) the French kings have had the right of investitures ever since the time of Adrian the First; and Duarenus sheweth³, that howsoever Ludovicus renounceth the right of choosing the bishop of Rome, yet he held still the right of investiture of other bishops into the place whereof came afterwards that right which the king useth, when in the vacancy of a bishopric he giveth power to choose, and some other royalties which the kings of France still retain. It appeareth by the twelfth Council of Toledo⁴, that the kings had a principal stroke in elections in the Churches of Spain; and, touching England, Matthew Paris testifieth⁵, that Henry the First, by William of Warnaste, his agent, protested to the pope, he would rather lose his kingdom than the right of investitures; and added threatening words to the same protestation. Neither did he only make verbal protestations, but he really practised that he spake, and gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to Rodolph bishop of London, investing him by pastoral staff and ring. *Articuli cleri* prescribe that elections shall be free from force, fear, or entreaty of secular powers: yet so as that

¹ Otho Frisin. de gestis Frederic. R. Lib. xi. cap. 1. [Lege Radevic. Lib. ii. cap. 16. in biblioth. Cisterc. per Bernard. Tissier, Tom. viii. p. 187.]

² Vol. ii. Gen. 38. [fol. 176.]

³ Defens. pro libertate Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ, cap. 43.

⁴ "Placuit omnibus pontificibus Hispaniæ, ut salvo privilegio uniuscujusque provinciæ licitum maneat deinceps Toletano pontifici, quoscunque regalis potestas elegerit, et jam dicti Toletani episcopi judicio dignos esse probaverit, in quibuslibet provinciis in præcedentium sedibus præficere præsules, et decedentibus episcopis eligere successores." —Concil. Tolet. xii. Can. 6. [Labbe, Tom. vii. col. 1439.]

⁵ In Henrico I. [p. 56.]

the king's licence be first asked, and, after the election done, his royal assent and confirmation be added to make it good. Whereupon the statute of provisors of benefices, made at Westminster, the five-and-twentieth of Edward the Third, hath these words: "Our sovereign lord the king and his heirs shall have and enjoy for the time the collations to the archbishoprics, and other dignities elective, which be of his advowry, such as his progenitors had before free election was granted: sith that the first elections were granted by the king's progenitors, upon a certain form and condition, as namely to demand licence of the king to choose, and, after choice made, to have his royal assent. Which condition being not kept, the thing ought, by reason, to return to his first nature."

So that we see, that at first the clergy and people were to choose their bishops and ministers; yet so that princes by their right were to moderate things, and nothing was to be done without them. But when they endowed Churches with ample revenues and possessions, and disburdened the people of the charge of maintaining their pastors, they had now a farther reason to sway things than before. And thence it is that the statute above mentioned saith, the kings gave power of free elections, yet upon condition of seeking their licence and confirmation, as having the right of nomination in themselves, in that they were founders. Likewise touching presbyters, the ancient canon of the Council of Carthage¹ (which was, that bishops should not ordain clerks without the consent of their clergy, and that also they should have the assent and testimony of the citizens) held while the clergy lived together upon the common contributions and dividend: but when not only titles were divided and distinguished, and men placed in rural churches abroad, but several allowance made for the maintenance of such as should attend the service of God by the lords of those country-towns, out of their own lands, and the lands of their tenants, they that thus carefully provided for the Church, were much respected. And it was thought fit they should have great interest in the choosing and nominating of clerks in such

¹ "Ut episcopus sine consilio clericorum suorum clericos non ordinet, ita ut civium conniventiam et testimonium quærat."—Concil. Carthag. iv. Can. 22. [Labbe, Tom. ii. col. 1439.]

places. Justinian the emperor¹, to reward such as had been beneficial in this sort to the Church, and to encourage others to do the like, decreed: "That if any man build a church or house of prayer, and would have clerks to be placed there, if he allow maintenance for them, and name such as are worthy, they shall be ordained upon his nomination. But if he shall choose such as be prohibited by the canons as unworthy, the bishop shall take care to promote some whom he thinketh more worthy." And the Council of Toledo, about the year of Christ 655, made a canon to the same effect. The words of the council are these²: "We decree, that as long as the founders of churches do live, they shall be suffered to have the chief and continual care of the said churches, and shall offer fit rectors to the bishop to be ordained. And if the bishop, neglecting the founders, shall presume to place any others, let him know that his admission shall be void, and to his shame; but if such as they choose be prohibited by the canons as unworthy, then let the bishop take care to promote some whom he thinketh more worthy." Whereby we see what respect was anciently had to such as founded churches, and gave lands and possessions to the same; yet were they not called lords of such places, after such dedication to God, but patrons only: because they were to defend the rights thereof, and to protect such as there attended the service of God: and though they had right to

¹ "Si quis oratorii domum fabricaverit, et voluerit in ea clericos ordinare aut ipse aut ejus hæredes; si expensas ipsis clericis ministrant, et dignos denominant, denominatos ordinari. Si vero qui ab eis eliguntur tanquam indignos prohibent sacræ regulæ ordinari, tunc sanctissimus episcopus quoscunque putaverit meliores ordinari procurret."—Justinian. Constit. Novell. cxxiii. cap. 18. [col. 257. ad calc. Codicis, ed. Gothofred. Francof. 1688.]

² "Pia compassione decernimus, ut quamdiu earundem fundatores ecclesiarum in hac vita superstites exstiterint, pro eisdem locis curam permittantur habere sollicitam, et solitudinem ferre præcipuam, atque rectores idoneos in iisdem basilicis iidem ipsi offerant episcopis ordinandos. Quod si tales forsitan non inveniantur ab eis, tunc quos episcopus loci probaverit Deo placitos, sacris cultibus instituat, cum eorum conniventia servituros. Quod si spretis eisdem fundatoribus, rectores ibidem præsumpserit episcopus ordinare, et ordinationem suam irritam noverit esse, et ad verecundiam sui alios in eorum loco, quos iidem ipsi fundatores condignos elegerint, ordinari."—Concil. Tolet. ix. Can. 2. [Labbe, Tom. vii. col. 467.]

nominate men to serve in these places, yet might they not judge or punish them if they neglected their duties, but only complain of them to the bishop or magistrate: neither might they dispose of the possessions thus given to the Church, and dedicated to God; but if they fell into poverty they were to be maintained out of the revenues thereof¹. This power and right of nomination and presentation resting in princes and other founders, can no way prejudice or hurt the state of the Church, if bishops (to whom examination and ordination pertaineth) do their duties in refusing to consecrate and ordain such as the canons prohibit; but very great confusions did follow the pope's intermeddling in bestowing church-livings and dignities, as we shall soon find if we look into the practice of them in former times.

CHAPTER LV.

OF THE POPES' DISORDERED INTERMEDDLING WITH THE ELECTIONS OF BISHOPS, AND OTHER MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH: THEIR USURPATION, INTRUSION, AND PREJUDICING THE RIGHT AND LIBERTY OF OTHERS.

THE popes in former times greatly prejudiced the right and liberty of other men, and hurt the estate of the Church of God three ways: first, by giving privileges to friars (a people unknown to all antiquity) to enter into the churches and charges of other men, to do ministerial acts, and to get unto themselves those things which of right

¹ "Quamvis autem nominandi jus habet patronus, in eum tamen qui ab episcopo ordinatus est, nullam sibi potestatem vindicat. Quare ne ob culpam quidem gradu suo dejicere eum potest, sed hoc ad antistitis officium spectat. Nec vero rerum ecclesiæ administrandarum ullam habet facultatem, sed quia patronus est atque defensor ecclesiæ, si male versari ministros deprehenderit, non solum admonere eos et increpare, verum etiam deferre, tam apud magistratum ac principem quam apud episcopum poterit. Sed si ad inopiam fuerit redactus patronus, ex proventibus ecclesiæ ali sustentarique debet, licet eorum dispensationem alias non habeat."—Duaren. de sacr. eccles. minist. et benef. Lib. v. cap. 4. [p. 1186.]

should have been yielded to others; secondly, by commendams; and thirdly, by reservations and provisions.

Touching the first, Matthew Paris¹ noteth that about the year of our Lord 1246 the preaching friars obtained great privileges from the pope, to preach, to hear confessions, and to do other ministerial acts, everywhere disgracing the ordinary pastors, as ignorant and insufficient to govern the people of God. This new-found order of friars, he saith, seemed to many discreet and wise men to tend to the overthrow of the order of pastors and bishops settled by the blessed apostles and holy doctors; and that not having been above thirty years in England they were grown more out of order than the monks of St Austin and Benedict's order were in many ages. For such was their impudent and shameless boldness that they came to the synods of bishops, prelates, and archdeacons, sitting as presidents in the midst of their deans, rectors, and other worthy men, requiring their letters of commission and privilege to be read, and themselves to be admitted and commended to preach in their synods and parish-churches as ambassadors and angels of God with all honour. In this insolent sort went they up and down from place to place, and asked of every man, though of a religious profession, to whom he confessed himself; and if any one answered that he made his confession to his own priest, they asked again, what idiot that was? They told him he was never hearer of divinity, that he never studied the decrees, and that he was not able to discuss any one controversy; adding that such priests were blind, and guides of the blind; and willed all men to come unto them, as to men knowing to discern between leprosy and leprosy, to whom the hard and obscure things were known, and the secrets of God revealed; whereupon many, especially noblemen and noblewomen, betook themselves to these, contemning their own pastors, so that the ordinary ministers grew into great contempt, which grieved them not a little, nor without cause. But of these friarly people no man hath written better than Armachanus², who excellently deciphereth their intolerable hypocrisy, injus-

¹ In Henrico III. [p. 672.]

² Armacan^{us} [Radulphus], Serm. iv. fact. in vulgari apud crucem S. Pauli, Londin. anno 1356. [Serm. ii. in the MS. in the Lambeth Library (chart. 1208). The sermons are in a Latin version.]

tice, and covetousness, joined with all cunning and cozening practices and devices. Their hypocrisy he discovereth, in that though they pretended poverty, yet they had houses like the stately palaces of princes, churches more costly than any cathedral churches, more and richer ornaments than all the prelates of the world, more and better books than all the doctors and great learned men of the world, cloisters and walking-places so sumptuous, stately, and large, that men-of-arms might fight on horseback and encounter one another with their spears in them, and their apparel richer than the greatest and most reverend prelates. Their injustice he sheweth in their injurious intruding into other men's churches and charges, depriving them of their authority, honour, and maintenance, and their covetousness in that they sought only to do those things that might bring gain, and insinuated themselves into the favour and liking of the great ones of the world, little regarding those of mean condition. Whereupon he warneth all men to take heed of them as wicked seducers, that enter into houses and lead captive simple women laden with sins, bringing in sects of perdition, and in covetousness making merchandise of men by crafty and feigned words of flattery¹. This is that unprofitable and most dangerous and damnable generation of disguised and masked hypocrites, which like locusts are come out of the bottomless pit, in these last ages of the world, eating up and devouring whatsoever is green and flourishing upon the earth.

The monks in their beginning were a people of a far other sort: for they took not on them to preach or minister sacraments, but were a kind of voluntary penitents, according to that of St Hierome²; *Monachus plangentis, non docentis officium habet*; that is, "A monk is a mourner, he is no teacher." And again³; *Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum. Clerici pascunt oves, Ego pascor. Illi de altario vivunt, mihi quasi infructuosæ arbori securis ponitur ad radicem, si munus ad altare non defero*: that is, "The condition of monks and of clerks is very different. Clerks feed the sheep, but I am fed; they live by the altar,

¹ See to this purpose Clemangis de corrupto Ecclesiæ statu, Gerson contra Bullam Mendicantium.

² Hier. contra Vigilantium, non procul a fine. [Tom. ii. col. 401.]

³ Ad Heliodorum. [Epist. xiv. Tom. i. col. 33.]

but if I bring not my gift to the altar, the axe is lifted up against me, and laid as to the root of an unfruitful tree." And therefore (as Duarenus noteth¹) in ancient times monks were mere laymen, neither were there any priests or clerks found in monasteries; but they came all, as other of the people did, to the common temples and churches, to be taught, to pray, and to receive the sacraments. Which thing, he saith, Justinian the emperor plainly enough expresseth: and with him agreeth bishop Lindan², who saith, that in ancient time all monks were laymen, and that they were all excluded and shut out of the quire: when they came into the temple and house of God, sometimes they did send for a priest to do ministerial acts among them, and in the end some of them were ordained priests, that so they might have the ministration of sacraments among them, and make as it were a certain church among themselves, and so neither be forced to go to other churches, nor to borrow priests from other. And to the same purpose Hugo de Sancto Victore saith³, that by special favour and indulgence the divine orders of ministry are granted to monks, that they might live more quietly within themselves: not that they should exercise prelacy in the people of God; but that they might celebrate the communion of God within their own private retiring places, which yet they say in the beginning was not so. For monks and men dwelling in the wilderness are said to have had

¹ "Nulli in monasteriis reperiabantur sacerdotes, aut clerici; sed tanquam cæteri ex populo qui laici Græce dicuntur, ad communem omnium ædem sacram, percipiendorum sacramentorum causa se conferebant. Quod et Justinianus satis aperte ostendit."—Duaren. De sacr. eccles. minist. et benef. Lib. i. cap. 20. [p. 1164.]

² "Non nescimus fuisse olim quosdam Christiani hujus gregis ductores qui a perfectioris sanctimonie studio dicobantur vel therapeutæ vel monachi, vel etiam aliis forte nominibus. Qui omnes sicuti erant ordinis laici, ita una cum reliquis templi choro quem dicimus erant exclusi."—Lindan. Panopl. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. 75. [p. 399. Col. Agr. 1575.]

³ "Ut intrinsecus quietius vivant, ordines ministerii divini per indulgentiam ipsis (monachis) conceduntur; non ad exercendam prælationem in populo Dei, sed ad celebrandam intrinsecus communionem sacramenti Dei; quod tamen principio non ita fuisse dicitur. Monachi quippe et eremum habitantes olim presbyteros habuisse leguntur."—Hugo de Sancto Victore, Erudit. theol. de Sacram. Lib. ii. Part. 3. cap. 4. [Tom. iii. p. 445. Mogunt. 1617.]

priests assigned unto them. But, as Duarenus noteth¹, hereby the passage was opened, and all monks began to be ordained priests, though they had no government of the Church, that they might procure the more dignity to themselves: the order and degree of clergymen being more high and honourable than that of monks. Neither did they long contain themselves within these bounds after they had attained to be priests, but got authority and jurisdiction over churches abroad, either because they were founded within their lands, or for that it pleased the pope to take them from bishops and subject them to these monks. At the first, as the same Duarenus noteth², they lived apart, in certain abiding places, which they had in the mountains and deserts, whence they were called not only monks, but eremites and anchorites, though at certain hours and set times they met. Afterwards they began to live together, and the places where they lived were called *Cænobia* of the communion of life. And when certain ecclesiastical persons remaining in cities and places of resort, and teaching the people, tied themselves to like observations, though haply not altogether so strict as these had done, they were called *Canonici*³, that is

¹ “Hac via patefacta omnes monachi passim sive ullius ecclesiæ gubernatione sacerdotes creari cœperunt, quamvis ea turba monasterio fortassis non adeo necessaria esset, credo ut ea re majorem sibi dignitatem conciliarent.”—Duaren. ubi supra.

² “Cum primum exoriri cœperunt monachi idque in Ægypto, congruentem nomini suo vitam, id est, solitariam agebant. Et quanquam statis horis fere in unum locum eos convenire moris esset, tamen simul non commorabantur, sed domunculas sparsim per montes et saltus exstructas habebant, unde non solum monachi, sed etiam eremitæ, et anachoretæ merito dicebantur. Sed postea visum est conducibilius ac decentius in eisdem ædibus eos habitare et vivere omnia habentes inter se communia, et paupertatis, castitatis, obedientiæque votis obstrictos, quam Timoniano quodam more in speluncis delitescere; cœnobia tunc ea loca a communione vitæ, verius quam monasteria a solitudine appellata sunt.”—Id. cap. 21.

³ “A viris religiosus ad imitationem monasticæ vitæ etiam presbyterorum et canonicorum collegia instituta sunt, in quibus clerici ministeriis ecclesiæ initiati sunt ac destinati, ac presbyteri in ecclesiæ ministerio jam constituti ad certam et præscriptam regulam vitam agerent, quæ quamvis monastica illa paulo fuerit liberior, tamen etiam certis legibus et canonibus adstringebantur, unde et vita illa canonica et qui eam profitebantur canonici dicti sunt.

regulars, rather than *Monachi*, monks, of which order St Austin is supposed to have been the author. Afterwards, in process of time, some other clergymen living together, and tied to the observation of rules and canons, but not so strict as these, nor so near to monkish profession, were called secular canons, and the other, for distinctions' sake, canons regular. In these societies young men were trained up, as likewise they were in all cathedral churches, till the founding of the universities, passing through all the minor orders, and performing for a space the duties belonging to them, that so they might be fitted for greater employments. The monks had one among them that commanded over all the rest, named *Cœnobiarcha*, *Archimandrita*, or *Abbas*¹; and for the better performance of his duty, took unto him another whose help he might use in the governing of those that were subject to him, who was named a prior. This prior either assisted the abbot in the government of those monks which lived within the bounds of the monastery, and was called a prior claustral; or those lesser convents that were abroad, and yet subject to the abbot, and was named a prior conventual. By that hath been said we see that the profession of monks in the beginning was voluntary penitency and a retired life, not meddling with public affairs either civil or ecclesiastical, (as appeareth by the decree of the Council of Chalcedon²;) that they were mere laymen, that

“Auctor hujus instituti præcipuus fuit B. Augustinus, . . . Alii initium hujus canonicæ vitæ ad Urbanum primum referunt.”—Cassand. Consult. de canonicis. [p. 1009. Par. 1616.]

¹ “Sicut clericis cujusque ecclesiæ præest episcopus, ita singulis monasteriis præsidet unus qui a Justiniano et plerisque veterum archimandrita, et cœnobiarcha, a cæteris vulgo abbas appellatur. Hinc intra monasterii sui septa præfectum quendam, sive ut loquuntur, priorem claustralem constituit; cujus vicaria utatur opera vigilantiaque in his quæ ad sodalitatis gubernationem spectant. Et quia plerumque extra monasterium minores aliqui conventus, atque sodalitia monachorum sunt eidem archimandritæ subdita, alii quidam præfecti eo cum libera potestate et autoritate dimittuntur, quos priores conventuales appellant.”—Duaren. cap. 22. [p. 1165.]

² Τοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν καὶ χώραν μονάζοντας ὑποτέταχθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀσπάζεσθαι, καὶ προσέχειν μόνη τῇ νηστείᾳ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ, ἐν οἷς τόποις ἀπετάξαντο, προσκαρτεροῦντας· μήτε δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μήτε βιωτικοῖς παρενοχλεῖν πράγμασιν, ἢ ἐπικοινωνεῖν, καταλιμπά-

they gloried not in the perfection of their estate, as they that call themselves religious in our time do, but confessed, that men of action and employment, who conflicted with the manifold oppositions of the world, and declined not the battle, were more valiant soldiers of Christ in his spiritual warfare than themselves, who fearing their own weakness did run away. They acknowledged themselves inferior to the whole ecclesiastical order, came to the common prayers and sacraments with the rest of the people, and paid their tithes, and yielded all other duties as well as the rest: howsoever in the end they degenerated, and grew out of kind, putting themselves into the ministry, intruding themselves into the government of the Church, spoiling the bishops of their jurisdiction, and inferior pastors of their maintenance, by appropriating to themselves the livings that formerly belonged to them.

But the friars profess an intermeddling with the public direction and guidance of the people of God, causing great confusions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and are most unlike the ancient monks, and their beginning was but of latter time. These were principally of four sorts, but among them all the Minorites or Franciscans seemed to be the strictest. For whereas the monks possessed lands in common, though none of them had any personal propriety in anything, and the rest of the friars had the right of moveable goods in common, though they possessed no lands, these professed to have nothing but the bare and single use of things, without all right or claim, as I have shewed before¹. About which profession of theirs there was great contention in the time of John the Two-and-twentieth, the folly and hypocrisy of which men (thinking perfection to consist in poverty) is sufficiently refuted by Gerson², John the Two-and-twentieth³, Janse-

νοντας τὰ ἴδια μοναστήρια.—Concil. Chalced. Can. 4. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 1684.]

¹ Cap. XLIII. [Vol. III. p. 476.]

² “Ex prædictis infero quod paupertas, vigiliæ, abstinentia, jejunium, inediæ, nuditas, privatio omnium facultatum, non sunt virtutes. Apparet, quoniam omnes virtutes sunt de essentiali perfectione vitæ Christianæ. Hæc autem omnia sunt extra essentialem perfectionem vitæ Christianæ.”—Gerson de concil. evang. et stat. peccat. [Tom. II. col. 675. Antv. 1706.]

³ In Extravagant. Tit. ‘de verb. signif.’ cap. ‘ad conditorem canonum.’ [tit. xiv. cap. 3. col. 115 sqq. fol. Par. 1612.]

nus¹, and other, who shew that perfection consisteth in the virtues of the mind, that poverty or riches neither make a man better nor worse, and consequently pertain nothing to perfection, otherwise than as the care and love of them hindereth, or the neglect of them furthereth, the fervency of love.

From this first way whereby the pope disturbed the ecclesiastical order, which was by giving privileges to exorbitant friars, let us proceed to the second, which is by *commendams*. “In ancient times,” saith Duarenus², “when a worthy pastor was not presently found to be set over a church so soon as it was void, to avoid those evils and inconveniences which for the most part anarchy bringeth forth, the custom was that in the meanwhile the void church should be commended and committed to some honest man, who being but as a tutor and procurator only, should be bound faithfully to give an account of that he should do; for he was not pastor of the church, but appointed only for a time to take care of it. But in time this thing (which was at first most profitable and behoveful, and devised to provide for

¹ Com. in Concord. Evangel. cap. 100.

² “Priscis temporibus, cum ecclesiæ vacanti pastor idoneus statim præfici non poterat, interim ut ea evitarentur mala atque incommoda quæ ut plurimum ἀναρχία parit, solebat ecclesia vacans probo alicui viro commendari et committi, qui tutor quispiam aut procurator bona fide actus sui rationem redderet. Illic enim pastor ecclesiæ non erat, et ad tempus solum constituebatur.

“Verum res longe utilissima, et ad consulendum ecclesiis vacantibus inventa et excogitata, tandem in ipsarum perniciem pestemque mirabiliter conversa est. Nam quibus per canones non licet præfici ecclesiis aut monasteriis, moribus comparatum est ut eisdem ecclesiæ vel monasteria in perpetuum et quamdiu vivunt commendentur. Atque ita concipitur formula hujus commendationis in diplomatibus pontificiis, ut libera non solum dispensatio rerum, sed etiam consumptio atque dissipatio ipsis permissa intelligatur. Et sane mirum est homines ingeniosos qui fucum hunc commenti sunt, tantæ corruptelæ non alium colorem quæsiisse, ne tam aperte despici canones, et palam ludibrio haberi viderentur.” — Duaren. De sacr. eccles. minist. et benef. Lib. v. [cap. 7. p. 1188.]

All commendams are not to be condemned, notwithstanding any abuse of the same; for sometimes by reason either of the scarcity of sufficient pastors, or the insufficiency of the pastor's maintenance arising out of one church, more churches than one are committed to one.

churches in vacancy,) was strangely turned to the hurt and plague of them. For they who by the canons may not have the government of churches or monasteries committed to them, have both churches and monasteries commended unto them perpetually, and as long as they live. And such is the form of this committing or commending in the pope's grants, that they to whom churches are so commended have free power not only to dispose of such things as belong unto them, but to consume, waste, and spend them, without being subject to any account. And truly it is strange that men of wit and understanding, who devised this fraudulent kind of practice, found not out some fairer colour of so great and gross a corruption, that so they might not have seemed so plainly and openly to have despised the canons, and to make a mock of them." Thus far Duarenus. In this sort the pope gave the greatest bishoprics in the world *in commendam* or perpetual administration to his cardinals, and sometimes in title also, but so that they were called bishops elect of such a place, and never consecrated.

The third way whereby the pope prejudiceth the Church, is by taking on him to give church livings in all parts of the world to whom he pleaseth; a thing never thought of in the first ages of the Church. For the bishop of Rome had no power to ordain clerks out of his own diocese, or bishops out of his own province, the canons providing that a bishop should be chosen by the clergy and people, and ordained by the metropolitan and other bishops of the province. It is true, indeed, that as patriarch of the West, he was to confirm the several metropolitans subject to him, either by imposition of hands, or by sending the pall, as all other patriarchs likewise were to do; but in the patriarchship of any of the rest he might not meddle, as appeareth by the contention between Rome and Constantinople about the Bulgarians¹; nor within his own precincts, further than the confirming of the metropolitans, as it is evident by the Council of Chalcedon² forbidding the patriarch of Constantinople to meddle in the ordinations of bishops, and requiring him to content himself with the confirmation of metropolitans, to whom yet in the same council

¹ Binius in vita Adriani secundi, Tom. iii. Concil. Part. ii. [See Chap. xxxi. Vol. iii. p. 262, above.]

² Act. xvi. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 1756.]

equal privileges with the bishop of Rome are given. So that it is not likely that in those times the Roman bishops challenged to themselves any such power and right as now they do. Nay, Duarenus pronounceth¹, that there is no doubt but that the more ancient and holy bishops of Rome, contenting themselves with their own church, left the administration of other churches free to their own bishops, as rather thinking themselves bishops of that one city than of the whole world; which thing haply moved a certain bishop (of whom Paulus Æmylius² maketh mention) to answer somewhat peremptorily to Gregory the Eleventh, asking him why he went not to his church? for whereas Gregory sat at Avignon and not at Rome, he said unto him, If one should ask thee why thou goest not to Rome, that hath been so long forsaken of her bishops, thou wouldest have much less to answer than I have. But the latter bishops of Rome contented not themselves herewith; neither did they think it enough to be bishops of Rome, and prime bishops amongst and before the rest, but they would needs be universal bishops, and therefore thought it no robbery to concur with all other bishops, and to prevent them, if they could, in giving void benefices before them: and because it was not easy to prevent the bishops in this sort, in provinces and kingdoms far remote, therefore they found out a more certain and ready way, whereby to take from them their right and power: for a custom grew in and prevailed, unknown to former times, of certain papal grants, wherein benefices not void were commanded to be bestowed and conferred, when they should be void, upon such as the pope should think fit, and specially upon strangers. These were called *Gratiæ expectativæ*, and *Mandata de providendo*: and hereof the whole state of England complained to Innocentius the Fourth³,

¹ “Nec vero dubium est quin vetustiores sanctioresque urbis Romæ episcopi sede ecclesiaque propria contenti reliquis episcopis ecclesiarum ipsis commissarum liberam administrationem reliquerint, quasi urbis unius magis quam orbis episcopi. Quæ ratio forte episcopum nescio quem movit, cujus meminit Æmylius de rebus gestis Francorum, ut paulo liberius Gregorio undecimo pontifici Romano responderet.”—Duaren. De sacr. eccles. minist. et benef. Lib. III. cap. 1. [p. 1172.]

² Lib. IX. De rebus gestis Francor. [p. 418. ed. 8vo. Par. 1548.]

³ Matt. Par. in Henrico III. [p. 639.]

affirming, that by virtue of these provisions, there were so many Italians beneficed in England, that the revenues which they had from hence was 60,000 marks; which was more than the bare revenue of the kings; and yet, as if this had not been enough, there came one Martin with commission from the pope to wrong the poor Church of England a little more. This man conferred certain benefices actually void, of the value of thirty marks by the year, upon strangers, and when they died, he put in others, without the privity of the patrons, and went about to assure to such as he pleased the like benefices, not yet void, whensoever they should be void; besides many other most unjust exactions, wherewith he vexed the poor English, putting all such as resisted against him under the sentence of excommunication and interdiction, taking more on him than ever any legate did (though he came not as a legate), to the great prejudice of the crown of England, seeing no legate was to come hither, unless he were desired by the king. The messengers that the state of England sent to the pope, to make known their grievances and complaints, were greatly disliked by the pope, and their message no way acceptable to him; and therefore, though dissembling the matter, he gave them some good words, as if there should be no more such provisions made, but only for some particular persons, and they not above twelve in number, yet such was the good nature of the man, (as Matthew Paris noteth¹), that he would not suffer the poor English, though sore beaten with many stripes, once to cry or complain. But because they published these their complaints in the Council of Lyons, which was holden at the time of their coming, he was exceedingly angry, and dealt with the French king to make war against the king of England, and either to deprive him of his kingdom, or to make him wholly to stoop to the pleasure of the pope, and the court of Rome²; which the French king utterly refused to do. After these things thus passed between the pope and the English, he did worse than ever before. Whereupon there was a new meeting of the states of England, wherein these grievances were made manifest and complained of³. First, that the pope was not content with his ordinary revenue of Peter-pence, but exacted other contributions without the king's knowledge.

¹ [p. 669.]² [Ibid.]³ [p. 674.]

Secondly, that the patrons of churches were not permitted to present clerks, but Romans were put into them, who neither understood the language, nor ever meant to live here, but carried away the money out of the realm. So that neither was the people instructed, hospitality kept, the churches repaired, nor any good done: and, besides, the original patrons were deprived of their right¹, one Italian succeeding another in the churches founded by them, without their knowledge, and that unwelcome messenger *Non obstante*, too often sent unto them. These their complaints the king, the bishops, abbots, lords and commons made known by their letters and messengers to the pope², with earnest desire of reformation and redress; but could receive none other answer from him, but that the king of England had his council, and so had he; that the king began to kick against him, and to play the Frederick. And such was his displeasure, that all English were repelled and driven away as schismatics. After this, new letters were again written to the pope³, and in the end a privilege was granted that no provisions should be made for Italians, cardinals, or the pope's nephews, before the king were first earnestly intreated to be content with them, only to abuse such as would be abused. For the pope went forward still in his provisions as formerly he had done, as appeareth by his letters to the abbot of St Alban's, and by the worthy letters of the bishop of Lincoln, written to the pope about these matters⁴, and his speeches against the pope a little before his death⁵. And here, by the way, it is worth the noting, that Matthew Paris hath⁶, that in the time of Gregory the Ninth, upon complaint of one Robert Tewing, patron of the church of Lathune, the pope's grant, made in prejudice of his right, was reversed, because it was not known that the patron of that benefice was a layman when it was given by the pope. So that if it had been in the gift of a clergyman, it must have stood; so ready was the head of the Church to oppress churchmen, and their possessions of all other were most fit for spoil. So little respect was there had to religion in those days, and so were all things returned to their old chaos again: whence it came that the hearts of all men went away

¹ [p. 667.]² [p. 687.]³ [p. 689.]⁴ [p. 791.]⁵ [p. 843.]⁶ [p. 848.]

from the pope and the church of Rome¹; whereof the one sought to be esteemed a father, and the other a mother, to all churches; but the one of them proved a step-father, and the other a step-mother. Neither did the pope, like a wild boar, make havock only in the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts, planted in this island, which lay open to be spoiled by all passengers, but he played his part also in all other kingdoms of the West; though some resisted more against his intrusions than others. Touching France, we read in the book entitled *Pro libertate Ecclesiæ Gallicæ, adversus Romanam aulam, defensio Parisiensis Curia, Ludovico undecimo Gallorum Regi quondam oblata*, turned out of French into Latin, by Duarenus, and added to his book, *De sacris Ecclesiæ ministeriis*², that there being a great number of goodly churches founded by the kings of France, when the bishops of Rome began to prejudice the liberties of them, the king, the nobles, the princes of the blood, the clergy, and commons, assembled to resist the vexations, oppressions, and wrongs of the court of Rome, and made many good constitutions for the repressing of such insolencies. So Lewis, when first the pope began to meddle, in the year one thousand two hundred sixty seven, decreed that prelacies and dignities elective should be given by election; and such as are not elective, by collation and presentation of patrons; and that the court of Rome should extort no money for any such thing out of the kingdom of France. And when, notwithstanding this decree, in process of time the court of Rome attempted divers things contrary to the liberty of the Church of France, Charles the Sixth, with the advice of his nobles, prelates, abbots, colleges, universities, and other parts of his kingdom, in the year one thousand four hundred and six, made a constitution, whereby he restored the Church to her ancient liberty: and this decree was published in the year one thousand four hundred and seven; in which year Benedict the pope and his ministers having imposed and exacted great sums of money, a new complaint was made to the king; and thereupon a decree made that nothing should be paid out of France in the nature of *annates* or tenths, and that such as had been excommunicated for refusal of them, should be absolved again. In

¹ [pp. 496, 791.]² [p. 1208 sqq.]

the year one thousand four hundred and eighteen, a constitution was made, whereby all reservations and apostolical graces, as they call them, together with all exactions of the court of Rome, were forbidden. And when as the Romans contemning all constitutions, ceased not to trouble and confound the hierarchy of the Church, and scattered abroad every where throughout the world their reservations and expectative graces, (whence followed great and horrible deformities in the Church), at last a general council was assembled for the reformation of the Church, in the head and members, which prohibited these reservations and expectative graces, restored the canons touching elections and collations, and subjected all that should contumaciously resist (yea, though the pope himself,) to due punishment. The decrees of this council Charles the Seventh confirmed, with the consent of all estates of his kingdom; and this his decree of confirmation was called the Pragmatical Sanction. But the popes never rested till they had, if not wholly overthrown it, yet greatly weakened it. The attempts of Pius the Second (who being a private man in the Council of Basil set it forward what he could) are not unknown, as also of Sixtus the Fourth, Innocentius the Eighth, Alexander the Sixth, Julius the Second, and Leo the Tenth, who published a constitution, whereby the Pragmatical Sanction was much weakened, though not wholly taken away; and those his new decrees were called *Conventa*, that is, agreements between the king and him. From these decrees the university of Paris appealed to a general council. And thus we see how well the popes fulfil the commandment of Christ in feeding his sheep, that labour so mainly the overthrow of those canons, which, being taken away, the whole ecclesiastical order is confounded, whole countries are made desolate and forsaken, kingdoms are robbed of their money and treasure, and churches are ruined and subverted. For so did all good men out of woeful experience complain in former times.

Wherefore passing by these intrusions, usurpations, and tyrannical intermeddling of popes with things not pertaining to them, it is evident by that which hath been said, that the election of fit ministers to teach the people of God pertaineth to the clergy and people, by the reasons and grounds of human societies, unless by their own consent, forfeiture, restraint of superior authority commanding over them, or

special reasons prevailing more than those general grounds of human fellowship, it be taken from them: as in case of founding churches and endowing them with lands the patrons have the right of presenting; and in cases of intolerable abuses, negligences, or insolences, the prince (as head of the people) assumeth to himself the nomination of such as are to serve in the holy ministry of the Church.

Some there are that think the right of the people in choosing their pastors and ministers to be such, as that it may not be limited, restrained, or taken away, upon any consideration whatsoever; and that therefore there is no lawful election of ecclesiastical ministers unless the people choose; but the error of these men is easily refuted. For seeing the scripture and word of God giveth no such power to the people, and all the interest they have, or can claim, is but from the ground of human fellowship, subject to many limitations, alterations, and restraints, there is no reason to think that necessarily the people must ever elect their pastors. In the reformed Churches of France and Geneva the people give no voices in the election of ministers, but are only permitted, if they have any causes of dislike or exception, to make them known to the pastors and guides of the Church, and the power of judging of such exceptions resteth wholly in them. Inso-much that when one Morellius, a fantastical companion, sought to bring the elections of bishops and ministers to be popular, and swayed by the most voices of the people, he was condemned by all the synods in France, as Beza sheweth in his epistles¹. That there is no precept in the whole New Testament forcing popular elections it is evident; and the only example that is brought of any such thing is that of the seven deacons²; but first there was some special reason why the people's consent was sought in the election of these deacons, being to be trusted with the treasure of the Church, and the disposing of the contributions of the faithful; and secondly, from one example a general rule may not be gathered, seeing the circumstances of things, times, and persons, admit infinite varieties. Some allege that place in the Acts³ for proof of popular elections, where the apostles are said to have appointed elders or presbyters by *χειροτονία*, because *χειρο-*

¹ Epist. 83. [p. 402. 8vo. Gen. 1573.]

² Acts vi. [2—5.]

³ Acts xiv. 23.

τορία signifieth that kind of election that is made by the more part of the voices of the electors expressing their consent by lifting up of their hands, as sometimes men shew their consent by going to one side of the place or room where they are; whence they are said *pedibus ire in sententiam*. But surely these places are unadvisedly alleged for proof of popular elections. For first, the apostles only are said *χειροτονεῖν*, and consequently the election pertained to them only, and they only elected; for *χειροτορία* signifieth to elect, and not to gather voices. Secondly, though *χειροτορία* do originally signify that kind of election which is made by many expressing their consent and giving their voices or suffrages by lifting up of their hands, yet may it be extended more generally to signify any election of many expressing their consent by writing, by lively voice, or by going to one side of the place where they are; yea, any choice whatsoever, though made by one alone; as it appeareth in that the apostles are said to have been witnesses, formerly designed and appointed by *χειροτορία*¹; whereas Christ only chose them, and they were not elected by the voices of many, or any but himself alone. And in ecclesiastical writers the same word signifieth ordination, that is, by imposition of hands²; as it were easy to prove by many testimonies of antiquity.

CHAPTER LVI.

OF THE ORDINATION OF BISHOPS AND MINISTERS.

FROM the election of ministers, whereof we have sufficiently spoken, let us proceed to their ordination, with which none but the guides of the Church are trusted; and therefore, howsoever the people may sometimes elect, yet they are charged, “not to lay hands hastily on any man, nor to communicate with other men’s sins³.” So that the moderation of all things in this kind resteth in them, and this is all that the

¹ Acts x. 41.

² Can. Apost. cap. 1. [Coteler. Patr. Apost. Tom. i. p. 442.] Chrysostom. Hom. xiv. in Acta, in illa verba, “Cum orassent imposuerunt illis manus.” [Tom. ix. p. 144.] Concil. Nicæn. in Epist. ad Alexandrinos, Apud Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. 9.

³ 1 Tim. v. 22.

Scripture prescribeth touching the designing and appointing of ministers, namely, whom, and how, they that have power of ordaining must ordain. Ordination is the setting of men apart to the work of the ministry, the commending of them with fasting and prayer to the grace of God, and the authorizing of them to perform things pertaining to God; which others, without such sanctification, neither may nor can do. Wherein the ceremony of imposition of hands is used. First, to express the setting of them apart for sacred employment. Secondly, to let them know that the hand of God is with them in all that they do in his name, and by his authority to guide, direct, strengthen, and protect them. Thirdly, to note out the person upon whom the Church, by her prayers, desireth the blessings of Almighty God to be poured in more plentiful sort than upon others, as being to take charge of others. This ordination is either of bishops, to whom the care and government of the Church is principally committed; or of other inferior clergymen.

Touching the ordination of bishops, the Council of Nice decreeth¹ that a bishop must be ordained by all the bishops in the province: and that if it seem hard, either in respect of some urgent necessity, or the length of the ways, that they should all meet, yet there must be three at the least to concur in all such ordinations, the rest by their letters testifying their consent, and the metropolitan confirming that they do. The Council of Antioch in like sort decreeth² that a

¹ Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι· εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτο, ἢ διὰ κατεπείγουσαν ἀνάγκην, ἢ διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἐξ ἅπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους, συμψήφων γινομένων, καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ συντιθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιεῖσθαι. Τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ. — Concil. Nicæen. Can. 4. [Labbe, Tom. II. col. 35, 6.]

² Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι δίχα συννοδοῦ, καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς ἐπαρχίας. Τούτου δὲ παρόντος ἐξάπαντος βέλτιον μὲν συνεῖναι αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ συλλειτουργοὺς, καὶ προσήκει δι' ἐπιστολῆς τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει συγκαλεῖν, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπαντοῖεν οἱ πάντες, βέλτιον. Εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τοῦτο, τοὺς γε πλείους ἐξάπαντος παρεῖναι δεῖ, ἢ διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμοψήφους γίνεσθαι· καὶ οὕτως μετὰ τῆς τῶν πλειόνων ἥτοι παρουσίας ἢ ψήφου γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν. Εἰ δὲ ἄλλως παρὰ τὰ ὠρισμένα γίγνοιτο, μηδὲν ἰσχύειν τὴν χειροτονίαν. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ὠρισμένον κανόνα γίγνοιτο ἡ κατάστασις, ἀντιλέγοιεν δέ τινες δι'

bishop shall not be ordained without a synod, and the presence of the metropolitan; that the metropolitan by his letters shall call unto him all the bishops in the province, if conveniently they may come together; if not, that at the least the greater part be present, or give their consent by writing. And that if at any time there grow any difference among the bishops of the province about the person that is to be ordained, the greater part of voices shall sway all. In the second Council of Carthage¹ all the bishops with one consent said: "It seemeth good to us all, that without consulting the primate of each province, no man easily presume, though with many bishops, to ordain a bishop in what place soever without his command; but if necessity shall require, that three bishops, in what place soever they be, with the command of the primate, shall have power to ordain a bishop." And because the concurrence of the metropolitan was to be sought, and his presence or direction had in every ordination, therefore, lest by his fault there might be too long and dangerous delays, it was ordered that, unless it were in case of necessity, all ordinations should be within three months after the voidance of any place: and that if by the fault of the metropolitan there were any longer delay, he should be subject to ecclesiastical censure and punishment. In latter times, under the papacy, they² permitted, by special dispensation, one bishop, assisted with two mitred abbots, to ordain a bishop, contrary to the old canons requiring three bishops at the least. The form and manner of ordination we find in the fourth Council of Carthage³, which prescribeth that when a

οἰκείαν φιλονεικίαν, κρατεῖν τὴν τῶν πλείονων ψῆφον.—Concil. Antioch. Can. 19. [Labbe, Tom. II. col. 593.]

¹ "Ab universis episcopis dictum est: Placet omnibus ut inconsulto primatu cujuslibet provincie, tam facile nemo præsumat, licet cum multis episcopis, in quocunque loco, sine ejus ut dictum est præcepto, episcopum ordinare. Si autem necessitas fuerit, tres episcopi, in quocunque loco sint, cum primatis præcepto ordinare debebunt episcopum."—Concil. Carthag. II. Can. 12. [Labbe, Tom. II. col. 1248.]

² "Dubium esse non potest, quin requirantur ordinarie tres, ut minimum, episcopi, ad novi episcopi ordinationem, nisi forte ex dispensatione cum uno episcopo ordinante adsint abbates insulati, qui vicem episcoporum gerant, ut aliquando fieri solet ob episcoporum raritatem."—Bellarm. De notis Eccles. Lib. IV. cap. 8. [Tom. II. p. 89.]

³ "Episcopus cum ordinetur, duo episcopi ponant et teneant evan-

bishop is to be ordained, two bishops must hold the book of the Gospels over his head; and that one pouring forth the blessing upon him, all the other bishops that are present must touch his head with their hands. This is the form of episcopal ordination.

But touching presbyters and deacons, the Council of Hispalis saith¹: That the bishop alone may confer ecclesiastical honour upon them, but that alone he cannot take it from them; which yet is not so to be understood, as if the bishop alone, without his presbyters, might ordain presbyters; but that he may, without the concurrence of other bishops, give that honour of presbyterial order, which, without them, he cannot take away again. For otherwise the Council of Carthage provideth², that in the ordination of a presbyter, the bishop holding his hand on his head and blessing him, all the presbyters that are present shall hold their hands by the hands of the bishop. Whereas in the ordination of a deacon³, it sufficeth that the bishop alone put his hands upon the head of him that is ordained, because he is not sanctified to priestly dignity, but to the service of the Church. So that other ministers are to concur in the ordination of the ministers of the word and sacraments as well as the bishop, being equal to him in the power of order and ministry, and his assistants in the work of it; yet hath the bishop a great pre-eminence above them in the imposition of hands: for regularly no number of presbyters imposing hands can make a minister without the bishop. The reason whereof is, because no ordinations are to be made *sine titulo*, that is, ‘without title,’ or

geliorum codicem super caput et cervicem ejus, et uno super eum fundente benedictionem reliqui omnes episcopi qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant.”—Concil. Carthag. iv. Can. 2. [Labbe, Tom. ii. col. 1437.]

¹ “Episcopus sacerdotibus et ministris solus honorem dare potest, auferre solus non potest.”—Concil. Hispal. ii. Can. 6. [Labbe, Tom. vi. col. 1405.]

² “Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui præsentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant.”—Concil. Cathag. iv. Can. 3.

³ “Diaconus cum ordinatur, solus episcopus qui eum benedicit manum super caput illius ponat: quia non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium consecratur.”—Ibid. Can. 4. [Labbe, Tom. ii. col. 1437.]

place of employment: and none but bishops have churches wherein to employ men, seeing they only are pastors of churches, and all other are but their assistants and coadjutors: not because the power of order which is given in ordination is less in them than in bishops. So that bishops alone have the power of ordination, and no man may regularly do it without them. Whereupon ordinarily, and according to the strictness of the old canons, all ordinations made otherwise are pronounced void: as we read of one Coluthus¹, whose ordinations were therefore voided, because he took on him to ordain, being no bishop, but a presbyter only.

But seeing bishops and presbyters are in the power of order the same; as when the bishops of a whole Church or country fall from the faith, or consent to them that so do, the care of the Church is devolved to the presbyters remaining catholic; and as in the case of necessity they may do all other things regularly reserved to bishops only (as Ambrose² sheweth that the presbyters of Egypt were permitted in some cases to confirm the baptized, which thing also Gregory³ after him durst not condemn); so in case of general defect of the bishops of a whole country refusing to ordain any but such as shall consent to their heresies, when there appeareth no hope of remedy or help from other parts of the Church, the presbyters may choose out one among themselves to be chief, and so add other to their numbers by the imposition of his and their hands. This I have proved in my third book⁴ out of the authorities of Armachanus, and sundry other, of whom Alexander of Hales speaketh. To which we may add that

¹ Ὅτι Κόλλουθος πρεσβύτερος ὦν ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ πᾶσα χεὶρ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἄκυρος, καὶ πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντες ἐν τῷ σχίσματι λαϊκοὶ γεγόνασιν, καὶ οὕτως συνάγονται, δῆλον, καὶ οὐδενὶ καθέστηκεν ἀμφίβολον.—Athanas. Apol. ii. [§ 11. Tom. i. p. 134.]

² “Apud Ægyptum presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit episcopus.”—[Pseud. Ambros. in Ephes. iv. Tom. ii. Append. col. 241.]

³ “Pervenit quoque ad nos quosdam scandalizatos fuisse, quod presbyteros chrismate tangere eos qui baptizandi sunt prohibuimus. Et nos quidem secundum usum veterem ecclesiæ nostræ fecimus; sed si omnino hac de re aliqui contristantur, ubi episcopi desunt ut presbyteri etiam in frontibus baptizandos chrismate tangere debeant, concedimus.”—Greg. Lib. iii. Epist. 26. [Al. Lib. iv. Tom. ii. col. 705.]

⁴ [Chap. xxxix. Vol. I. p. 323.]

which Durandus hath, where he saith¹: That Hierome seemeth to have been of opinion that the highest power of consecration or order is the power of a priest or elder. So that every priest in respect of his priestly power may minister all sacraments, confirm the baptized, and give all orders; howsoever for the avoiding of the peril of schism it was ordained that one should be chosen to have a pre-eminence above the rest, who was named a bishop, and to whom it was peculiarly reserved to give orders, and to do some such other things. And afterwards he saith that Hierome is clearly of this opinion. Neither can the Romanists deny this, and justify their own practice. For their chorepiscopi, or titular bishops, are no bishops (as I have proved at large² out of Damasus, not disputing or giving his private opinion, but resolving the point, and prescribing to other what they must believe and practise); and yet do they of the Church of Rome permit these to ordain, not only subdeacons, and other inferior clergymen, but priests and deacons also; and hold their ordinations to be good and of force. If any man haply say, that a bishop when he is old, and weak, or otherwise employed, may have a coadjutor, and consequently that it is no such absurdity to admit these suffragan and titular bishops; and that therefore they may have power to ordain, as being truly bishops, and yet presbyters in no case be permitted so to do: for answer hereunto let him read what I have written in the 29th chapter of this book, concerning this matter.

¹ "Hieronimus videtur consensisse quod summa potestas consecrationis sive ordinis erat potestas sacerdotalis, ita quod omnis sacerdos quantum est de potestate sacerdotali potest omnia sacramenta ministrare, confirmationem, omnes ordines, omnes benedictiones et omnes consecrationes facere: sed propter periculum schismatis fuit ordinatum ut sacerdotes unum ex seipsis eligerent, qui diceretur episcopus, cui reservatum est ordines facere et hujusmodi quæ non faciunt nisi soli episcopi."—Durand. a Sancto Porciano, in 4 Sent. Dist. xxiv. Quæst. 5. [fol. 313. Par. 1550.]

² Chap. xxix. [Vol. III. p. 227.]

CHAPTER LVII

OF THE THINGS REQUIRED IN SOME AS ARE TO BE ORDAINED
MINISTERS: AND OF THE LAWFULNESS OF THEIR MARRIAGE

FROM the election and ordination of ministers we are to proceed to the things required in them that are to be chosen and ordained. — If any man¹ saith the apostle: “desire the office of a bishop, he desires a worthy work. A bishop therefore must be unreprehensible, the husband of one wife, watching, sober, modest, hardy, given to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre: but gentle, no fighter, not covetous, no young scholar, but well reported of, even of those that are without.” The canons of the Church require the same things, and add some other; as that no man may be chosen and ordained a minister of the word and sacraments till he be thirty years of age; nor none that was baptized in his bed, and the like. The papists proceed further, and not contenting themselves with the moderation of the apostle, and the primitive fathers, admit none into the holy ministry but those that are unmarried, or being married, promise to live from their wives; and yet not so neither, if either they have been twice married, or if they married with a widow. Wherefore letting pass the things the apostle prescribeth, and those other which the canons add, of which there is no question, let us come to the marriage of them that are to be admitted into the holy ministry of the Church.

It is clearly confessed by the best learned in the Roman Church, that bishops, presbyters and other clergymen, are not forbidden to marry, or being married, before they enter into the ministry, to continue in matrimonial society with their wives, by any law of God: and therefore there is little fear of offending against God, either by admitting such into the ministry as will not live single, or by entering into it, with purpose of marriage. *Non est essentialiter annexum debitum continentiae ordini sacro*, saith Aquinas², *sed ex*

¹ 1 Tim. iii. [1—7.]

² *Secunda secundæ*, Quæst. 88. Art. 11. [Tom. v. p. 844. Rom. 1773.]

statuto ecclesiæ: unde videtur, quod per ecclesiam possit dispensari in voto continentiae, solemnizato per susceptionem sacri ordinis: that is, “It is not essentially annexed unto holy order that men should contain and live single that enter into the ministry, but by the decree of the Church only. So that it seemeth that the Church may dispense in the vow of continency, though made solemn by taking holy orders.” And in another place he saith, that¹ it is from the Church’s constitution that they who are entered into the holy orders of the Church may not marry: which yet is not the same among the Grecians that it is among the Latins. For the Grecians make no vow, and do live with their wives that they married before they entered into orders. Of the same opinion is Bonaventura², who acknowledgeth that in the primitive Church it was otherwise touching this matter than now it is in the Church of Rome; and endeavoureth to give reasons of the difference. Scotus³ and Occam are of the same judgment; and all the rest of the schoolmen of note agree with them. And Cajetan⁴, a great learned divine, and

¹ “Quod impediat matrimonium, ex constitutione ecclesiæ tamen aliter apud Latinos quam apud Græcos; quia apud Græcos impedit matrimonium contrahendum solum ex vi ordinis, sed apud Latinos impedit ex vi ordinis, et ulterius ex voto continentiae, quod est ordinibus sacris annexum. . . . atque ideo apud Græcos et alios orientales sacer ordo impedit matrimonium contrahendum, non tamen matrimonii prius contracti usum.”—Supplement. 3 Partis, Quæst. 53. Art. 3. [Tom. ix. p. 400.]

² “Etsi apud Græcos non impediat, hoc est ratione statuti; et sic non impedivit, ut dicunt quidam, a tempore apostolorum: tamen apud Latinos impedivit, et ratione statuti, et ratione voti.”—Bonaventura in 4 Sent. [Dist. xxxvii. Art. 1. Quæst. 2. vid. etiam Quæst. 3. Tom. v. pp. 477, 8. Rom. 1596.]

³ “Dicitur quod non licet contrahere; quia persona suscipiens sacrum ordinem efficitur illegitima simpliciter ad contrahendum matrimonium: et hoc vel per ecclesiam, vel immediate a Christo, licet hoc non legatur in scriptura. Sed secundum non videtur probabile, quia in primitiva ecclesia non tenebatur; nisi forte dicas, quod nunquam licuit post susceptionem sacri ordinis contrahere matrimonium, licet liceret aliquando uti matrimonio jam contracto, sicut nunc apud Græcos.”—Scot. in 4 Sent. Dist. xxxvii. [Tom. ix. p. 768. Lugd. 1639.]

⁴ “Intelligendum est de congruo, quod nec ratione nec autoritate probatur, quod absolute loquendo sacerdos peccet contrahendo matri-

a cardinal in our time, pronounceth confidently that it cannot be proved, either by reason or authority (setting aside the laws that are positive, and vows which men make to the contrary,) that a priest doth sin in contracting marriage. And that therefore the pope with good conscience may dispense with such a one, and give him leave to marry; though there be no inducement of public profit or benefit leading him so to do. And addeth, that reason seemeth to be strong on the contrary side for the lawfulness of such dispensation; because (as it appeareth by Peter Lombard in the fourth of the Sentences) neither order, in that it is order, nor holy order, in that it is holy, crosseth or hindereth marriage. And (as it is in the Decrees) deacons in ancient times might marry, even in the West Church; and (as it is in the same Decrees) they of the East Church are joined in marriage even after they are entered into holy orders. Neither is that gloss to be admitted which expoundeth their coupling or joining in marriage, of the living in marriage formerly contracted; seeing the whole course and coherence of the text speaketh of the contract of marriage, as by the opposition of the practice of the West Church (the priests whereof are said not to marry) it may be confirmed. These are the words of cardinal Cajetan. With him agreeth cardinal Bellarmine¹, and confirmeth

monium, quin potius et ratio ad oppositum ducit; quoniam (ut patet in 4 Sent. Dist. 37,) nec ordo in quantum ordo, nec ordo sacer in quantum sacer est impeditivus matrimonii, et in ecclesia occidentali olim diaconi poterant contrahere matrimonia, ut dicit cap. 'Diaconi,' Dist. 28. Manifeste quoque in 31 Dist. in canone, aliter dicitur, et orientales in sacris constituti copulantur matrimoniis. Nec admittenda est glossa exponens 'copulantur copulato utuntur,' quoniam manifeste series textus de contractu matrimonii loquitur; ut confirmat etiam adversativa subjuncta, scil. occidentales non sortiuntur conjugia."—Cajetan. In Respons. ad articulos Parisienses, Opusc. Tom. I. Tract. 27. [Fol. 62. b. Ven. 1594.]

¹ "Probatur primo ex altero eorum quæ Clichtovæus asserit; non est de jure divino, ut conjugati, si ordinentur, ab uxoribus suis absterneant; igitur neque est de jure divino, ut sacerdotes non ducant uxores. Nam matrimonium non pugnat cum ordinibus ratione essentiae suæ, sed ratione officii seu exercitii conjugalis; si enim Deus prohibuisset sacerdotibus conjugium, certe prohibuisset propter actum conjugalem, qui hominem reddit totum carnalem, et ineptum ad divina; nec non propter solitudinem domus et liberorum quæ plurimas parit distractiones; non autem propter solum sacramentum

that he saith by three reasons, whereof the first is this: priests are not forbidden by God's law to company with their wives which they married before they entered into holy orders. Therefore they are not forbidden to marry after they are entered. The consequence he proveth, because if anything be found in marriage that cannot stand well with the sacred function and employment of ministers, it is the act of matrimony, and not the contract, which is a thing most honest, and is soon past. Whereupon they that dislike the marriage of churchmen were wont to allege the cares of household, and of children, causing distraction of mind, and other like things, and not the contract or sacrament of marriage; and therefore he rightly reproveth Clichtoveus¹, for that he thinketh the matrimonial society of such as were married before they became ministers of the Church is not forbidden by God's law; and yet feareth not to say that the contract of marriage ensuing after the entrance into the holy ministry is forbidden. Wherefore leaving the consequence as good and sufficiently proved, he confirmeth the antecedent in this sort:—that presbyters are not forbidden by God's law to live with their wives, which they married before they entered into the holy ministry, it appeareth in that the Roman Church hath for many ages past permitted the presbyters of the Greek Church to live with their wives which they married before their ordination; which it could not do if so to live were forbidden by God's law. That so the Roman Church hath allowed those of the Greek Church to live with their

conjugii, vel propter contractum matrimonii, qui celebratur solo consensu animorum, et res est brevissima et honestissima. Si ergo licuit sacerdotibus jure divino habere uxores quas ante ordinationem duxerant, et eis uti maritorum more, cur, quæso, non licuisset etiam post ordinationem ducere? Adde, quod rationes quas Clichtovæus pro se adducit omnes sumuntur a puritate munerum sacerdotalium, cui certe non repugnat uxorem ducere vel duxisse, sed ei cohabitare.

“Non esse autem jure divino prohibitum ne sacerdotes utantur uxoribus quas duxerint ante ordinem, conceditur a Clichtovæo. Sed propter quosdam alios qui de ea re dubitant, probatur apertissime ex eo quod ecclesia Romana multis jam sæculis permisit Græcis sacerdotibus usum uxorum quas ante ordinationem duxerant, ut patet ex cap. ‘Cum olim,’ De Clericis Conjugatis.—Bellarm. De Clericis, Lib. i. [cap. 18. p. 140.]

¹ Lib. de Continentia Sacerdotum, cap. 4.

wives, he proveth by good authority. For in the Decretals¹ it is reported, that a certain Grecian, while he was yet in the minor orders, according to the custom of the Greek Church, married a wife, and afterwards when he was a priest begat a son of his lawful wife. This priest's son was thought fit to be a bishop, and chosen so to be; the archbishop made question whether he might confirm his consecration or not, as doubting of his legitimation. To whom Innocentius the Third writeth thus: "We, considering that the East Church never admitted the vow of continency, but that they of the East while they are yet in the minor orders contract marriage, and when they are in the higher orders use that marriage which they then contracted, do command, that unless any custom be against it (in that these Grecians live among the Latins), if there be no other canonical impediment, you proceed without doubting to the confirmation and consecration of him." Whereby it is evident that the bishop of Rome allowed the marriage of the Grecians; for Innocentius saith, this presbyter, after he was a presbyter, begat a son of his lawful wife; and approveth, nay, commandeth his son, as lawfully begotten, to be ordained, if it were not offensive because he conversed among the Latins. The next reason that Bellarmine bringeth is, for that there is no prohibition of Almighty God found either in the Old or New Testament; and the third², for that it is said in the Council of

¹ "Cum olim ad nostram audientiam pervenisset, quod canonici Angliorenses cantorem Tricariensem sibi elegerant in pastorem, licet tibi de forma electionis canonice, ac idoneitate personæ in aliis constitisset, movit te tamen, quod cum pater ejus Græcus fuerit et juxta ritum Græcorum uxorem duxerit in minoribus ordinibus constitutus, cantorem ipsum ex uxore legitima in sacerdotio suscepisset; nos igitur attendentes quod orientalis ecclesia votum continentie non admisit, quoniam orientales in minoribus ordinibus contrahunt, et in superioribus utuntur matrimonio jam contracto; mandamus, quatenus nisi pro eo quod inter Latinos Græci hujusmodi conversantur, regionis consuetudo repugnet, si aliud canonicum non obstet, ad confirmationem et consecrationem ejusdem sine dubitatione procedas."—Cap. 'Cum olim,' De Clericis Conjugatis, Greg. IX. Decretal. Lib. III. [Tit. 3. cap. 6. col. 943.]

² "Secundo probatur, quia in tota scriptura nullum tale exstat præceptum.

"Tertio probatur ex concilio Ancyrano, ubi dicitur posse diaconos

Ancyra¹, that deacons, with the licence of the bishop, may marry after they are ordained. Whence it followeth that they are not forbidden to marry by God's law, seeing bishops may not dispense with God's law. And this council (as Bellarmine truly noteth) is most ancient, and approved by Leo the pope.

The uttermost therefore that our adversaries can say is, that the Church by her authority hath forbidden the marriage of presbyters and bishops. Wherefore let us take a view of the laws of the Church concerning this matter; and for our more orderly proceeding in the examination of the same, let us first observe what the Church decreed touching them that being married enter into the ministry. Secondly, touching them that entered being single. Concerning the first it is evident, that till the time of Siricius married men were permitted throughout the whole Church to enter into the ministry, and to live with their wives. In the epistles of Cyprian², among other things, Novatus, ordained a presbyter of Carthage by Cyprian, is charged, first, that he suffered his own father to die of hunger, and took no care for his burial when he was dead. Secondly, that by violence offered to his own wife, he caused her to be delivered of her child before her time, so that the child died, and he was guilty of the murder thereof; for which crimes he feared to be put from his priestly function, and the communion of the Church; and therefore prevented his punishment by a voluntary schismatical departure. Where we see a presbyter permitted by Cyprian to live with his wife, and no way blamed for that he

cum licentia episcopi uxores ducere, etiam post susceptum diaconatum; ergo non est de jure divino; nec enim episcopi in jure divino dispensant. Estque hoc concilium antiquissimum, et confirmatum Leone papa.—Bellarm. ubi supra.

¹ Διάκονοι ὅσοι καθίστανται παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν κατάστασιν εἰ ἐμαρτύραντο καὶ ἔφασαν χρῆναι γαμῆσαι, μὴ δυνάμενοι οὕτως μένειν οὗτοι μετὰ ταῦτα γαμήσαντες, ἔστωσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ, διὰ τὸ ἐπιτραπῆναι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. Τοῦτο δὲ εἶ τινες σιωπήσαντες καὶ καταδεξάμενοι ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ μένειν οὕτως μετὰ ταῦτα ἦλθον ἐπὶ γάμον, πεπαῦσθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς διακονίας.—Concil. Ancyran. Can. 10. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 1489.]

² “Pater ejus in vico fame mortuus, et ab eo in morte postmodum nec sepultus. Uterus uxoris calce percussus, et abortione properante in parricidium partus expressus.”—Cyprian. Epist. XLIX. [al. LII. p. 97. Oxon. 1682.]

had companied with her; but for that when she was with child by him, he had stricken her in such violent sort that she was untimely delivered, not without the death of the child. Whereupon Pamelius¹ hath this annotation upon the epistle of Cyprian: "Many married men at that time were taken into the clergy, because there were few other to be had; and therefore it is not to be marvelled at that Cyprian maketh mention of the wife of Novatus who was a priest." That Tertullian was married, it appeareth by the book which he hath written to his wife; and that neither he nor she voluntarily separating themselves had vowed continency, it appeareth by the persuasions he useth to induce her to live single, and not to marry again after his death, in those evil and dangerous times, if haply he should die before her; or at the least, if she could not nor would not contain, to marry with none but a believer. Had she bound herself by vow to contain, he would not thus have left her to her own liberty, and if she could not nor would not contain, he was bound by the apostle's rule not to defraud her, but to yield unto her due benevolence. Neither have we these examples only, but many more: for we read in Gratian of the sons of presbyters and bishops that were promoted to the papal dignity. So was Bonifacius the pope², the son of Jucundus the presbyter; Felix the pope, the son of Felix the presbyter; Agapetus the pope, son of Gordianus the presbyter; Theodorus the pope, son of Theodorus the bishop; and many more he saith there were, who, being the sons of bishops or presbyters, were advanced to sit in the apostolical throne, and addeth³,

¹ "Assumebantur tunc temporis ob aliorum paucitatem multi conjugati in clerum: quare non mirum est si uxoris Novati meminit, quum presbyter esset."—[Pamel. in loc.]

² "Hosius papa fuit filius Stephani subdiaconi. Bonifacius papa fuit filius Jocundi presbyteri de titulo Fasciolæ. Agapetus papa fuit filius Gordiani presbyteri. Theodorus papa filius Theodori episcopi de civitate Hierosolyma. Silverius papa filius Silverii episcopi Romæ. Deusdedit papa filius Jocundi presbyteri. Felix enim tertius natione Romanus ex patre Felice presbytero fuit. Item Gelasius natione Afer ex patre episcopo Valerio natus est. Item Agapetus natione Romanus ex patre Gordiano presbytero originem duxit: quoniam plures etiam alii inveniuntur, qui de sacerdotibus nati apostolicæ sedi præfuerunt."—Gratian. Decret. Part. 1. Dist. lvi. [cap. 2. col. 318.]

³ "Cum ergo et sacerdotibus nati in summos pontifices supra le-

that when the sons of presbyters and bishops are said to have been advanced and promoted to be popes, we are not to understand them to have been such as were born of fornication, but of lawful marriages, which were lawful unto priests before the prohibition; and in the oriental Church are proved to be lawful unto them even unto this day. Socrates saith¹, that in Thessalia there was a particular custom grown in, that if a clergyman, after he became a clergyman, companied with his wife which he married while he was yet a layman, he should be put out of the ministry of the Church. Whereas all the most famous presbyters and bishops also in the East might, if they pleased, but were no way by any law constrained to refrain from the company of their wives. So that many of them even when they were bishops did beget children of their lawful wives. A particular and most approved example whereof we have in the father of Gregory Nazianzen, who, being a bishop, not only lived with his wife till death divided them, but became the father also of Gregory Nazianzen, (as worthy and renowned a man as any the Greek Church ever had,) after he was entered into the priestly office, as appeareth by his own words reported by Gregory Nazianzen². For after many motives used by him to Gregory Nazianzen his son to persuade him to assist him in the work of his bishoply ministry, the last that he most insisteth on is taken from the consideration of his old age disenabling him to bear that burden and perform that work any longer that hitherto he had done. And therefore entreating him to put to his helping hand, he breaketh out into these words: "Thou hast not lived so long a time as I have spent in the

gantur esse promoti, non sunt intelligendi de fornicatione, sed de legitimis conjugis nati, quæ sacerdotibus ante prohibitionem ubique licita erant, et in orientali ecclesia usque hodie eis licere probantur."—
Id. ibid. cap. 13. [col. 321.]

¹ Lib. v. cap. 21. [al. 22, p. 296.]

² Οὕπω τοσοῦτον ἐκμεμέτρηκας βίον
Ὅσος διήλθε θυσιῶν ἐμοὶ χρόνος.
Δὸς τὴν χάριν, δὸς ἢ τάφῳ μ' ἄλλος δότω.
Ταύτην ὀρίζω τῆς ἀπειθείας δίκην.
Δὸς τὰς βραχείας ἡμέρας τῷ λειψάνῳ,
Τὰ δ' εἰσέπειτα σοὶ φίλως βουλευτέα.—

Greg. Naz. Carm. de Vita Sua. [Carm. xi. 512. Tom. ii. p. 701. Par. 1840.]

priestly office, therefore yield thus much unto me, and help me in that little time of my life that is yet behind; or else thou shalt not have the honour to bury me, but I will give charge to another to do it." Here we see Gregory Nazianzen's father was employed in the priestly function before he was born; and that therefore he became the father of so worthy a son after he was a bishop, or at least after he was a presbyter. Neither was the father of Gregory Nazianzen singular in this behalf; for Athanasius writing to Dracontius¹, (who being greatly in love with a retired and monastical kind of life, refused the bishoply office when he was chosen unto it, for that he feared he might not in that state live so strictly as formerly he had done,) controlleth this his conceit, and telleth him that he may in the bishop's office hunger and thirst as Paul did, drink no wine as Timothy, and fast often as did the apostle. So that the bishop's office is no cause of doing ill, or doing less good than may be done in other states of life; and thereupon assureth him that he hath known bishops to fast and monks to eat; bishops to drink no wine, and monks to drink it; bishops to work miracles, and monks to do none; lastly, many bishops never to have married, and monks to have become fathers of children; and on the contrary side, bishops to have become fathers of children, and monks to have lived altogether as monks without desire of posterity. Neither can this authority of Athanasius be avoided, as Bellarmine seeketh to avoid it, namely, that those bishops did ill, which, he saith, became fathers of children. For Clemens Alexandrinus², an ancient Greek father,

¹ Ὅθεν τούτους ἔχων τύπον, ἀγαπητὲ Δρακόντιε, μὴ λέγε, μηδὲ πείθου τοῖς λέγουσιν, ἀμαρτίας εἶναι πρόφασιν τὴν ἐπισκόπην, μηδὲ ὅτι ἐκ ταύτης ἀφορμὴ τοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν ἐστίν. Ἐξεστὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ὄντα σε πεινᾶν, καὶ διψᾶν, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος· δύνασαι μὴ πιεῖν οἶνον, ὡς ὁ Τιμόθεος, καὶ νηστεύειν καὶ αὐτὸς συνεχῶς, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος ἐποίει· ἵνα κατ' ἐκείνον οὕτως νηστεύων χορτάζῃς ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ διψῶν ἐν τῷ μὴ πιεῖν, ποτίζῃς ἄλλοις διδάσκων. Μὴ οὖν ταῦτα προβαλλέτωσαν οἱ συμβουλευόντές σοι· οἶδαμεν γὰρ καὶ ἐπισκόπους νηστεύοντας, καὶ μοναχοὺς ἐσθίοντας· οἶδαμεν καὶ ἐπισκόπους μὴ πίνοντας οἶνον, μοναχοὺς δὲ πίνοντας· οἶδαμεν καὶ σημεῖα ποιοῦντας ἐπισκόπους, μοναχοὺς δὲ μὴ ποιοῦντας. Πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπισκόπων οὐδὲ γεγαμήκασιν· μοναχοὶ δὲ πατέρες τέκνων γεγονάσιν· ὥσπερ δὲ ἐπισκόπους πατέρας τέκνων καὶ μοναχοὺς ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου γένους τυγχάνοντας.
—Athanas. Epist. ad Dracont. [§ 9. Tom. i. p. 268, 9. Par. 1698.]

² Ναὶ μὴ καὶ τὴν τῆς μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα πάντῃ ἀποδέχεται, καὶν πρε-

saith expressly, "The apostle admitteth the husband of one wife to be a bishop, and that though he be a presbyter, deacon, or layman, if he use marriage aright, and so as not to incur just reprehension, he shall be saved by the procreation of children." Chrysostom¹ accordeth with Athanasius and Clemens Alexandrinus, and saith, that marriage is in so high a degree honourable that men with it may ascend into the episcopal chairs, even such as yet live with their wives. For though it be an hard thing, yet it is possible so to perform the duties of marriage as not to be wanting in the performance of the duties of a bishop, whereunto Sozomen agreeth², saying of Spiridion, that though he had wife and children, yet he was not therefore any whit the more negligent in performing the duties of his calling; and of Gregory Nyssen it is reported that though he were married yet he was no way inferior to his worthy brother that lived single. But some haply will object that Epiphanius is of another mind, and that he saith³, where the strictness of the canon is observed, none but such as are unmarried, or resolved to refrain from matrimonial society with their wives, are admitted into the ministry of the Church. We deny not but that he saith so; but he confesseth in the same place that many in the Church did live with their wives in his time, and begat children even after their admission into the ministry. So that the strictness of the canon he speaketh of was not general, but in some certain places only, as I noted before out of Socrates⁴. Nay, it is evident by Socrates that howsoever in Thessalia, Thessalonica, Macedonia, and Hellas, this strictness prevailed, yet all the

σβύτερος ἢ καὶ διάκονος, καὶ λαϊκός, ἀνεπιλήπτως γάμφω χρώμενος· Σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας.—Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. iii. [§ 12. p. 552. Oxon. 1715.]

¹ In 1 ad Tim. iii. [Vid. p. 183, infra.]

² Lib. i. cap. 11.

³ Τὸν ἔτι βιοῦντα καὶ τεκνογονοῦντα μιᾶς γυναῖκος ὄντα ἄνδρα οὐ δέχεται (ἡ ἐκκλησία), ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἐγκρατευσάμενον, ἢ χηρεύσαντα, διάκονόν τε, καὶ πρεσβύτερον, καὶ ἐπίσκοπον, ὑποδιάκονον, μάλιστα ὅπου ἀκριβῶς κανόνες οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοί. Ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐρεῖς μοι, ἔν τισι τόποις ἔτι τεκνογονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους καὶ ὑποδιακόνους. Τοῦτο οὐ παρὰ τὸν κανόνα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ καιρὸν ῥαθυμήσαναν διάνοιαν, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἕνεκεν, μὴ εὕρισκομένης ὑπηρεσίας.—Epiphani. Hæres. lxx. [Tom. i. p. 496. Colon. 1682.]

⁴ Lib. v. cap. 21. [al. 22. p. 297.]

bishops of the East besides were left to their own liberty ; and howsoever some in divers places went about to take away this liberty, yet the worthiest men the Church had stood in defence of it, protesting they would not suffer themselves to be enthralled in this behalf ; to which purpose that of the famous and renowned Synesius is most excellent, who, when they of Ptolemais would needs have him to be their bishop, (which thing he little desired,) he made them acquainted with his present condition and resolved purpose for the time to come¹. “God,” saith he, “the law, and the sacred hand of Theophilus, hath given unto me a wife, I therefore tell all men aforehand, and testify unto all, that I will neither suffer myself to be altogether estranged and separated from her, neither will I live with her secretly as an adulterer. For the one of these is no way pious and godly, and the other no way lawful ; but I will desire and pray unto God that exceeding many and most good and happy children may be born unto me : neither will I have him that is to be chief in ordaining of me to be ignorant hereof.”

This liberty the Council in Trullo² impeached in respect of bishops, but in respect of presbyters it continueth in all the East Churches of the world, even till this day, Greek, Armenian, and Ethiopian, warranted unto them by the Canons of the Apostles, judgment of bishops, decrees of councils, and the consent of all other parts of the world. For first the apostle St Paul telleth the Corinthians³ “he had power to lead about a wife, a sister, as well as the brethren of the

¹ Ἐμοὶ τοιγαροῦν ὁ τε Θεὸς, ὁ τε νόμος, ἡ τε ἱερὰ Θεοφίλου χεὶρ γυναῖκα ἐπιδέδωκε. Προσαγορεύω τοίνυν ἅπασιν καὶ μαρτύρομαι, ὡς ἐγὼ ταύτης οὔτε ἀλλοτριώσομαι καθάπαξ, οὔτε ὡς μοιχὸς αὐτῇ λάθρα συνέσομαι. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡκιστα εὐσεβές, τὸ δὲ ἡκιστα νόμιμον· ἀλλὰ βουλήσομαί τε καὶ εὖξομαι συχνά μοι πάνυ καὶ χρηστὰ γίνεσθαι παιδία. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ δεῖ τὸν κύριον τῆς χειροτονίας μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι.—Synes. ad Fratrem. [Epist. cv. p. 248. Pag. 1640.]

² Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ εἰς γνώσιν ἡμετέραν ἦλθεν, ὡς ἔν τε Ἀφρικῇ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ ἑτέροις τόποις οἱ τῶν ἐκεῖσε θεοφιλέστατοι προέδροι συνοικεῖν ταῖς ἰδίαις γαμεταῖς, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς προελθοῦσαν χειροτονίαν οὐ παραιτοῦνται· πρόσκομμα τοῖς λαοῖς ἐντεῦθεν τιθέντες καὶ σκάνδαλον. Πολλῆς οὖν ἡμῖν σπουδῆς οὔσης τοῦ πάντα πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα ποιμνίων διαπράττεσθαι, ἔδοξεν ὥστε μηδαμῶς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γίνεσθαι.—Concil. Quinisext. sive in Trullo, Can. 12. [Labbe, Tom. vii. col. 1352.]

³ 1 Cor. ix. 5.

Lord, and Cephas.” Which words Clemens Alexandrinus¹ interpreteth in this sort: “Paul feareth not in a certain epistle to speak to his yokefellow: which he did not lead about with him, because he had no need of any great service. Therefore, he saith in a certain epistle: ‘Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as the rest of the apostles?’ but they truly, as it was meet, because they could not spare their ministry, attending without distraction to preaching, lead their wives about, not as wives, but as sisters; which should minister together with them among the women which kept the houses, by whom the doctrine of the Lord might enter into the closet of women without reprehension or suspicion.” Neither doth Clemens Alexandrinus only so understand the words, but a Roman bishop also². So that our adversaries have no reason to charge us with heretical perverseness for expounding the apostle’s words of the apostles’ wives. Neither can their interpretation of faithful women following the apostles, and ministering unto them things necessary, any way stand with the apostle’s drift and meaning; for first, it is no way to be conceived that those apostles which had wives would not lead them about rather than strange women; secondly, the word of leading about implieth a kind of authority, right, and interest, in those women which the apostles lead about; which might be verified of them in respect of their wives, but not in respect of such women as out of their devotion followed them, if any so did; thirdly, the apostle doth not say, “We have power to lead about a woman, a sister,” as they read it, but, “a sister, a woman, or wife.” Now the addition of woman to sister is idle and needless; seeing every sister is undoubtedly a woman; therefore we must

¹ Καὶ ὅγε Παῦλος οὐκ ὀκνεῖ ἐν τινι ἐπιστολῇ τὴν αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύειν σύζυγον, ἣν οὐ περιεκόμιζεν, διὰ τὸ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας εὐσταλές. Λέγει οὖν ἐν τινι ἐπιστολῇ, Οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι; οὗτοι μὲν, οἰκείως τῇ διακονίᾳ, ἀπερισπάστῳ τῷ κηρύγματι προσενέχοντες, οὐχ ὡς γαμετὰς ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀδελφὰς περιῆγον τὰς γυναῖκας, συνδιακόνους ἐσομένας πρὸς τὰς οἰκουροὺς γυναῖκας, δι’ ὧν καὶ εἰς τὴν γυναικωνίτιν ἀδιαβλήτως παρεισδύετο ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλία.—Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. iii. [§ 6. p. 535. Oxon. 1715.]

² “Vide insipiens quod non dixit, ‘Nunquid non habemus potestatem sororem mulierem amplectendi,’ sed ‘circum ducendi:’ scilicet, ut mercede prædicationis sustentarentur ab eis.”—Decret. Part. 1. Dist. xxxi. cap. 11. [col. 165.]

understand the apostle to say, “a sister, a wife.” Hierome¹, indeed, understandeth the apostle’s words of strange women, and not of their wives; yet denieth he not but that other interpret them otherwise, and translateth, and allegeth the words doubtfully of the apostles leading about women or wives. Besides this claim that the apostle maketh of power and authority in this behalf, elsewhere prescribing what manner of men must be chosen unto the bishop’s office, he saith², “A bishop must be the husband of one wife, one that can rule his own house, having children under obedience, with all honesty.” Now to say they were to forsake their wives as soon as they should enter into this calling is most absurd, and contrary to the very law of God and nature. For it is not in the power of the man to withdraw himself from his wife, with whom he is one flesh, seeing “the man hath not power of his body, but the wife³.” Whereupon Thomas Aquinas resolveth⁴, that a man entering into holy orders cannot without the consent of his wife withdraw himself from her; but is bound to live with her still, and to yield unto her due benevolence. Neither may man and wife part by consent perpetually, but for a time only, according to that of the apostle⁵, “Defraud not one another except it be by consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer, and again come together, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency.” Answerable hereunto, the canons attributed to the apostles forbid bishops, presbyters, and deacons to put away their wives upon any pretence of religion. The words of the canon are these: “Let no bishop, presbyter, or deacon, put away his wife upon any pretence of religion; if he do let him

¹ “Apparet eum de aliis sanctis dixisse mulieribus, quæ juxta morem Judaicum magistris de sua substantia ministrabant, sicut legimus ipsi quoque Domino factitatum.”—Hieron. Advers. Jovin. Lib. i. [Tom. II. col. 277.]

² 1 Tim. iii. 3.

³ 1 Cor. vii. 4.

⁴ “Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod vinculum ordinis solvit vinculum matrimonii ratione redditionis debiti ex qua parte repugnantium ad matrimonium, ex parte ejus qui suscipit ordinem, quia non potest petere debitum, nec uxor ei tenetur reddere; non tamen solvit ex parte alterius, quia ipse tenetur uxori debitum reddere si non possit eam inducere ad continentiam.”—Thom. Aquin. Supplement. ad 3. partem, Quæst. 53. Art. 4. [Tom. ix. p. 402.]

⁵ 1 Cor. vii. 5.

be put from the communion, and if he persist let him be removed from his order¹." "This canon," saith Zonaras², "condemneth those sacred ministers of the Church that put away their wives. For that such putting of them away seemeth to be done in disgrace of marriage, as if the companying together of man and wife were an impure and unclean thing: whereas the apostle pronounceth, that 'Marriage is honourable, and the bed undefiled³.'" The Romanists, to avoid and decline the force of this testimony, say, that this canon forbiddeth bishops, presbyters, and deacons, the casting away of all care of providing for their wives, but not the forsaking of their company; but this their evasion is easily refuted. First, because there is no show of evil in clergymen's providing for the necessity of their wives which they married while they were laymen: nay, it would seem unto all men most unnatural for them to cast off all care of them, and all men would condemn them for so doing; but in the companying with them (in the sinister judgment of some men) there is: in respect whereof some forsake their wives, under a pretence of religion. Secondly, because the fathers in the sixth general council⁴ (who, no doubt, understood the meaning of these canons far better than the Romanists do) understand them as forbidding bishops, presbyters, and deacons, the refraining from companying with their wives, and not the neglecting to provide for their necessities. In the Council of Nice some went about to make a law, that bishops and ministers of the Church should not, after their entering into the holy ministry, company with their wives, which they had formerly married. But Paphnutius⁵, bishop of a city in the upper Thebais, who was a most holy man, by whom miracles

¹ Ἐπίσκοπος, ἡ πρεσβύτερος, ἡ διάκονος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκβαλέτω προφάσει εὐλαβείας. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐκβάλλῃ, ἀφοριζέσθω· ἐπιμένων δὲ καθαιρεῖσθω.—Can. Apost. v. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 25.]

² Καὶ τέως νῦν περὶ τῶν ἱερωμένων φασὶν, ὥς εἰ προφάσει εὐλαβείας ἱερωμένος τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἀποπέμψεται, ἀφοριζέσθω, ἕως ἂν δηλαδὴ πεισθῇ προσλάβεσθαι αὐτήν· εἰ δὲ ἐπιμένει μὴ προσλαμβάνων αὐτήν, καὶ καθαιρεθήσεται· ἔοικε γὰρ εἰς διαβολὴν εἶναι τοῦτο τοῦ γάμου, ὥς ἀκαθαρσίαν τῆς μίξεως ἐμποιούσης· Τὸν δὲ τίμιον ἡ γραφὴ λέγει, καὶ τὴν κοίτην ἀμίαντον.—Zonar. in Can. Apost. 5. [Apud Bevereg. Synodic. Tom. i. p. 4.]

³ Heb. xiii. 4.

⁴ Can. 13. [p. 171, infra.]

⁵ Socrates, Lib. i. cap. 8. [al. 11. p. 39.]

had been wrought, and who for confessing the faith of Christ had had one of his eyes pulled out, though himself were never married, cried out aloud, and besought them to lay no such heavy yoke on the necks of them that were entered into the holy ministry; affirming that "Marriage is honourable among all, and the bed undefiled:" calling the company of a man with his wife by the name of chastity: and advising them to take heed, lest they did greatly hurt the state of the Church by making so strict a law, for that all cannot endure so severe a rule of discipline: and for that also this rule haply cannot be so easily observed by their wives. To these speeches of Paphnutius the whole assembly of bishops assented. So that this controversy was ended, and each man left to his own liberty. This of Paphnutius is reported by Socrates¹, Sozomen², Suidas³, Nicephorus⁴, and alleged by Gratian⁵ as true; yet Bellarmine⁶ and the Jesuits fear not to reject it as false, as if they knew better what was done one thousand three hundred years ago than all that ever have been since; and the better to discredit this poor report, they charge both Socrates and Sozomen with heresy, and condemn their stories. So must all go to the ground that standeth in their way, be it never so ancient; and yet they are the men that plead antiquity. But if this be a feigned and counterfeit story, what are the signs of the forgery whereby they discern it to be so? Surely there appear none; but it cannot be true (the Jesuit saith) because it is contrary to the report of Epiphanius and Hierome. Touching Epiphanius⁷,

¹ Ubi supra.

² Lib. i. cap. 22.

³ In vita Paphnutii.

⁴ Hist. Eccles. [Lib. ii. cap. 14.]

⁵ "Surgens Paphnutius confessor contradixit, honorabiles confessus nuptias, et castitatem dicens esse cum propria conjugē concubitum."—Gratian. Decret. Part. i. Dist. xxxi. cap. 12. [col. 165.]

⁶ "Vel totum est falsum quod isti de Paphnutio tradunt, vel certe quod magis credo, tale aliquid tunc accidit, sed non bene ab istis narratum est.

"Præterea historia ista de Paphnutio manifeste pugnat cum verbis Epiphani, et cum verbis Hieronymi. . . . Vel ergo Epiphanius et Hieronymus vel Socrates et Sozomenus mentiuntur. At certe magis credendum est Epiphanio et Hieronymo viris sanctis et qui vicini fuerunt temporibus concilii Nicæni, quam Socrati et Sozomeno hæreticis, et multo recentioribus."—Bellarm. De Clericis, Lib. i. cap. 20. [p. 146.]

⁷ Heres. 59. [p. 162, supra.]

I have shewed already that he hath nothing contrary to this narration of Socrates and Sozomen: for he confesseth that bishops and presbyters, in his time, lived with their wives, and begat children of them, in such places where the strictness of the canon was not admitted. So that the canon he speaketh of, which was admitted in Thessalia, Thessalonica, Macedonia, and Hellas, and was proposed and rejected in the Council of Nice, was but particular and local; which may stand well enough with the narration of Socrates and Sozomen, that the Council of Nice decreed nothing touching this point, but left it as they found it. The like may be said of Hierome. For Hierome, writing against Vigilantius, speaketh of certain bishops which would ordain no deacons unless they married wives, thinking that no single men live chastely: who surely (if any such were found in those times) are not to be excused. But if they only demanded first of them that were to be ordained, before they ordained them, whether they would live continently, or not, and if they answered that they would not, willed them to marry before they ordained them (as Zonaras, writing on the Canons of the Apostles¹, sheweth that they do in the Greek Church) they were not to be blamed: seeing the Council of Ancyra² permitted deacons, protesting when they were ordained that they would not live single, to marry after they were entered into orders. But Hierome³, in opposition to the practice of these men, asketh what the Churches of the East, of Egypt, and of the apostolic see shall do, which admit into the clergy virgins, or such as contain, or such as if they had wives, yet cease to be husbands? whereby it may seem that this canon of bishops living from their wives was admitted generally, which is contrary to the narration of Socrates. But they that urge these words of Hierome should consider, first, that he doth not say that these Churches mentioned by him admitted none to

¹ [Apud Bevereg. Synod. ubi supra.]

² Διάκονοι, ὅσοι καθίστανται, παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν κατάστασιν εἰ ἐμαρτύραντο καὶ ἔφασαν χρῆναι γαμῆσαι, μὴ δυνάμενοι οὕτως μένειν, οὗτοι μετὰ ταῦτα γαμήσαντες ἔστωσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ, διὰ τὸ ἐπιτραπῆναι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ.—Concil. Ancyran. Can. 10. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 1460.]

³ “Quid facient orientis ecclesiæ? Quid Ægypti et sedes apostolicæ quæ aut virgines clericos accipiunt aut continentēs; aut si uxores habuerint mariti esse desistunt?”—Hieron. Contr. Vigilant. [Tom. ii. col. 389.]

the ministry but such as were single, or having wives resolved to live no longer with them in matrimonial society; but that they admitted such as had never been married, or having had wives, ceased to be husbands, contrary to their practice that would admit none, as he saith, unless they saw their wives to have great bellies, or heard the children crying in their mother's arms. Secondly, supposing that these Churches, mentioned by Hierome, admitted none but such as had never been married, or having been married, ceased to be husbands, he plainly sheweth, by the particular mention of these Churches¹, that there was no such thing generally prevailing: and so no way contrarieth the report of Socrates and the rest. Wherefore seeing neither Epiphanius nor Hierome will, by their contradiction, elevate the authority of Socrates, Sozomen, and the rest, the cardinal will improve their narration by another means. The Council of Nice², he saith, forbiddeth bishops, presbyters, and deacons, to have any woman in their houses, besides their mother, sister, or aunt: whence he thinketh it may be inferred that it did forbid every of these to have any wife dwelling with them in the same house; seeing if they might have wives, they might, undoubtedly, have handmaids to attend them. This proof is no better than the former: for in the canons of the Nicene Council, translated out of the Arabian tongue, and put into the first tome of Councils by Binius out of Alphonsus Pisanus, (in which, as Francis Turrian professeth, in his proem before the same canons, there is nothing but that which is approved, and worthy

¹ As in the Council of Constantinople, Can. 2. Egypt and the East are opposed to Asia, Thracia, &c.—Τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἐπισκόπους ταῖς ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπιέναι, μηδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τὸν μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μόνον οἰκονομεῖν· τοὺς δὲ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόπους τὴν ἀνατολὴν μόνην διοικεῖν· φυλαττομένων τῶν ἐν τοῖς κανόσι τοῖς κατὰ Νίκαιαν πρεσβείων τῇ Ἀντιοχείῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ· καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἀσιανῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπους τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μόνην οἰκονομεῖν· καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ποντικῆς τὰ τῆς Ποντικῆς μόνον· καὶ τοὺς τῆς Θράκης, τὰ τῆς Θρακικῆς μόνον οἰκονομεῖν.—Concil. Constant. Can. 2. [Labbe, Tom. II. col. 1126.]

² Ἀπηγόρευε καθόλου ἡ μεγάλη συνόδος, μήτε ἐπισκόπῳ, μήτε πρεσβυτέρῳ, μήτε διακόνῳ, μήτε ὅλως τινὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξεῖναι συνείσακτον [γυναῖκα] ἔχειν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα μητέρα ἢ ἀδελφὴν, ἢ θείαν, ἢ ἃ μόνα πρόσωπα πᾶσαν ὑποψίαν διαπέφευγε.—Concil. Nicæn. Can. 3. [Labbe, Tom. II. col. 33.]

that great Synod of Nice,) the decree of the council is conceived and expressed in such words, that it is evident it was never meant to be extended to such bishops, presbyters, or deacons, as have wives, but to such only as never were married, or are widowers. The words are these¹: “ We decree, that bishops dwell not with women, neither any presbyter that is a widower:” the same is decreed touching every presbyter that is unmarried, and the deacons which have no wives: and that priests might live with their wives in those times, the 78th of those canons maketh it most clear, for it layeth a more heavy punishment upon him that hath a wife living, and living with him, if he commit adultery, than upon him that never was married, or is a widower. Wherefore let us pass from the Council of Nice to the Council of Gangra. Socrates sheweth² that Eustathius, bishop of Sebastia in Armenia, so far disliked marriage, that he persuaded many women to forsake their husbands, that he contemned married presbyters, and condemned the prayers and blessings of presbyters having wives, which they married while they were laymen. Now it is not to be imagined that he would have despised them if they had put away their wives, (for he persuaded to that; and many women hearkening unto him departed from their husbands), but because they retained them still; yet did the Council of Gangra³ condemn him; adding, that if any one, contrary to the Apostolical Canons, shall presume to put any one of them, that have taken holy orders, as presbyters or deacons, from companying with their wives, he shall be deposed. To this we may add the sixth general council holden in Trullo, wherein a decree was passed, that such as do enter into the ministry being married, shall be permitted to live with their wives. The words of the council

¹ “Decernimus ut episcopi non habitent cum mulieribus, neque presbyter viduus, nec illas comitentur, neque cum eis multum loquantur, nec in eas studiose aspiciant. Idem decernitur de omni presbytero cœlibe, idemque de diaconis viduis.”—Can. 4. [ex paraphras. Arab. Alphons. Pisan. apud Bin. Tom. i. p. 351. Vid. etiam paraphras. F. Turriani, Labbe, Tom. ii. col. 302.]

² Lib. ii. cap. 33. et Sozomen. Lib. iii. cap. 13.

³ Εἴ τις διακρίνοιτο παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκός τις ὥς μὴ χρῆναι λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσφορὰς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.—Concil. Gangrens. Can. 4. [Labbe, Tom. ii. col. 428.]

are these¹ : “ Because we have understood that it hath been delivered to the Church of Rome for a canon, that deacons or presbyters, who shall be thought worthy to be ordained, shall profess and promise to company no more with their wives; we, keeping the ancient canon of apostolical perfection and order, will and decree, that the marriages of such men as are in holy orders, henceforth and from this moment of time shall be firm and stable, no way dissolving their conjunction with their wives, nor debarring them from companying with them at convenient times. Wherefore if any man be found worthy to be ordained a subdeacon, deacon, or presbyter, let him by no means be debarred from entering into such a degree, because he liveth with his lawful wife, neither let it be required of him, at the time of his ordination, to promise to refrain from the lawful companying with his wife; lest, by so doing, we be forced to do wrong to marriage, ordained of God, and blessed by his presence: the evangelical voice crying out aloud, The things which God hath joined let no man sunder: and the apostle teaching, that marriage is honourable, and the bed undefiled: and again saying, Art thou bound to a wife? seek not to be loosed, &c.” Thus do the fathers and bishops assembled in this council forbid and condemn the putting of presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons, from the society with their wives, alleging the ancient canon, use, and custom, and many excellent authorities, and reasons out of the scriptures and word of God; shewing that no such thing can be done

¹ Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τάξει κανόνος παραδεδόσθαι διέγνωμεν, τοὺς μέλλοντας διακόνου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ἀξιοῦσθαι χειροτονίας καθολογεῖν, ὥς οὐκέτι ταῖς αὐτῶν συνάπτονται γαμεταῖς· ἡμεῖς τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἐξακολουθοῦντες κανόνι τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τάξεως τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν κατὰ νόμους συνοικεσία καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐρρῶσθαι βουλόμεθα· μηδαμῶς αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς γαμετὰς συναφείαν διαλυόντες, ἢ ἀποστεροῦντες αὐτοὺς τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ νόμον τὸν προσήκοντα ὁμιλίας. Ὡστε εἴ τις ἄξιος εὐρεθείη πρὸς χειροτονίαν ὑποδιακόνου ἢ διακόνου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου, οὗτος μηδαμῶς κωλύεσθω ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον βαθμὸν ἐκβιβάζεσθαι γαμετῇ συνοικῶν νομίμῳ· μήτε μὴ ἐν τῷ τῆς χειροτονίας καιρῷ ἀπαιτείσθω ὁμολογεῖν, ὥς ἀποστήσεται τῆς νομίμου πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν γαμετὴν ὁμιλίας, ἵνα μὴ ἐντεῦθεν τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ νομοθετηθέντα καὶ εὐλογηθέντα τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ γάμον καθυβρίξειν ἐκβιασθῶμεν τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φωνῆς, βοώσης, Ἄ ὁ Θεὸς ἐξευξεν ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω· καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου διδάσκοντος· Τίμιον τὸν γάμον, καὶ τὴν κοίτην ἀμίαντον· καὶ Δέδεσαι γυναικί; μὴ ζῆτει λύσιν.— Concil. Quinisext. sive in Trullo, Can. 13. [Labbe, Tom. vii. col. 1352.]

without great injury to the state of marriage, and without separating those whom God hath joined together: and yet suddenly forgetting themselves, they forbid bishops to live with their wives; so overthrowing the ancient custom and canon, and separating those that God hath joined together¹. Whereby that which had been free from the apostles' times (as Zonaras² noteth) was forbidden, and the canon of the apostles repealed. Yet did these fathers (as we see) most carefully provide that presbyters and deacons should not be restrained. And, indeed, this liberty hath continued, according to their decree in this behalf passed, ever since, in all the East Churches of the world. For first, touching the Greek Church, which is principally directed by the canons of this council, it is evident by the censure of the Oriental Church³ upon the Confession of Auspurg, translated out of Greek into Latin, and published by Stanislaus Socolovius. Secondly, the sixth general council testifieth⁴, that the Armenians were so far from disliking the marriage of their clergymen, that they ran into the other extreme. For they confined the election of churchmen within the stock of churchmen; as the priesthood was confined in the time of Moses' law, and contained within the tribe of Levi. And thirdly, Damianes a Goes witnesseth⁵, that among the Ethiopian Christians clergymen are

¹ Can. 12. [ubi supra.]

² Μέμνηται δὲ ὁ κανὼν καὶ ἐπισκόπων ἔχοντων γυναῖκας, ὅτι τότε ἀκώλυτον εἶχον καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τὴν πρὸς γυναῖκας νόμιμον συζυγίαν. Ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Τρούλλῳ σύνοδος, ἡ λεγομένη ἕκτη, τοῦτο ἐκώλυσεν, ἐν δωδεκάτῳ αὐτῆς κανόνι.—Zonaras in Annot. ad Can. Apost. vi. [Apud Bevereg. Synodic. Tom. I. p. 4. Oxon. 1672.]

³ “Et nos illis sacerdotibus qui in virginitate persistere non possunt, priusquam tamen quam consecrentur, et sacerdotes fiant, uxores accipiendi potestatem damus, &c.”—Censur. Eccles. Orient. cap. 21. Interpr. Stanislav. Socolov. [p. 123. Cracov. 1591.]

⁴ Ἐπειδήπερ ἔγνωμεν ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίων χώρα μόνους ἐν κλήρῳ τοὺς ἐκ γένους ἱερατικοῦ κατατάττεσθαι, Ἰουδαϊκοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐπομένων τῶν τοῦτο πράττειν ἐπιχειρουμένων, κ.τ.λ.—Concil. Quinisext. Can. 33. [Col. 1364.]

⁵ “Constitutum est a sanctis apostolis in synodorum libris clericos uxores licere ducere, id quidem postquam cognitionem aliquam habuerint rerum divinarum. Deinde inito matrimonio in ordinem presbyterorum recipiuntur. Mortua tamen prima uxore episcopi aut clerici aliam ducere non possunt, nisi patriarcha ad id dispensaverit, quod aliquando magnatibus indulgetur propter publicum bonum.”—Damian. a Goes, De moribus Æthiopum. [s. l. vel ann.]

married: and that by dispensation of the patriarch, after the death of the first wife, their priests and ministers may marry the second, though without such dispensation they may marry but once. The Armenians and Ethiopians (I suppose) have not restrained their bishops from living in matrimonial society with their wives, more than their presbyters and deacons: seeing they take no notice of the prescriptions of the sixth general council, wherein this restraint began: the Armenians receiving but only the three first, and the Ethiopians only the first four general councils.

Thus having taken a view of the course of things in the Church, from the beginning, and made it evident that generally there never prevailed any restraint of clergymen from companying with their wives, which they married while they were but yet laymen, or in the inferior orders and degrees of ministry; and that the greatest part of the Christian world hath ever from the beginning, even unto this day, enjoyed the liberty which some unjustly sought to impeach; let us see where it was restrained or taken away, and by whom. Of the restraint in Thessalia, whereof Heliodorus was author, as likewise in Thessalonica, Macedonia, and Hellas, and of the endeavours of Eustathius, bishop of Sebastia in Armenia, resisted by the bishops in the Council of Gangra, I have spoken sufficiently already, and have shewed that this restraint could not prevail, nor continue in those parts; all these Churches holding their liberty in this matter even unto this day. Therefore I will proceed to speak of the restraint that some sought to bring into the West Church. The first restraint of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, from companying with their wives, that I do find in the West Church, was in the provincial Council of Eliberis¹ in Spain, holden in the year 305, twenty years before the Council of Nice, consisting of nineteen bishops. But I hope our adversaries will not much press us with the authority of this council: seeing themselves make so little account of it as they do. There are some most excellently learned (saith Binius², in his notes upon this council,)

¹ "Placuit in totum prohiberi episcopis presbyteris et diaconis vel omnibus clericis positus in monasterio, abstinere se a conjugibus suis, et non generare filios: quicumque vero fecerit ab honore clericatus exterminetur."—Concil. Eliberit. Can. 33. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 996.]

² Tom. i. Conciliorum. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 1003. sqq.]

that think it erroneous, and of no authority, and that it is to be contemned as rejected by the Church, for favouring the heresy of Novatus, the conceit of Vigilantius, and their opinion that would have no pictures in churches. Melchior Canus saith¹, the thirty-sixth canon of it is erroneous; and Bellarmine saith², it was but provincial, not confirmed, and that it erred in many things: namely, in not admitting to the communion of the Church upon their repentance such as in the time of persecution denied the faith, or otherwise ran into grievous and enormous crimes and sins. And Cardinal Baronius³, howsoever varying in his opinion touching this council, yet confesseth⁴ there is no mention of it among the ancient, as of others; and that it was utterly suppressed, as if it had never been, because it was ill thought of, as favouring Novatianism. And therefore, contrary to this council, the Council of Ancyra⁵, nine years after decreed, that they that fell in the time of persecution, and denied the faith, after condign penance should be received to the sacraments of the Church again:

¹ “*Illa non imprudenter modo verum etiam impie a concilio Eliberitano lata est de tollendis imaginibus, can. 36.*”—Melchior Canus, *Loc. Theol. Lib. v. cap. 4.* [p. 251. Colon. Agripp. 1605.]

² “*Quicquid concilium statuerit, magis illud concilium esse pro nobis quam contra nos; nam contra nos tantum esse potest concilium 19. episcoporum, quod provinciale fuit, et minime confirmatum, et in aliis decretis videtur errasse, præsertim cum in plurimis casibus ne in articulo quidem mortis velit absolvi pœnitentem.*”—Bellarm. *De Imagin. Lib. II. cap. 9.* [Tom. II. p. 393.]

³ Tom. I. anno Domini LVII. num. 119. et trib. sequent. [p. 458.]

⁴ “*Quod insuper austeriori quodam spiritu iidem qui in eandem synodum convenere patres sanctissimi, propemodum visi sint Novatianorum limites attigisse, quippe qui lapsis nec in fine communionem dandam esse statuerint; ea de causa factum puto, ut cum hæc displicuerint successoribus, nulla sicut de aliis ejus synodi nominatim ab antiquioribus mentio habeatur, atque sic prope antiquata remanserit.*”—Id. *Ann. CCCV. num. 42.* [Tom. III. p. 404. Lucæ. 1738.]

⁵ *Περὶ τῶν πρὸς βίαν θυσάντων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν δειπνησάντων εἰς τὰ εἶδωλα, ὅσοι μὲν ἀπαγόμενοι, καὶ σχήματι φαιδρότερον ἀνῆλθον, καὶ ἐσθῆτι ἐχρήσαντο πολυτελεστέρα, καὶ μετέσχον τοῦ παρασκευασθέντος δείπνου ἀδιαφόρως, ἔδοξεν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκροᾶσθαι, ὑποπεσεῖν δὲ τρία ἔτη, εὐχῆς δὲ μόνης κοινωνῆσαι ἔτη δύο, καὶ τότε ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον.*

Ὅσοι δὲ ἀνῆλθον μετὰ ἐσθῆτος πενθικῆς, καὶ ἀναπεσόντες ἔφαγον μεταξὺ δι’ ὅλης τῆς ἀνακλίσεως δακρύνοντες, εἰ ἐπλήρωσαν τὸν τῆς ὑποπτώσεως τριετὴ χρόνον, χωρὶς προσφορᾶς δεχθῆτωσαν.—Concil. Ancyran. Can. 4, 5. [Labbe, Tom. I. col. 1488.]

and that deacons protesting at the time of their ordination, that they cannot, nor are not resolved to contain, but that they purpose and desire to marry, shall remain in the ministry, though they marry after their ordination¹. This council was confirmed by Leo the Fourth², and by the Council of Nice, as it is in the Council of Florence³. So that hitherto no restraint of clergymen from companying with their wives prevailed. But almost four hundred years after Christ, Siricius⁴ bishop of Rome, writing to the bishop of Tarracon, (by whom he understood that very many priests and deacons in those parts, after their ordination, lived with their wives which they had formerly married, and begat children of them as before, and justified their so doing by the example of the priests of the law, excusing that which was done, as proceeding from ignorance); if they would acknowledge themselves in fault, and refrain for the time to come, commanded that no such thing should be any longer permitted. Whereupon the second provincial Council of Arle⁵, holden in the time of this Siricius, decreed that no married man should be admitted to the degree of priesthood, unless he would promise to refrain from the company of his wife, and yet permitted him to have her living in the house with him. Innocentius the First⁶, who began his popedom about

¹ Can. 10. [ibid. col. 1489.]

² Dist. 20. Cap. 'De libellis.' [cap. 1. col. 95.]

³ Act. iv. [lege vii. Labbe, Tom. xviii. col. 124.]

⁴ "Plurimos sacerdotes Christi atque levitas post longa consecrationis suæ tempora, tam de conjugibus propriis, quam etiam de turpi coitu sobolem didicimus procreasse, et crimen suum hac præscriptione defendere, quia in veteri testamento sacerdotibus ac ministris generandi facultas legitur attributa.

"Quia exempla præsentia cavere nos præmonent in futurum, si quilibet episcopus presbyter vel diaconus, quod non optamus, deinceps fuerit talis inventus, jam nunc sibi omnem per nos indulgentiæ aditum intelligat obseratum; quia ferro necesse est excidantur vulnera, quæ fomentum non senserint medicinam."—Siricius, Epist. ad Himerium Tarraconensem. [Labbe, Tom. ii. col. 1215.]

⁵ "Assumi aliquem ad sacerdotium non posse in conjugii vinculo constitutum, nisi fuerit præmissa conversio.

"Si quis clericus a gradu diaconatus in solatio suo mulierem, præter aviam, matrem, neptem, vel conversam secum uxorem, habere præsumpserit, a communione alienus habeatur."—Concil. Arelat. ii. Can. 2, 3. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 3.]

⁶ "Proposuisti quid de his observari debeat, quos in diaconii mini-

the year of our Lord four hundred and two, insisted in the steps of Siricius his predecessor, and drew some particular bishops to concur with him. So that in some particular councils the lawful society and companying of clergymen with their wives began to be restrained. In the second Council of Carthage¹, as it is usually reckoned, but indeed the last, the legate of the bishop of Rome being present, procured the bishops to pass a decree that bishops, presbyters, and deacons, should refrain from the company of their wives, falsely affirming that the apostles did teach so, and antiquity practise so, contrary to that which I have before alleged out of the Canons of the Apostles, the Council of Gangra, the speeches of Paphnutius in the Council of Nice, the report of Socrates the historian, and the decree of the sixth general council, affirming the leaving of clergymen to their liberty in this behalf to be apostolical and ancient. The first Council of Toledo, holden in the year of our Lord four hundred, decreed² that deacons which had lived with their wives should not be preferred to be presbyters, nor presbyters to be bishops, though they had so done before the restraint made by the bishops that were before them; but laid no other punishment on them. The Council of Agatha³, holden in the year five

sterio, aut in officio presbyterii positas incontinentes esse, aut fuisse, generati filii prodiderunt. De his et divinarum legum manifesta est disciplina, et beatæ recordationis viri Siricii episcopi monita evidentia commearunt, ut incontinentes in officiis talibus positi omni honore ecclesiastico priventur, nec admittantur accedere ad ministerium, quod sola continentia oportet impleri.—Innocent. III. Epist. 3. [Labbe, Tom. III. col. 13.]

¹ “Quod apostoli docuerunt, et ipsa servavit antiquitas, nos quoque custodiamus. Ab universis episcopis dictum est; Omnibus placet, ut episcopi presbyteri et diaconi, vel qui sacramenta contractant, pudicitie custodes, etiam ab uxoribus se abstineant; ut in omnibus et ab omnibus pudicitia custodiatur, qui altari deserviunt.”—Concil. Carthag. II. Can. 2. [Labbe, Tom. II. col. 1244.]

² “Placuit ut diaconi, si vel integri, vel casti sint, et continentis vitæ, etiamsi uxores habeant, in ministerio constituentur: ita tamen ut si qui etiam ante interdictum quod per Lusitanos episcopos constitutum est incontinenter cum uxoribus suis vixerint, presbyterii honore non cumulentur. Si quis vero ex presbyteris ante interdictum filios suscepit, de presbyterio ad episcopatum non permittatur.”—Concil. Tolet. I. Can. 1. [Labbe, Tom. II. col. 1471.]

³ “Placuit ut si diaconi aut presbyteri conjugati ad torum uxorem

hundred and six, sheweth plainly that at that time many provinces took no knowledge of the decree of Siricius and Innocentius, but that their presbyters and deacons lived with their wives still, and excuseth them in respect of their not knowing of any restraint, and continueth them in their places; only debarring them from further promotion, and prescribing that the decree of Siricius shall take place in time to come, and that such as know of it and disobey it shall be removed from their places. The first Council of Turon, holden in the year four hundred fourscore and two, sought to remit something of the severity of some particular councils, wherein the bishops, directed by the prohibition of Siricius and Innocentius, had gone too far. The words of the council are these¹: "Though our fathers out of the authority committed to them decreed that what priest or deacon soever should be found to beget children of their wives should be put from the communion of the Lord; yet we, moderating this extreme severity, and by a more equal constitution mollifying and mitigating that which was too hard have decreed, that a priest or deacon continuing in matrimonial society with his wife and not ceasing from the procreation of children shall not be lifted up to any higher degree, nor offer sacrifice unto God, nor minister to the people; but let this be enough for them that they are not put from the communion." Thus we see that within a short time after the publishing of these decrees the bishops were forced, out of due consideration, to remit some-

suarum redire voluerint, papæ Innocentii ordinatio, et Siricii episcopi auctoritas, quæ est his canonibus inserta, conservetur.

"Si ad aliquos forma illa ecclesiasticæ vitæ pariter et disciplinæ quæ a Siricio episcopo ad provincias commeavit non probabitur pervenisse, his ignorationis venia remittitur; ita ut de cætero penitus incipiant abstinere. Et ita gradus suos, in quibus inventi fuerint, sic retentent ut ad potiora eis non liceat ascendere."—Concil. Agathens. Can. 9. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 523.]

¹ "Licet patribus nostris emissa auctoritate id fuerit constitutum ut quicumque sacerdos vel levita filiorum procreationi operam dare fuisset convictus, a communione dominica abstinere; nos tamen huic districtioni moderationem adhibentes et justam constitutionem molientes, id decrevimus, ut sacerdos vel levita conjugali concupiscentiæ inhærens, vel a filiorum procreatione non desinens, ad ulteriorem gradum non ascendat, neque sacrificium Deo offerre vel plebi ministrare præsumat. Sufficiat his tantum ut a communione non efficiantur alieni."—Concil. Turon. i. Can. 2. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 75.]

thing of that severity that some others set on by Siricius and Innocentius had used, till at length the execution of these decrees was in a manner wholly neglected as unprofitable, and too heavy a burden for the ministers of the Church to bear. Whereupon we shall find that in all the provinces of the West the presbyters and deacons of the Church were married, at that time that Hildebrand climbed up into the papal chair, and had been long before. Priests in those times, saith Aventinus¹, had wives publicly as all other Christians, and begat sons and daughters of them, as it appeareth by the instruments of donations made to churches and abbeyes, wherein these priests' wives together with their husbands are brought as witnesses, and are styled by the name of *Presbyterissæ*. Yea so general and so well settled was the marriage of clergymen in those times, that when Hildebrand began to restrain and forbid it, the whole nation of clergymen rose up against him, called him monster and enemy of mankind, and pronounced him to be antichrist. And such was the resistance against this rash and inconsiderate attempt of the pope, that he could by no means prevail, though he caused so great confusions, tumults, and disorders in the Christian world, as the like had never been seen in any of the bloody persecutions that were in the time of the primitive Church; and was forced to confess, a little before his death, that he had caused grievous scandals in the Christian world. The circumstances of the whole narration found in the historians are these²: So soon as the decree of Hildebrand was published, presently the whole faction of clergymen was enraged against him, crying out that he was an heretic and a man damnably erring in his judgment, who forgetting the speech of our Lord that saith, "All men receive not this word; let him that can receive it receive it;" and of the apostle, who saith, "Let him that cannot contain marry; for it is better to marry than to burn;" would by violent enforcement constrain men to live after the manner of angels; and while he denied and sought to restrain the ordinary and accustomed course of nature, loosed the reins and gave free liberty to whoredom and uncleanness; protesting that if he should go forward to urge the execution of this his decree, they were resolved rather to forsake the ministry than

¹ Lib. v. Annal. Boiorum, p. 546.

² Naucler. Vol. II. Generat. 36. [fol. 159.]

their marriage. And that then he, before whom men did stink, should see whence angels are to be had to undertake the government of the Church and people of God. Notwithstanding all this resistance and these earnest protestations, Hildebrand went forward, urged the matter, and reproved the bishops as careless and negligent. The archbishop of Mentz, fearing the pope's displeasure, and yet considering that it would be no easy matter to alter a custom so strongly and by so long tract of time confirmed, proceeded moderately in those parts where he had to do, giving those of the clergy half a year's respite to advise themselves, praying and beseeching them to resolve to do that willingly, which of necessity they must do. But after the time expired which he had given unto them he called a synod, and was earnest with them, that without all further delay or excuse, they would presently either abjure their marriage, or put themselves from serving any longer at the altar. They on the contrary side alleged many reasons to persuade him not to urge them to any such extremities; and when they found that neither entreaty and humble petition nor weight of reason would prevail, but that though professing himself unwilling thus to urge them, yet he was forced so to do by the pope's mandate; and that therefore he must have no denial, but that they must yield; they went out of the council-house as if it had been to deliberate, and resolved among themselves, either never to return, or otherwise so to return as to pull him out of his chair before he should pronounce so cursed a sentence against them, and to take away his life from him, that so his unhappy end might be a warning to all posterity, that no succeeding bishop might ever dare to attempt so to wrong and dishonour the priestly degree and order. The archbishop by the means of some that wished well unto him, understanding of this conspiracy, to prevent the tumult which he saw to be unavoidable, if he did not speedily give them some satisfaction and contentment, sent unto them, besought them to be quiet, and to return into the synod, and promised that as soon as any opportunity should be offered he would do his best endeavour to persuade the pope to desist from these courses. These things were done in the year 1074. The year following the archbishop again urged by the pope called another council at Mentz, to which the pope's legate came, bringing his let-

ters and mandates, and requiring him to urge them presently to yield, and if they should refuse so to do to punish them with the loss of their degree and order; which thing when he was about to do, presently all the clergymen which sat round about rose up and so refuted and rejected that he said with words, and by the violent moving and shaking of their hands and gesture of their whole bodies, shewed themselves to be so moved against him as that he feared ever to go out of the synod alive; and so at last overcome with the difficulty of this attempt he resolved to desist from meddling with this matter any more, which he had so often to no purpose taken in hand, and to leave it wholly to the pope to do what he would. These were the vain attempts of the Romanists for the restraining of lawful marriage, which though they prevailed not at the first, according to the wishes of the wicked pope, yet caused the most horrible confusions in the Western Church that ever had been; for laymen taking occasion hereupon, despised their priests, meddled with the ministration of holy things, ministered the sacrament of baptism, anointed men with the filth which they took out of their ears instead of oil, did many things most disorderly, and committed sundry intolerable outrages. And therefore it is most strange that Bellarmine¹ should so forget himself as he doth; for whereas all stories impute these confusions, profanations, and contempt of sacred things, to the restraint of marriage and the disgracing of it, so hard is his forehead that he blusheth not to write that the marriage of ministers would hinder the due and reverent administration of sacraments, and that experience shewed it, in that in Germany in the time of Gregory the Seventh, when priests began to marry wives, there grew so great contempt of the sacraments that laymen began to administer them, as Naclerus and others report. In which speech of his there is no word true; for neither did priests begin to marry in Gregory's time, but had been ordinarily married long before, as Naclerus testifieth², saying it was an old and confirmed custom that was not easily to be altered, which Gregory sought to take away when he went about to forbid the marriage of priests; so that they did rather cease to marry in his time than begin. Neither doth any story impute the confusions, profanations, and contempts

¹ De Clericis, Lib. 1. cap. 19.

² Ubi supra.

of sacraments and sacred things in those times to the marriage of priests, which was publicly allowed long before without any such evil ensuing, as Aventinus¹ and others do testify, but to the restraint of it. And therefore it was not the beginning (as Bellarmine untruly saith), but the ending of priests' marriages in Gregory's time, that brought in so many and hideous evils into the Christian world. Thus having seen with how bad success Gregory the Seventh began this restraint in other parts of the Christian world, let us take a view of our own country, and see what footing it had here. Henry Huntingdon², an ancient historian and of good credit, reporteth that before the time of Anselm, bishop of Canterbury, the marriage of presbyters and other ministers of the Church was not forbidden in England, and that when he forbade it, howsoever he pleased some, for that there seemed to be greater purity in single life than in the state of marriage, yet this his prohibition seemed to other to be very dangerous, fearing that while he sought to bring men to that which is above the reach and without the compass of human frailty, he would occasion many grievous and scandalous evils. But howsoever this his endeavour took not place by and by; for the same author reporteth that after that time one John Cremensis, a cardinal, came into England, and went about to restrain the marriages of churchmen; so that it appeareth that Anselm had effected nothing. This worthy cardinal (as he reporteth) held a synod at London, and in the same made a vehement and bitter speech against the marriage of presbyters, asking if it were not an impure and unfitting thing for a minister of the Church to rise up from the side of an harlot, (for so it pleased him to term the lawful wives of churchmen,) and to go to the altar to consecrate the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood. But see the judgment of God, saith Huntingdon, the impure cardinal that had thus inveighed against marriage, the night following was taken in bed with an harlot, though he had said mass and consecrated the blessed sacrament in the morning³; which thing was so evident that it could not, and so foul that it was not, fit to be concealed; and he addeth, that if any Roman prelate or other dislike this his

¹ Ubi supra.

² Lib. vii. [Inter Hist. Angl. script. post Bedam, p. 382: Roger. de Hoveden, ibid. p. 478.]

³ Matt. Par. in Henrico I. p. 67.

most true report, he were best to take heed he follow not the example of Cremensis, lest the like dishonour come unto him as did unto Cremensis, who being at first received in very glorious manner, was in the end cast out with disgrace, and who despising lawful marriage feared not to commit most filthy whoredom. Hereupon it seemeth the matter of restraint of presbyters' marriage had no good success at that time, which appeareth also in that¹ after this time in a council it was referred to the king, and he was authorized and appointed to punish such presbyters and ministers of the Church as he should find married; but he notably deceived the pope's agents that thus authorized him, for he took money of such as were found to be married, and suffered them so to redeem their liberties, which grieved them not a little; yet did they in the end so far forth obtain their desires, and the tyranny of antichrist so far prevailed, that presbyters durst no longer be known publicly to be married, but were forced to take another course; for as it appeareth by the decrees of Otho², in the time of Henry the Third, many contracted matrimony secretly, and when in process of time children were born unto them, for their good when they saw it fit, they would take order it might be proved they were married and their children born in marriage, either by witnesses or public instruments, either while they lived or after their death. Whereby it is evident that howsoever the impure Romanists sought to keep clergymen from marrying, and to force them by the censures of the Church and other extremities to put away their wives, yet at that time they durst not pronounce their marriages void nor their children illegitimate; for if they had, these men would not so carefully have provided to be able to make proof of their marriages for the good of their children. So that though there wanted not instruments, set at work by the pope some hundreds of years past, that sought to restrain the mar-

¹ Matt. Par. in Henrico I. p. 68.

² "Innotuit nobis pluribus referentibus fide dignis, quod multi propriæ salutis immemores matrimoniis contractis clandestine retinere cum uxoribus, ecclesias et ecclesiastica beneficia adipisci de novo, et promoveri ad sacros ordines contra statuta sacrorum canonum non formidant. Demum processu temporis cum proles suscepta de tali copula expedire videatur, ipsis viventibus vel defunctis per testes vel instrumenta probare contracta fuisse matrimonia."—Constit. Othonis de uxoratis a beneficiis amovendis. [fol. 32. ed. fol. Par. 1504.]

riage of clergymen, yet was not their restraint like unto that of the Romanists at this day; for they did not so restrain clergymen from marrying or living with their wives as to pronounce their marriages to be void, neither did they separate those that God had joined together; but if they would marry, or continue with their wives which they had formerly married, they permitted them so to do, and only put them from the ministry. “Presbyters in former times,” saith Duarenus¹, “if they took wives in those places where marriage was forbidden were put from the ministry, or perhaps, where more severity was used, were excommunicated, but their marriage was not voided; yet it is not to be denied but that Siricius and Innocentius spake very unreverently of the state of marriage, endeavouring to prove that presbyters are not to be suffered to marry, because to live in marriage is to live in the flesh, and they that live in the flesh cannot please God.” How absurd and inconsiderate this kind of reasoning is, every man (I think) will easily discern; for whereas the apostle², and after him Paphnutius in the Council of Nice³, pronounce that marriage is honourable among all, and the bed undefiled; and Chrysostom⁴ affirmeth that it is so honourable that men may be lifted up into the bishops’ chairs with it, with what face can these men say that to live in marriage is to live in the flesh in such sort as not to please God? Bellarmine’s⁵ evasion, that they speak not of marriage simply, but of for-

¹ “Presbyteri quamvis adversus votum in ordinatione factum et expressam professionem uxorum duxissent, excommunicabantur tantum, nisi gratiam eis episcopus facere voluisset, aut a ministerio sacerdotioque summovebantur; nec ideo dirimebatur matrimonium.”—Duaren. De Sacr. Eccles. Minist. et Benef. Lib. iv. [cap. 7. p. 1181.]

² Heb. xiii. 4.

³ Socrat. Lib. i. cap. 8.

⁴ *Μιάς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα. Οὐ νομοθετῶν τοῦτό φησιν, ὡς μὴ εἶναι ἐξόν ἀνευ τούτου γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀμετρίαν κωλύων. Ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐξῆν καὶ δευτέροις ὁμιλεῖν γάμοις, καὶ δύο ἔχειν κατὰ ταυτὸν γυναῖκας. Τίμιον γὰρ ὁ γάμος.*—Chrysost. in 1 Tim. iii. [Hom. x. Tom. xi. p. 598.]

⁵ “Non enim Siricius conjugium verum et legitimum pollutionem appellat, sed illicitam conjunctionem eorum qui post peractam publicam pœnitentiam iterum redeunt ad eandem conjunctionem, propter quam pœnitentiam egerunt; nemo autem pœnitentiam unquam egit quod inierit legitimum matrimonium.”—Bellarm. De Pont. Rom. Lib. iv. cap. 10. [p. 405.]

bidden marriage, such as that of priests is, when they say to live in marriage is to live in the flesh, and that therefore they say only, they who live in unlawful and forbidden marriage live in the flesh and cannot please God, will not serve the turn. For they speak not of unlawful and forbidden marriage, but go about to prove that marriage is to be forbidden and denied to presbyters by a reason taken from the nature of it, and something in it or consequent of it, in respect whereof it cannot stand with the holiness of the degree and calling of presbyters and ministers. So that they say simply to live in marriage is to live in the flesh, and that therefore the holy ministers of the Church who may not live in the flesh must be forbidden to marry; their words being a reason moving them to prohibit marriage, and not taken from the prohibition, as it will easily appear to any one that will take the pains to view the Epistles of the Roman bishops¹, (if yet they have not been corrupted, as many other things of like nature have). But howsoever we censure these sayings of the popes, it is most certain that those particular bishops of the West who upon misconceit sought to restrain presbyters from living with their wives, yet never proceeded so far as either to pronounce their marriages unlawful, or to dissolve them, till of late. And therefore they were most contrary in their judgments to the lewd assertions of papists, who think and teach that the marriages of churchmen are adulteries, and fear not to say that it is worse for a man to take a wife to live with continually than to join himself unto harlots; which prodigious assertion all men in former times, even they who were most averse from the marriage of clergymen, would have detested. “If a presbyter,” saith the Council of Neocæsarea², “will marry a wife let him be put from his order; but if he commit fornication or adultery, let him be driven further and put to penance.” Whereunto the Council of Eli-

¹ “Præterea quod dignum et pudicum et honestum est tenere ecclesia omnino debet, ut sacerdotes et Levitæ cum uxoribus suis non coeant, quia ministerii quotidiani necessitatibus occupantur.”—Innocent. ad Victricium, cap. 9. [Epist. 2. Labbe, Tom. III. col. 9.]

² “Presbyter si uxorem acceperit, ab ordine deponatur. Si vero fornicatus fuerit, vel adulterium perpetraverit, amplius pelli debet, et ad pœnitentiam redigi.”—Concil. Neocæsar. Can. 1. [Labbe, Tom. I. col. 1513.]

beris¹ before-mentioned agreeth, prescribing that such as commit adultery shall be put from the communion of the Church for ever; and likewise the Council of Arverne². Some other indeed there were that proceeded a little further, and put them from the communion of the Church that would live in matrimonial society; but the bishops in the Council of Turon³ thought good to moderate that extremity, and only to keep them from further promotion and sacred employment; and with them the bishops in the fifth Council of Orleans agree⁴. So that these bishops, though inconsiderately restraining marriage, yet durst not pronounce the marriages of churchmen void, as our adversaries now do, neither did they (for ought I can read) force men to make any vow of continence. For though some of them required a promise of living single, yet was it no vow, seeing a promise made to men is far different from a vow, which is a promise made to God. And

¹ "Placuit in totum prohiberi episcopis presbyteris et diaconibus vel omnibus clericis positus in ministerio, abstinere se a conjugibus suis, et non generare filios; quicumque vero fecerit, ab honore clericatus exterminetur."—Concil. Eliberit. Can. 33. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 996.]

"Episcopi, presbyteri, et diacones, si in ministerio positi, detecti fuerint quod sint mœchati, placuit et propter scandalum, et propter profanum crimen, nec in fine eos communionem accipere debere."—Can. 18. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 994, 6.]

² "Cum presbyteri atque diaconi sublimi dignitatis apice prorgantur, actibus omnino renuncient sæculi, et ad sacrum electi ministerium, repudient carnale consortium, ac permixtionis pristinæ contubernium permutent germanitatis affectu; et quisquis ille est presbyter atque diaconus, divino munere benedictione percepta uxoris suæ frater illico efficiatur ex conjugio. Attamen quosdam referimus ardore libidinis inflammatos, abjecto militiæ cingulo, vomitum pristinum et inhibita rursus conjugia repetisse, atque incesti quodammodo crimine clarum decus sacerdotii violasse, quod nati etiam filii prodiderunt. Quod quisquis fecisse cognoscitur, omni in perpetuum quam admissio jam crimine perdidit, dignitate privabitur."—Concil. Arvernens. Can. 13. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 951.]

³ Turon. i. Can. 2. [ubi supra.]

⁴ "Si quis clericus post acceptam benedictionem cujuslibet loci vel ordinis, ad conjugalem torum jam sibi illicitum denuo redire præsumpserit, usque in diem vitæ ab honore accepti ordinis, et sicut habent antiquorum patrum canones, ab officio deponatur, ei tantummodo communione concessa."—Concil. Aurel. v. Can. 4. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 1378.]

many of them (as it may seem) urged such as they admitted into the ministry to no such promise at all, but received them in such sort that they should so long be employed as they would refrain, and that if they pleased to marry they should still enjoy the communion of the Church, but should not be employed in sacred function any longer. Touching the promise which some required, the second Council of Toledo prescribeth¹ that at eighteen years of age they of the clergy shall resolve to marry or promise to contain, and that at twenty they shall be made subdeacons. The Council of Ancyra provideth², that if deacons shall protest when they are ordained that they will not live single, but will have wives, they shall be permitted to marry and yet keep their places. But if professing that they will contain they betake themselves to former or new marriages, they shall enjoy the lay communion, but shall be put out of the ministry and clergy. Whereby it appeareth that there was no uniform observation in the promise of continency that was required; seeing the one of these two councils requireth it at eighteen years of age of such as were not yet subdeacons, and the other leaveth such as were to be deacons to their own choice at the time of their ordination; nor that this promise was thought to make void the ensuing marriage, seeing such as contrary to promise returned to the state of marriage were permitted to enjoy the communion of the Church as laymen, though in some places they were put out of the ministry and clergy. I say in some places, because it appeareth by the Council of Toledo³ appointing that such shall have but the places of lectors only, that they were not wholly deprived of the honour of clergymen in all places. Afterwards, indeed, in the ninth Council of Toledo⁴, the bishops finding that all their former endea-

¹ "Ubi octavum decimum ætatis suæ compleverint annum coram totius cleri plebisque conspectu voluntas eorum de expetendo conjugio ab episcopo perscrutetur."—Concil. Tolet. ii. Can. 1. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 878.]

² Can. 10. [ubi supra.]

³ "Subdiaconus, defuncta uxore, si aliam duxerit, ab officio in quo ordinatus fuerat removeatur, et habeatur inter ostiarios, vel inter lectores; ita ut evangelium et apostolum non legat."—Concil. Tolet. i. Can. 4. [Labbe, Tom. ii. col. 1471.]

⁴ "Quilibet ab episcopo usque ad subdiaconum deinceps, vel ex ancillæ vel ex ingenuæ detestando connubio in honore constituti filios

vours prevailed not, though they voided not the marriages of clergymen, nor judged them to be adulteries as our adversaries do, yet they adjudged such as should be born of such marriages to a kind of bondage, and deprived them of that possibility of inheritance which formerly they might have had. But this was but the particular decree of that provincial council, and so could bind none but those few churches in those parts, neither did it; for long after here in England (as I have shewed) the ministers of the Church were publicly married without any such wrong done either to them or their children. And long after the restraint of Gregory the Seventh, when this decree of single life had in some sort prevailed, they did still secretly marry, and when they saw cause for the good of their children, made proof of their marriages. Neither is it to be marvelled at that some particular synods in the West, set on by the bishops of Rome, went about in some sort to restrain the lawful marriages of churchmen, (lawful, I say, both by the law of God, and the resolution, allowance, and practice, of the greater part of the Christian Churches,) seeing they forbade those which, even in the judgment of our adversaries themselves, I think cannot be denied to have been lawful. “If the widow or relict of a presbyter or deacon shall join herself to any man in marriage,” saith the first Council of Orleans¹, “let them after chastisement be separated, or if they persist in the intention of such a crime let them be excommunicated.” Wherewith the Epau-nine Council agreeth², and the second Council of Bracar³,

procreaverint; illi quidem ex quibus geniti probabuntur canonica censura damnentur; proles autem tali nata pollutione non solum parentum hæreditatem nusquam accipiat, sed etiam in servitutem ejus ecclesiæ, de cujus sacerdotis vel ministri ignominia nati sunt, jure perenni manebunt.—Concil. Tolet. ix. Can. 10. [Labbe, Tom. vii. col. 469.]

¹ “Si se cuicumque mulier duplici conjugio presbyteri vel diaconi relicta conjunxerit, aut castigati separentur, aut certe si in criminum intentione perstiterint, pari excommunicatione plectantur.”—Concil. Aurel. i. Can. 13. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 546.]

² “Relicta presbyteri, sive diaconi, si cuicumque renupserit, eatenus ab ecclesia pellatur, donec a conjunctione illicita separetur; marito quoque ejus simili usque ad correctionem severitate plectendo.”—Concil. Epaonens. Can. 32. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 715.]

³ “Si qua vidua episcopi vel presbyteri aut diaconi maritum acceperit, nullus clericus nulla religiosa cum ea convivium sumat, nun-

saying, "If any widow of a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, take an husband, let no clergyman nor no religious woman banquet with them, neither let her ever communicate; only at the time of her death let the sacraments of the Church be administered unto her." Likewise the Council of Antisiodorum¹ decreeth to the same effect. Neither can it be answered that these councils forbid the widows of presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons to marry, because during the life of their husbands upon some voluntary parting they bound themselves by promise to live continently. For the Council of Matiscon decreeth², that if the wives of subdeacons, exorcists, or acolytes, shall after their death join themselves in marriage the second time, they shall be separated and thrust into the houses of nuns. And yet these might lawfully live with their husbands, even in the judgment of them that made this decree. Neither were they any way induced necessarily to promise to contain.

Thus having seen where, when, and by whom the forbidding of the lawful marriage of presbyters entered into the Church, in what sort it was urged at the first, how afterwards what contradiction it found, and how far forth in the end it prevailed, it remaineth that we proceed to see what good followed upon it. Where first Aventinus telleth us³, that after the restraint of Hildebrand, under the honest name of chastity, the greatest part every where, without check of punishment, committed whoredoms, incests, and adulteries, and that the law of single life, which offended the good, was exceeding pleasing to impure companions, who now for one wife might have six hundred harlots. Neither is this the private conceit of Aventinus alone, but all good and wise men bear witness with him that he speaketh the truth, and say as

quam communicet; tantum ei sacramenta subveniant."—[Capit. Martin. Episc. Bracarens. cap. 29. Labbe, Tom. vi. col. 592.]

¹ "Non licet relictæ presbyteri, nec relictæ diaconi, nec subdiaconi, post ejus mortem maritum accipere."—[Concil. Antissiodor. Can. 22. Labbe, Tom. vi. col. 645.]

² "Illud quoque rectum nobis visum est disponere, ut quæ uxor subdiaconi, vel exorcistæ, vel acolythi fuerat, mortuo illo, secundo se non audeat sociare matrimonio. Quod si fecerit, separetur, et in cœnobiis puellarum Dei tradatur, et ibidem usque ad exitum vitæ suæ permaneat."—Concil. Matiscon. ii. Can. 16. [Labbe, Tom. vi. col. 679.]

³ Annal. Boiorum, Lib. v. [cap. 14. pp. 549, 54. fol. Lips. 1710.]

much as he. Bernard, speaking of the state of the clergy in his time, saith¹, "Many, not all truly, but yet many undoubtedly, who neither can be hid, they are so many, nor care to be hid, they are so shameless; many surely seem to have made the liberty in which they are called to serve as a fit occasion to satisfy the flesh, abstaining from the remedy of marriage, and pouring forth themselves into all manner of sinful wickednesses." And in the same chapter he saith², "That if we dig down the wall, according to the words of the prophet Ezechiel, we shall see horrible things in the house of God. For after whoredoms, adulteries, and incests, there are found the passions of ignominy, and the works of impurity and filthiness. Would to God (saith he) those things that are most unnatural were not committed: that neither the apostles needed to write of them, nor we to speak; and that no man would believe that so abominable lust did ever possess the mind of man. Were not those

¹ "Multi enim, non quidem omnes, sed tamen multi, certum est, nec latere queunt præ multitudine, nec præ impudentia quærunt: multi utique libertatem in qua vocati sunt in occasionem carnis dedisse videntur, abstinentes remedio nuptiali, et in omne deinceps flagitium effluentes."—Bernard. de Conversione ad Clericos. [cap. xx. Tom. i. col. 499. Par. 1719.]

² "Pessima forte appareat intra parietes abominatio, si juxta Ezechielis prophetiam parietem fodiamus, ut in domo Dei videamus horrendum. Si quidem post fornicationes, post adulteria, post incestus, nec ipsæ quidem apud aliquos ignominiae passiones et turpitudinis opera desunt. Utinam non fierent quæ usque adeo non conveniunt, ut nec apostolum scribere hoc, nec nos dicere oporteret. Utinam nec dicentibus crederetur, quod humanum aliquando occupaverit animum tam abominanda cupido.

"Numquid non olim civitates illæ spurcitiae hujus matres, divino prædamnatæ judicio et incendio sunt deletæ? Numquid non Gehennalis flamma moram non sustinens execrabilem illam prævenit tollere nationem, quod ipsius specialiter essent peccata manifesta præcedentia ad judicium? Numquid non et ipsam utpote consciam tantæ confusionis tellurem absumpsit ignis sulfur et spiritus procellarum? Numquid non in lacum horribilem solum omne redactum est? Amputata sunt hydræ capita quinque, sed heu innumera surrexerunt. Quis reædificavit rubes flagitii? quis turpitudinis mœnia dilatavit? quis extendit propagines virulentas? Væ, væ, inimicus hominum sulfurei illius incendii reliquias infelices circumquaque dispersit, execrabili illo cinere ecclesiae corpus adpersit, et ipsorum quoque ministrorum ejus nonnullos sanie foetidissima spurcissimæque respersit."—Ibid. [col. 498.]

cities, which were the mothers of this impure filthiness, long since condemned by the judgment of God himself, and consumed with fire? Did not the fire of hell, impatient of delay, prevent the time, and in a sort before the time, consume that cursed nation? Did not fire, brimstone, and the stormy tempest, consume the very earth and ground itself, as privy to such confusions as should never so much as once be thought of? Was not all the whole land and ground itself turned into an horrible lake? Surely, five heads of the monster Hydra are cut off; but woe is unto us, innumerable more are risen up. Who hath re-edified those cities of villany? who hath enlarged the walls of impurity? and who hath spread out those venomous branches? Woe! woe! the enemy of mankind hath scattered everywhere round about the unhappy reliques of that sulphureous burning, and hath sprinkled the body of the Church with those execrable ashes, and hath filled some of the ministers of the Church with that filthy, stinking, and impure running sore." Salvianus in like sort, in his book of divine providence, hath these words¹: "It is surely altogether a new and strange kind of conversion that some men talk of; lawful things they do not, and unlawful things they commit. They refrain from marriage, but refrain not from rape. What dost thou, O foolish persuasion? God forbade sin, not marriage: your deeds agree not with your profession. You should not be the friends of enormous crimes, who profess to do the works of virtue. It is a preposterous thing that you do; it is not conversion, but aversion. You that have long since (as the fame is forsaken the work of honest marriage, cease at the last from sinful wickedness." With these agree the historians generally², reporting that innumerable evils followed the pro-

¹ "Novum prorsus conversionis genus; licita non faciunt, et illicita committunt. Temperant a concubitu, et non temperant a rapina. Quid agis stulta persuasio? peccata interdixit Deus, non matrimonia: non conveniunt vestris studiis facta vestra: non debetis esse amici criminum, qui dicitis nos sectatores esse virtutum. Præposterum est quod agitis; non est hoc conversio sed aversio: quia jam pridem, ut fama est, opus etiam honesti matrimonii reliquistis. Tandem a scelere cessate."—Salvian. De Gubern. Dei, Lib. v. [Max. Bibl. Vett. Patr. Tom. viii. p. 362.] citat. ab Espenc. Lib. i. De Continentia, cap. xii.

² Sigebert. in Chron. Ann. 1074. [p. 602 inter Script. German. Pistorii. fol. Franc. 1613.]

hibition of the marriage of clergymen, published by Pope Hildebrand; that few lived continently, though some counterfeited so to do for filthy lucre's sake, and for ostentation; and that many joined both perjury and adultery together: and not contenting themselves with an ordinary degree of wickedness, multiplied their whoredoms and adulteries exceedingly.

Whereupon we shall find that many of the best learned, most judicious, and worthiest men the Church had in latter times, wished the law of single life to be taken away, even as many resisted it when it was first made. Durandus, in his book¹ *De modo celebrandi Concilii*, proveth, by many reasons, that it were fit that the liberty of marriage were again restored to priests in a general council. In the Council of Basil², when exception was taken against the choice of Amedeus, Duke of Savoy, (whom many thought fit to be pope), for that he had been a married man, and had children, it was answered by some of good esteem, that that was no exception, and that haply it were much better that priests were permitted to live in marriage than restrained; for that many of them might be saved in chaste marriage, which now perish in their filthy and impure single life. Æneas Sylvius, a great man in that council, who was afterwards pope, and named Pius the Second, in an epistle to a friend of his, who was in the holy orders of the ministry of the Church, and yet desirous, for the avoiding of fornication, to marry a wife, writeth thus³: "We suppose that you are not ill advised, if when you cannot contain, you seek a wife; though that should have been thought on before you had entered into holy orders. But we are not gods, neither can we foresee things to come. Wherefore seeing things are come to this pass, that you cannot resist the law of the flesh, it is better to marry than to burn. Yet cannot the pope be persuaded to dispense with you; but he standeth resolved to hold his severe course still, and thinketh it not fit to grant that to one which may be hurtful unto many. If therefore you desire safely to marry, you must expect some other pope, who may be more inclinable and

¹ Rubric. 46. [fol. 166. in Tract. univ. jur. Tom. XIII. Part. 1.]

² Æn. Sylv. de Gest. Concil. Bas. [Lib. II. p. 59. ed. fol. Bas. 1571.]

³ Epist. 307. ad Joan. Frundt. [p. 809.]

yielding." And of this Æneas Sylvius, afterwards named Pius the Second, Platina¹, and Sabellicus², report that he was wont to say, that "they had, no doubt, reason to lead them so to do, that forbade the marriage of clergymen; but that there were much greater reason now to leave it free again." Baptista Mantuanus saith³, that many thought the laws against marriage to be evil; that they which made those laws had not sufficiently considered what the nature of man can bear; that Christ never put so unpleasant a yoke upon the necks of men; that this burden, too heavy for the shoulders of men to bear, hath brought forth many monstrous effects; that it was a shew of piety, but indeed too great boldness, that laid this burthen upon the shoulders of men; that it had been more safe to have gone that way wherein the divine law directeth us, and to have trod in the steps of the ancient fathers, whose life was better in marriage than ours that is single. Joannes Antonius saith⁴, in the time of the primitive Church it was lawful for presbyters, and such as were entered into holy orders, to have wives, so that they refrained from companying with them upon the days wherein they celebrated: that afterwards, in the Western Church, they that were entered into holy orders were commanded to contain; which commandment (he saith) yielded matter to ensnare the souls of many men, and therefore he verily believeth, that as the Church brought in this pre-

¹ In Pio II. [p. 302.]

² Ennead. x. Lib. vi. p. 731.

³ "Propterea leges quæ sunt connubia contra
Esse malas—prudencia patrum
Non satis advertit—quid ferre recuset
Quid valeat natura pati. Cervicibus, aiunt,
Hoc insuave jugum nostris imponere Christus
Noluit. Istud onus quod adhuc quamplurima monstra
Fecit, ab audaci dicunt pietate repertum.

* * * * *

Tutius esse volunt qua lex divina sinebat
Isse via, veterumque sequi vestigia patrum,
Quorum vita fuit melior cum conjuge, quam nunc
Nostra sit exclusis thalamis et conjugis usu."—

J. Baptist. Mantuan. Pastor. Lib. i. [In Jan. Fest. S. Hilarii.]

⁴ Tit. "Qui Clerici vel noventes matrimonia contrahere possunt."
—Citat. ab Andr. Frisio, Lib. iv. de Ecclesia. [p. 332. fol. Bas. 1559.]

cept of continency, so the time will come when the same Church will reverse and revoke it again; which revocation shall be agreeable to that of the apostle, who saith¹, "Concerning virgins, I have no commandment, but I give advice." With Antonius agreeth Panormitanus²; who proposing the question, whether the Church may give leave to presbyters to contract marriage, or to live in marriage, as the Grecians do, answereth, that he believeth it may; and that he is assured it may in respect of them who are not tied by vow, implied or expressed. Which he proveth, because continency in secular clergymen is not of the substance of order, nor prescribed by the law of God: for that otherwise the Grecians should sin, and no custom could excuse them; seeing no custom is of force against the law of God. Neither doth he only think that the Church hath power thus to do, but professeth he thinketh it were behooveful, and for the good and salvation of the souls of men, that such as are willing to contain, and to lead a life of higher perfection, should be left to their own will, and that such as are not willing to contain, should, by the decree of the Church, be set free to contract marriage. Alfonsus Vervecius³, as Andreas Frisius telleth us, discoursing of the words of Paul, "For the avoiding of fornication, let every one have his own wife," saith they contain no precept, but a concession or grant; and affirmeth, that by virtue of this grant every one that cannot otherwise avoid fornication may marry a wife. And after certain remedies prescribed to be observed and used by presbyters, that they may avoid fornication, at last confidently giveth counsel to him, who having tried all those means cannot contain, rather to marry a wife, and so to provide for his own salvation, than to commit fornication, and so cast himself headlong into eternal death; but yet persuadeth such a one to do nothing without seeking the pope's consent, hoping that he will dispense in such a case, seeing the power he hath was given him for edification, and not for destruction. "I dare confidently say," saith Polydore Virgil⁴, "that

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 25.

² De Cleric. Conjug. cap. "Cum olim."—[In Decret. Greg. IX. Lib. iii. Tit. 3. cap. 6. n. 5. fol. 16 a.]

³ Citat. ab Andrea Frisio, de Eccles. Lib. iv. [p. 318.]

⁴ De Invent. Rerum, Lib. v. cap. 4.

it hath been so far from being true, that this enforced chastity hath excelled that which is in marriage, that no sinful crime hath brought greater disgrace to the order of the ministry, more evil to religion, or made a greater and deeper impression of sorrow in all good men, than the stain of the impure lust of priests. And therefore haply it were behooveful for the Christian commonwealth, and for the good of them that are of that sacred order and rank, that at the last a public law might be made to give leave to priests to contract marriage; wherein rather they might live honestly and holily, without infamy, than in most filthy manner defile themselves with this sin of nature." And bishop Lindan saith¹, "Surely even at this day it is lawful to take chaste and honest married men into the order of priesthood; which (in my judgment) might much better be done in some provinces of Germany, than to set over them certain most impure companions, or any longer to endure and tolerate knaves, apostatas, and sacrilegious pastors." With these agreeth Erasmus, affirming² that, in his conceit, he should not ill deserve, nor take the worst course for the furthering of human affairs, and the right informing of the manners of men, which should procure liberty of marriage (if it might be) both for priests and monks. And therefore Sigismund the emperor, a little before the Council of Basil began, published a reformation of the clergy, in which, among other things, this was one, that forasmuch as more evil cometh by the forbidding of marriage than good, it were better and more safe to permit clergymen to live in a state of marriage, according to the custom of the Oriental Churches, than to forbid them so to do. In the Council of Trent, the orator of Bavaria moved to the same purpose. And Chemnitius³ reporteth from George the prince of Anhalt, that Adolphus, bishop of Mersberg, his uncle, would often say, before ever Luther began to stir, that if there were a council he would be a persuader that clergymen might be permitted to marry; and professed that he knew that many, for the quiet of their consciences, secretly contracted marriage with those women which they kept under the name of concubines. And

¹ Citat. a Chemnit. in Exam. Trident. Concil. [p. 517.]

² In Declamat. de Laud. Matrimonii. [Tom. ix. col. 109.]

³ [Ubi supra.]

surely even the popes themselves were content to wink at things in this kind. Georgius Cassander, a man of infinite reading, excellent judgment, and singular piety and sincerity, and therefore so much respected and honoured by Ferdinand and Maximilian the Second, that they held him the fittest man in the world to compose the controversies in religion, and sent for him to come unto them for the same purpose, is clearly of opinion¹, that, howsoever some in ancient times forbade the marriage of clergymen, yet now it were fit and necessary that that law were abrogated: first, because it is found by woeful experience to be the cause of many grievous evils; secondly, for that the severity of discipline, and strictness in all courses of life, that was in use when this law began first to be urged, is clean gone, or much decayed, even in the opinion of all. So that that which was fit in those times, may now be most unfit. Thirdly, for that many godly and learned men are thereby discouraged² from entering into the ministry, refusing to bind themselves to the observation of this law of single life, whereby the Church loseth the benefit of their labours; few young men, indeed religious and pious, applying themselves to the study of divinity; but such only for the most part as seek nothing but rich and good livings, that intend a dissolute course of life, and resolve aforehand to wallow in all impurity of lust, (besides some few who inconsiderately before they know themselves fall into the snare). Neither doth he only think it fit that married men be admitted into the ministry, and suffered to company with their wives, according to the custom of the Oriental Churches, but is of opinion also that they may be permitted to marry after they are entered into holy orders, yea, though there were no allowed example of any such thing heretofore; seeing the prohibition is but positive, and many positive constitutions have been abrogated. But indeed there are not only examples of men marrying after entering into orders, but also of the Church's allowing the same. For touching subdeacons and deacons, there can be no question,

¹ In Consultatione de Sacerd. Cœlibat. [cap. 23. p. 987.]

² Æneas Sylvius writing to Petrus Noxetus hath these words: "Adhuc cavi ne me sacer ordo involveret. Timeo enim continentiam," &c. — Epist. L. [p. 534.]

seeing the Council of Ancyra¹, which was most ancient, and confirmed by Leo the pope, as Bellarmine² himself confesseth, decreed that deacons, with the bishop's leave, might marry wives after their entrance into holy orders. In the time of Gregory³ the Seventh, and before, as it appeareth by the stories of those times, priests did marry after orders: and when he went about to forbid them so to do, he was condemned by the whole nation of clergymen, and deposed in a council of bishops; being justly disliked, as for other things, so for this his antichristian and vile attempt. Neither did those men which desired a decree to be passed to give the liberty of marriage unto churchmen, of whom I have spoken, desire only the permitting of married men so to continue, but of such as are not married for to marry; as it easily appeareth by their discourses. And surely howsoever there might be some reason of expedience rather to permit married men to enter into the ministry, and to continue in the same state, than to suffer such as come into it unmarried to marry afterwards; yet if the one be lawful (as Bellarmine⁴ rightly noteth), the other cannot be unlawful. For if any thing be found in marriage that cannot stand with the sanctity of the ministry, or the due execution of it, it is not the contract, which is a thing most seemly and honest, and soon past, but the act of it, and the cares accompanying that state of life. The manner, custom, and observation of the Greek Churches is described by Zonaras, in his explication of the Canons of the Apostles; where he saith, that presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons, before they be ordained, are asked whether they will live single or not; and if they answer that they will, they are presently ordained. But if they answer that they will not, they are permitted to take them wives first, and then are ordained after marriage. So that they give them leave to marry after they have chosen them, though before they ordain them; but if refusing to marry before ordination (when they are willed to resolve what they will do) they marry afterwards, they are put from the ministry, but not from their wives.

¹ Can. 10. [ubi supra.]

² De Cleric. Lib. i. cap. xviii.

³ Vide supra.

⁴ Ubi supra.

By that which hath been said¹, it is most clear and evident that the marriage of ministers is justifiable by God's law, by the canons and practice of the greatest part of the Church, and by the judgment of sundry of the greatest and worthiest of the world, in those places where it seemed to be most disliked in all ages, even till our time; yet there remaineth still one doubt touching the lawfulness of their marriages that by vow had promised the contrary. Concerning which point two things are to be observed; first, whether their marriage be void that vowed not to marry; secondly, whether they do sin that upon any occasion or change of the state of things do contrary to such their vow. Touching the first of these two points, to wit, that the marriages of such as had vowed the contrary are not void, we have the judgment of sundry the best learned among the fathers. For first, Cyprian, speaking of virgins, hath these words²; *Quod si ex fide Christo se dicaverunt, pudice et caste sine ulla fabula perseverent. Ita fortes et stabiles præmium virginitatis expectent, si autem perseverare nolunt, aut non possunt, melius est nubant, quam in ignem delictis suis cadant*: that is, "If by faith they have dedicated themselves to Christ, let them chastely and with all honest shamefastness, without lying or falsehood, so continue; and resolute and constant, let them expect the reward of virginity; but if they will not or cannot persevere, it is better that they should marry than that by their sins they should fall into the fire." Which words are clear enough for proof of that which we defend. Yet Bellarmine³ and some others seek to avoid them, making as if Cyprian did only say that if virgins that are to resolve, and are yet free, think they cannot contain, it were better for them to marry than to burn. But this evasion serveth not the turn; for Cyprian speaketh of such as have already dedicated themselves to God, willing them to persevere; and yet saith, if they will not or cannot contain, they were better to marry than to burn; and therefore he thinketh marriage after a vow made to the contrary to be good, though he that voweth without constant purpose of performing is not without fault. Pamelius writing on this

¹ For farther proof hereof see the first book of Claudius Espen-cæus de Continentia. [p. 659 sqq.]

² Cyprian. Lib. i. Epist. 11. [al. Epist. 4. p. 8. Oxon. 1682.]

³ De Monach. Lib. ii. cap. xxxiv.

place of Cyprian hath these words: "If Cyprian by a certain indulgence permitted such virgins upon whom the veil was not yet put to marry rather than to burn, let no man marvel at it; seeing their marriages, if they do marry, are not dissolved by any canons, but they are only enjoined penance." Saint Austin agreeth with Cyprian; for speaking of the marriages of such as had vowed the contrary, he hath these words¹: "They who say that the marriages of such men are not marriages, but rather adulteries, as it seemeth to me, do not acutely and diligently enough consider what they say; but a certain likeness and shew of truth deceiveth them. For because they are said to choose Christ to be their husband, which out of a certain love of christian sanctity refuse to marry, there are some that argue and say, that if she be an adulteress which marrieth to another man while her husband liveth, as the Lord himself defined in the Gospel, then so long as Christ liveth, over whom death hath no more dominion, she must needs be an adulteress which having chosen him to be her husband marrieth unto any mortal man. They, truly, which thus say seem to be moved by some reason that is not to be contemned; but they little consider how great absurdity followeth upon that which they say; for seeing a woman may laudably (even while her husband liveth), with his consent, vow continency unto Christ, according to the argument of these

¹ "Proinde qui dicunt talium nuptias non esse nuptias, sed potius adulteria, non mihi videntur satis acute ac diligenter considerare quod dicant: fallit eos quippe similitudo veritatis. Quia enim conjugium Christi dicuntur eligere quæ christiana sanctitate non nubunt, hinc argumentantur quidam dicentes, Si viro suo vivo quæ alteri nubit adultera est, sicut ipse Dominus in evangelio definivit; vivo ergo Christo, cui mors ultra non dominatur, quæ conjugium ejus elegerat, si homini nubit, adultera est. Qui hoc dicunt acute quidem moventur, sed parum attendunt hanc argumentationem quanta rerum sequatur absurditas. Cum enim laudabiliter etiam vivente viro ex consensu continentiam fœmina Christi voveat, jam secundum istorum rationem nulla hoc facere debet, ne ipsum Christum, quod sentire nefas est, adulterum faciat, cui vivente marito nubit.

"Fit autem per hanc minus consideratam opinionem, qua putant lapsarum a sancto proposito fœminarum, si nupserint, non esse conjugia, non parvum malum, ut a maritis separentur uxores quasi adulteræ sint, non uxores; et cum volunt eos separatas reddere continentiae, faciant maritos earum adulteros veros, cum suis uxoribus vivis alteras duxerint."—August. de Bono Viduit. cap. 10. [Tom. vi. col. 375.]

men no woman may so do, lest (which once to think is impious) she make Christ himself an adulterer to whom she marieth, her husband yet living." After this refutation of their reasons, he goeth forward to shew the absurd consequences of their opinion. "By this inconsiderate opinion," saith he, "of them that think the marriages of women fallen from an holy purpose if they do marry to be void, not a little evil is brought forth; for from hence it cometh that women are separated from their husbands as adulteresses and not wives. And while they thus separate them, and force them to contain, they make their husbands truly and indeed adulterers, when as (these their wives yet living) they marry." Thus doth Austin resolve that marriages after vows made to the contrary are lawful and good; though the not performing of vowed continency is a sin (as he thinketh) more grievous than adultery, not for that the marriage of such is to be condemned, but because the inconstancy in not performing that was purposed and the violating of the vow are condemned. *Non susceptio a bono inferiori, sed ruina ex bono superiori*: "Not for that they do a lesser good, but because they fall from a greater." Lastly, not for that they afterwards married, but for that they violated their first faith of continency. Which thing that the apostle might briefly insinuate, he would not say that "they have damnation which marry after the purpose of a more high degree of sanctity:" not for that they are not to be disliked that so do, but lest their marriage itself might seem to be condemned; but when he had said, "they will marry," he by and bye addeth "having condemnation," and expresseth why, "because they have broken their first faith:" that it may appear that the will which fell from a former purpose is condemned and reprov'd, whether marriage follow or not. If any man doubt whether St Austin were the author of this book, *De Bono Viduitatis*, wherein these things are found, as some do, and, consequently, whether he were of the opinion we have recited or not, he may easily know that this is St Augustin's judgment, whether this be his book or not, by his epistle to one Bonifacius¹, who had vowed a monastical, retired, and single

¹ "Sed ut te ad istam vitam non exhorter conjux impedimento est, sine cujus consensione continenter tibi non licet vivere."—Id. ad Bonifac. Epist. 70. [al. 220. Tom. II. col. 816. B.]

life, and yet afterwards did marry; whom he telleth he cannot now, as otherwise he would, exhort to that kind of life which he had formerly vowed because of his wife; so that he thought not his marriage void, or that he was to be separated from his wife. His words are these: "Thy wife hindereth me that I cannot exhort thee to this kind of life; without whose consent it is not lawful for thee to contain, &c." And elsewhere speaking of certain women, who abode not in that which they had first vowed, which had a desire of marriage, but married not for fear of disgrace, he saith¹: "It were better for them to marry than to burn;" that is, than to be wasted with the secret flame of the conscience in lust. And Hierome also is of the same opinion. For speaking to a certain virgin that had privately vowed virginity, and that could not endure the straight keeping of her mother's house, he hath these words²: "If thou be a virgin, why dost thou fear careful and diligent keeping? if thou be corrupted, why dost thou not openly marry? This is as a board to swim out on after shipwreck. So shouldest thou temper that which thou begannest ill by using this remedy. Neither truly do I say this, for that I take away repentance after sin, (that so that which is ill begun may still continue,) but for that I despair of drawing of you from that ill company into which you are entered." And in his epistle to Demetrias, he hath these words³: "The ill name and report of some that behave not themselves well disgraceth and dishonoureth the holy purpose of virgins, and obscureth and blemisheth the glory of the heavenly and angel-like family; who must be plainly and peremptorily urged and required either to marry if they cannot contain, or to contain if they will not marry." To these we

¹ De Sancta Virginitate, cap. 34. [Tom. vi. col. 357. E.]

² "Si virgo es, quid times diligentem custodiam? Si corrupta, cur non palam nubis? Secunda post naufragium tabula est, quod male cœperis saltem hoc remedio temperare. Neque vero hoc dico, quod post peccatum tollam pœnitentiam, ut quod male cœpit male perseveret; sed quod desperem in istiusmodi copula divulsionem."—Hieron. Epist. 47. [al. 117. Tom. i. col. 778.]

³ "Sanctum virginum propositum, et cœlestis angelorumque familiæ gloriam, quarundam non bene se agentium nomen infamat. Quibus aperte dicendum est, ut aut nubant, si se non possunt continere, aut contineant, si volunt nubere."—Id. ad Demetriad. [Epist. 130. col. 991.]

may add Epiphanius¹, who indeed maketh it *κρίμα*, that is, a thing evil, and such as God will judge and punish, to forget, neglect, and not to perform a vow made to God; but not *κατάκριμα*, that is, a thing that casteth men into the condemnation of hell-fire, and plungeth them into everlasting destruction, as to live in adultery: who defendeth that it is better to descend to that state of life which is lawful and honourable, with one fault of breaking the vow passed to the contrary, and with tears of repentance to wash away the impurity of that one fault of inconstancy, and so to be saved, than to live in sin continually, and so to perish. So that, though he thinks it a fault for a man to promise a course of continency to God by vow and not to perform it, yet he thinketh it better for a man after this one fault committed, which may be repented of and forgiven, to marry, than by living in continual adultery to add one sin unto another, and to plunge himself into endless destruction. Hugo de Sancto Victore² maketh two constructions of the words of St Austin

¹ Ἀλλὰ κρείττον ἐστὶ κρίμα καὶ μὴ κατάκριμα. Οἱ γὰρ διὰ τὸ μὴ αἰσχυρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κρυφῇ πορνεύοντες ποιοῦσι πορνείας . . . ἡ μονότητος, ἡ ἐγκρατείας, οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχουσι τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀλλὰ πρὸς Θεὸν τὸν εἰδὸτα τὰ κρύφια, καὶ ἐξελέγχοντα πᾶσαν σάρκα ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ, περὶ ὧν ἕκαστος ἡμαρτε. Κρείττον τοίνυν ἔχειν ἁμαρτίαν μίαν, καὶ μὴ περισσοτέρας. Κρείττον πεσόντα ἀπὸ δρόμου φανερώς ἐαυτῷ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα κατὰ νόμον, καὶ ἀπὸ παρθενίας πολλῷ χρόνῳ μετανοήσαντα εἰσαχθῆναι πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὡς κακῶς ἐργασάμενον, ὡς παραπέσοντα καὶ κλασθέντα, καὶ χρεῖαν ἔχοντα ἐπιδέματος, καὶ μὴ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν βέλεσι κρυφίοις κατατιτρώσκεσθαι, καὶ πονηρίας ὑπὸ διαβόλου αὐτῷ ἐπιφερομένης.—Epiphan. Hæres. lxi. [Tom. i. p. 512.]

² “ Si quis dicere voluerit . . . tunc ecclesiam secundum temporis illius statum tenere debuisse et tenuisse; ut qui post votum et professionem continentiae ad conjugalem copulam descenderent, ita manerent, nec solverentur hujusmodi contractus; et secundum judicium et permissionem ecclesiae tunc rata fuisse hujusmodi conjugia: postea autem cum inciperent homines abuti tali concessione et permissione ecclesiam propter pericula imminetia usum mutasse, et sententiam intorsisse ad aliud, atque ideo nunc conjugia non esse ejusmodi propter prohibitionem et institutionem ecclesiae, secundum quam licita vel illicita, rata et solvenda omnia judicantur; si quis hoc dicat, fortassis aliquid dixisse videbitur. Nos nihil reprehendimus ex omnibus quæ veritatem quietam esse permittunt. Si quis autem hæc dicta esse intelligat de iis qui propositum continentiae occulte voverunt, et votum suum sine attestazione hominum soli Deo obtulerunt,

before alleged. Whereof the one is, that he speaketh of secret vows, whereof the Church can take no knowledge, because there is no witness of them; and that St Austin's meaning is, that marriages, after such vows, are to be reputed good by the Church. The other is, that the Church, in the time of Austin, allowed marriages after a vow made to the contrary; but that now the same Church (for considerations her moving) hath determined otherwise, and by her authority made them void. The former of these constructions is too weak, and cannot be allowed. For, that Austin thinketh marriage is lawful and good, after known vows made to the contrary, it is evident by his epistle to Bonifacius, whom he blameth for breaking his vow, whereof himself and Alipius were witnesses, and yet alloweth his marriage; as also for that in the place interpreted by Hugo he sheweth that some who were of another judgment, (as indeed we find Innocentius¹ bishop of Rome to have been), dissolved marriages after vows made to the contrary, which they would not, nor could not have done, if those vows had been altogether secret and unknown. Neither doth that he saith in the second place any better avoid the clear evidence of St Austin's judgment than the first. For no difference of times, and conditions of men and things, can so change the nature of vows and marriages, as that a vow at one time should make void an ensuing marriage, and not at another. Others therefore there be who go about to avoid the evidence of the authorities of Austin and the Fathers brought to prove the validity of marriage, after vows made to the contrary, by making a distinction of vows. These men therefore make two sorts of vows, naming some simple, and other solemn; and affirm that the latter do debar men from marriage, and void their marriages if they do marry; but that the former do so debar them from marrying, that they cannot marry without some offence; and yet if they

eos que si postea voto fracto ad conjugalem societatem descendere voluerint, idcirco ab ecclesia prohiberi non posse, quia professionem illorum non accepit, neque observationem continentiae illis indixit . . . certum est quod ea quae ecclesiae probari non possunt ab ecclesia judicari omnino non possunt."—Hugo de Sancto Victore, de Sacram. Fid. Lib. II. Part 2. cap. xii. [Tom. III. p. 476. Mogunt. 1617.]

¹ Epist. 2. ad Victricium, cap. xii. [ubi supra. p. 184.]

do, their marriage is good and not to be voided. The divines of the Church of Rome (as Cajetan rightly noteth¹) differ much in opinion about the difference of these vows. For some of them think that they differ in such sort as that one of them is a promise only, and the other a real and actual exhibition; and that the solemnity of a man's vow consisteth in a real and actual exhibition of himself, and putting himself into such an estate as cannot stand with marriage. But this opinion (as he rightly noteth) cannot be true, seeing there is no such repugnance simply, and in the nature of the things, between the order of the holy ministry and marriage: as appeareth in that the ministers of the Greek Church (as tied by no vow) are judged by all to live in lawful marriage, notwithstanding their ministry; and also in that the entering into no religious order voideth marriage, unless it be approved by the Church. There is therefore (as he sheweth) another opinion, that it is not from the different nature of the vows that the one voideth marriage contracted, and the other doth not; but from the authority of the Church, that will have marriage after a vow made in one sort to be void, and not in another. The latter of these two opinions, Bellarmine saith², Scotus, Paludanus, and Cajetan follow: and (as Panormitan reporteth) the whole school of canonists. And these do answer to the authorities of the fathers, denying marriages to be void after a solemn vow; that they are to be understood to deny them to be void by God's law; and that there was no law of man then passed to make them void, when they lived, that they knew of; and that therefore they might rightly be of opinion in those times, that no vows made ensuing marriages to be void, seeing no vows do void marriages by God's law; and there was no law of man in their time making marriage void in respect of a vow made to the contrary. So that even in the judgment of many of the best learned of our adversaries themselves, marriage after a vow is not void by God's law, but only by the positive constitution of the Church, which will have it so to be. But against this positive constitution

¹ In Secundam Secundæ. [Quæst. lxxxviii. Art. 11. Tom. v. p. 846.]

² "Scotus, et Paludanus, et Cajetanus, et omnis schola jurisconsultorum, ut refert Panormitanus, asserunt solo jure ecclesiastico matrimonium irritum esse quod post votum solemne contrahitur."—Bellarm. De Monachis, Lib. II. cap. 34. [Tom. II. p. 233.]

two things may be alleged: first, that it began from that erroneous conceit which Austin refuteth in his book *De Bono Viduitatis*; as it appeareth by the epistle of Innocentius grounding his resolution for voiding of marriages in this kind upon that very reason of their being espoused to Christ, which have vowed unto God that they will live continently. Secondly, that the Church hath no power simply to forbid any man to marry whom God's law leaveth free, seeing single life is one of the things that men may be counselled and advised unto, but cannot be prescribed and imposed by commandment. That the Church may keep men from marriage, if they will enjoy some favours, as we see in colleges and societies, or that she may by her censures punish such as unadvisedly, and without just cause, shall break their vow and promise, we make no question; but that she may simply forbid any one to marry, how faulty and punishable soever otherwise, we utterly deny. Neither is the reason that is brought to prove this power to be in the Church of any force. For though it were granted, that the Church by her authority, for respects best known to herself, may forbid a man to marry with some of those with whom God permitteth him to marry, yet will it not follow that she may absolutely forbid any one to contract marriage, seeing parents to whom it pertaineth to direct the choice of their children may forbid them to marry with such as they justly dislike, and yet they may not simply restrain them from marrying. So that though it were yielded, that the Church, for causes best known to herself, may forbid marriage with more than the law of God doth; and that in such sort as to void it, having greater power in this behalf than natural parents, yet would it not follow that she may simply forbid any one to marry, and void his marriage if he do; whereas the law of God voideth it not. And so we see, that as marriage, after a solemn vow, is not void by the law of God, so the Church hath no power to make any law to make it void.

But because though it be so, yet it may seem that no man that had vowed the contrary can marry without sin, it remaineth that we proceed to consider and see whether there be any cases wherein a man that vowed the contrary may marry without offence to God. First, touching this point, the schoolmen generally resolve that the pope may dispense

with a priest, deacon, or subdeacon to marry, though he have solemnly vowed the contrary by entering into holy orders; because the duty and bond of containing is not essentially annexed unto holy orders, but by the canon of the Church only. Aquinas¹, and they of that time, thought he might not dispense with a monk to marry: for that single life is essentially implied in the profession of a monk, and cannot be separated from the same, as it may from the office and calling of a priest. But since that time the general opinion is that he may; because though single life cannot be separated from the profession of a monk, yet he that is a monk may be freed from that profession that he hath made, and cease to be a monk. Neither is this only the opinion of the schools, but the practice of popes hath concurred with the same. For, as Petrus Paludanus reporteth², a pope revived a monk who was next in blood, and to succeed in the kingdom of Arragon, and dispensed with him to marry a wife for the good of that kingdom. Cajetan saith³, the like is reported in the stories of Constantia, daughter and heir of Roger, king of Sicily, who was a religious woman, and of fifty years of age, and yet by the dispensation of Cœlestinus was called out of the cloister and permitted to marry with the emperor, Henry the Sixth, who begat of her Frederick the Second. And Andreas Frisius reporteth⁴, out of the histories of Polonia, that Casimirus, son of Mecistaus, king of Polonia, was a monk and ordained

¹ "Est debitum continentiae essenziale statui religionis, per quem homo abrenuntiat sæculo, totaliter Dei servitio mancipatus: quod non potest stare cum matrimonio, in quo incumbit necessitas procurandæ uxoris, et prolis, et familiæ, et rerum quæ ad hoc requiruntur. Et ideo in voto solemnizato per professionem religionis non potest per ecclesiam dispensari."—Thom. Aquin. Secunda Secundæ. Quæst. 88. Art. 11. [Tom. v. p. 844.]

² "Sicut fecit regi Aragonum prius monacho, quem propter defectum prolis sive hæredis regis compulit exire monasterium ad matrimonium contrahendum, qui uxoratus liberatus fuit a voto castitatis; unde nec post mortem uxoris tenebatur continere et paupertatem habere."—Petr. de Palude in 4 Sent. Dist. 38. [Quæst. 4. fol. 184. b.]

³ "De Constantia filia Rogerii regis, uxore quæ Henrici VI. quæ erat sanctimonialis in Panormo, et jam quinquagenaria ut historiæ tradunt, dispensata a papa Cœlestino III. quæ genuit ex tali conjugio Fridericum II."—Cajetan. in Secund. Secundæ. [loc. cit.]

⁴ Lib. iv. De Eccles. [p. 331.]

a deacon, and yet when after the death of Mecistaus his father there was none to sway the sceptre of that kingdom, (whence many mischiefs followed,) Benedict the Ninth gave him leave to marry a wife, making him to leave his cloister, his vows, and deaconship, that so there might be a succession in that kingdom. So that there is no question but that for a common good men may be dispensed with to marry that have solemnly vowed the contrary. Yea, Cardinal Cajetan¹ proceedeth further, and saith that the pope may dispense with such to marry as have vowed the contrary, not only for the public benefit and good of the whole, or commonwealth, but for the greater good of the parties that have so vowed. Hugo de Sancto Victore², disputing what vows they are that must be kept, pronounceth peremptorily that the vows of fools are to be broken and not kept, and defineth all those to be the vows of fools that either are made *de malo*, or *de bono male*; that is, “for the doing of some ill,” or “for the doing of some good, but not well.” For example, if one vow to

¹ “Hinc patet, quod causa rationabilis causa dispensandi in voto castitatis possit esse non sola utilitas publica, civilis, aut ecclesiastica, sed aliquod aliud majus bonum, num hic, et ad hoc, etc., quam servata castitas: consequens est quod summus pontifex non solum potest, sed etiam salva conscientia potest dispensare cum sacerdote orientali, quod contrahat etiam cessante causa publicæ utilitatis.”—Cajetan. Opusc. Tom. i. Tract. 27. [Fol. 63. E. Ven. 1594.]

² “Scriptura dicit: ‘Vota stultorum frangenda sunt.’ Vota quippe stultorum intelligimus ea quæ vel de malo fiunt vel de bono male. Verbi gratia. Si quis voveret quempiam interficere, sive quodlibet aliud in quo culpa constaret se facturum, votum de malo esset, et malum esset; et idcirco faciendum non esset. In quo prima culpa fuit vovere, secunda foret si impleretur perficere. Similiter et votum de bono factum si bene non fiat inter vota stultorum quæ frangenda sunt deputatur. Bene autem non fit etiamsi de bono sit illud votum, in quo vovetur vel quod non licet, vel quod non expedit. Non licet, ut si mulier non consentiente vel potius contradicente viro suo continentiam voveat. Non expedit, ut si quispiam in jejunio vel alio quolibet opere supra vires suas ac possibilitatem suam aliquid se facturum esse proponat. Hæc igitur omnia inter vota stultorum deputantur, quæ vel perversa sunt, vel illicita, vel indiscreta. Ubi autem bonum vovetur et bene vovetur, quædam ejusmodi sunt ut commutationem ex dispensatione suscipiant; quædam vero talia ut recompensationem omnino non admittant.”—Hugo de Sancto Victore, De Sacram. Fid. Lib. ii. Part. 12. cap. iv. [Tom. iii. p. 483.]

kill a man, as they did in the Acts¹ that bound themselves by a vow neither to eat nor drink till they had killed Paul, such a vow is *de malo et malum*; that is, it is "for the doing of an evil thing, and itself is evil." *In quo prima culpa fuit vovere, secunda foret, si impleretur, perficere*; that is, "in which kind it was ill to vow, and it would be worse to perform, and therefore such vows are not to be kept." Neither are they only the vows of fools that are made for the doing of some evil, but they also that are made for the doing of good, if they be not well and rightly made, are to be reckoned among the vows of fools that are to be broken. Now that vow is not well made, which though it be touching something that is good, yet it is touching that which either one may not lawfully do, or it is not expedient for him to do: one may not do, as if a woman vow continency without the consent of her husband; which it is not expedient to do, as if a man in fasting or any other work purpose the doing of that which is above his strength and ability. All these vows of fools, as well of the second as of the first kind, may be broken without seeking any dispensation. For a dispensation is then needful when the vow is good and advisedly made, and yet (in some particular case that may fall out) not to be kept. In which case either the whole is remitted, or some other thing equivalent is by way of commutation enjoined. Wherefore let us consider what is to be thought of the vows of single life made by men of the clergy in latter times. Touching which Andreas Frisius² rightly noteth, that if the vows of children, in respect of their want of judgment, and the vows of them that are constrained, be little to be regarded, because they are not voluntary, there is little respect to be had to those vows of single life that men made in latter times, seeing for the most part they desired not that they vowed, but some other things; in respect whereof they doubted not to vow that they had neither purpose nor desire to perform. It was the hope of honour, wealth, ease, and a voluptuous life, that drew the most part of them to make promise of that which they never had any love unto; and some other of a better mind, finding that they could not otherwise enter into the ministry of the Church, ran into it before they considered of the great weight of the burden which they put upon their

¹ Acts xxiii. 12.² Ubi supra.

shoulders. “It cannot be denied,” saith Cassander¹, “but that they did ill, and ensnared the consciences of men, who admitted young men not yet known to themselves into the ministry, and when they found the burden of single life too heavy, which yet together with the honour of their calling they were forced to take up, rather dissembled, and in a sort approved any impurity in them, than they would remit anything of their own law, or suffer them to marry, without consideration of the difference of times, manners, and course of life ;” which have made things not only hard but impossible to be performed, that were in the time of greater severity of discipline (as Gerson rightly observeth²) not so hard. So that from this hard law, and the violent urging of it, many grievous and most abominable scandals in the Church have proceeded. Wherefore seeing, in the judgment of the best learned of the fathers, marriages are good notwithstanding vows made to the contrary, I think we may boldly resolve that howsoever they did ill that made inconsiderate vows of single life which they never meant to perform, yet they did not ill that out of consideration of their own infirmity chose rather to marry than continually to displease God by wallowing in all impurity. Hugo de Sancto Victore³ bringeth in

¹ “Fatendum est graviter a posteris esse peccatum qui hanc utilem pro tempore constitutionem multis in laqueum verterunt, dum juvenes nondum sibi cognitos et exploratos temere ad ministerium ecclesiasticum admiserunt, et cum illi castitatis onus sibi impar esse sentirent, illi potius impuros quo suis concubitos dissimularunt et quodammodo probarunt, quam ut permittendo constitutionis illius humanæ gratiam illis facerent, qui eam sine offensione divinæ legis observare non poterant. Adde etiam, quod ætas adhuc rerum imperita, sed temporum et conditionum vitæ mutatio hanc observationem pene impossibilem fecerit.”—Cassand. Consult. de Coelibatu Sacerdotum. [cap. 23. p. 987.]

² “In primo vigore ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ multa severo rigore statuta sunt, quæ modo defluentibus in pejora moribus non solum inutilem sed impossibilem haberent executionem.”—Gerson. de Vita Spirituali Animæ. [Lect. iv. Corol. 13. Tom. iii. col. 47. c.]

³ “Dixerit ei cogitatio sua: Non poteris resistere tam violenti passioni, tantis desideriorum tuorum incendiis et aestibus: quæ non hodie aut cras aut triduo sive quatuor aut octo diebus, aut etiam unius mensis aut unius anni spatio bellum tibi indixerunt; sed quamdiu vivis super terram; quamdiu carnem mortalem portas; quamdiu sentire poteris, non te deserent, non tibi parcent, non tibi pacem dabunt, aut requiem, semper intentionem oppriment, cogitationem tuam

the secret thoughts of men bound with such vows, soliciting and urging them in this sort: "Thou canst not resist so violent a passion, nor endure the heat of such burning desires, which have proclaimed war against thee, not for this day, or the next, or the third, or fourth alone, nor for the space of a month, or a year; they will never leave thee, they will not spare thee, they will give thee no peace nor rest so long as thou shalt live upon the earth, and carry about with thee this mortal flesh; they will always oppress thine intention, and avert thy cogitation, that thou shalt never be able to lift up thy mind with liberty or thy will with purity unto God. See therefore what thou doest: thou lovest this world and gainest not the other. It were better for thee at least to avoid these present torments than wholly to perish, and nowhere to see

avertent ut nunquam mentem liberam aut voluntatem puram ad Deum erigere possis. Vide ergo quod et hoc sæculum perdis, et futurum non acquiris. Melius tibi saltem esset vel ista tormenta devitare, quam in toto perire, et nihil sentire boni. Videt Deus quod invitus pateris, volens traheris, coactus assentis; fortassis respiciet ad violentiam passionis tuæ; et misertus excessui tuo dabit veniam: præcipue cum dicat apostolus, 'Melius est nubere quam uri;' et 'Unusquisque uxorem suam habeat propter fornicationem.' Bene enim novit apostolus infirmitatem humanam, et ideo non dixit illi, 'Habeant, quia illis licet, et illi non habeant quia illis non licet;' sed 'Unusquisque habeat, qui continere non potest: melius est ut nubat quam uratur. Melius est ut licite excipiat infirmitatem, quam vitio semper uratur ad passionem.' Nam ipse Dominus dicit: 'Qui potest capere capiat.' Ipse scit quod capere non possum verbum hoc ut continens permaneam. Quando putavi posse libenter proposui; et in eadem adhuc voluntate libenter perseverarem, si pati possem. Sed non valeo tolerare æstum bullientis naturæ, ardorem concupiscentiæ ferventis sustinere non possum. Ideo facio quod possum. Vado et duco uxorem; excipio infirmitatem meam; dolens quidem quod a superiori bono descendere cogor: sed tamen non omnino desperans quia ad concessa descendo. Magis volo in inferiori bono salvari, quam in summo periclitari. Et si forte est culpa aliqua, descendo quia propositum meum non teneo: ergo pœnitentiam agam, et satisfactione placabo Deum. Nihil durum erit aut difficile: tantum hanc passionem evadere possim: et mortem istam in qua vivens teneor declinare. Quis putatis ejusmodi rationibus se instiget et cohortetur cum affligi cœperit; et uti stimulis carnis suæ si sciat quod licet et quod fieri potest; et salus est illis qui hoc faciunt."—Hugo de Sancto Victore, De Sacram. Fid. Lib. II. Part. 11. cap. 12. [Tom. III. pp. 475, 6.]

or enjoy any good. God doth see that thou sufferest these things unwillingly, that thou art drawn to that thou wouldest not, and givest consent but by constraint. It may be he will have respect to the violence of thy passion, that he will take pity on thee and pardon thy excess; especially seeing the apostle saith, It is better to marry than to burn; and again, For the avoiding of fornication, let every one have his own wife: it is better to use the lawful remedy for this infirmity than sinfully still to burn in lust. Whereunto he bringeth in the inconsiderate votary, answering thus: The Lord knoweth that I cannot contain. When I thought I could I willingly resolved so to do, and would willingly still continue in the same will and resolution if I could endure it. But I can no longer abide the heat of these burning desires; wherefore I resolve to do that which only remaineth, which is to marry a wife, and so to support my weakness and infirmity; sorry truly that I am forced to come down from the height of that good I aspired unto, but yet despair not because I descend to those things that are lawful. I had rather *ab inferiori bono salvari, quam in summo periclitari*, that is, 'I had rather be saved containing myself within the limits of the lower degrees of good, than to endanger myself in the highest;' and if it be a fault that I descend and perform not that I purposed, I will repent of this my fault, and by all due satisfaction pacify and appease my God; nothing shall seem hard unto me, so that I may avoid this passion and decline this death, *in qua vivens teneor*, that is, 'in which I am holden though I live.'" These reasons he saith must needs prevail, and cannot be resisted; if marriage after a vow made to the contrary be lawful; if the Church may not dissolve it, and if salvation may be attained by men living in it, as I have sufficiently proved they may; and therefore our adversaries rashly condemn such as in our time have married, notwithstanding their vows. If a man (saith Frisius¹) shall undertake to carry a burden to a certain place, and, after finding his inability to perform it, shall desire to be excused, and that some lighter burden may be laid upon him, he is much better to be allowed of, than he that goeth on in that he undertook, and fainting by the way hurteth himself, and disappointeth him that set him on work:

¹ Ubi supra.

and in like manner he is rather to be approved that prayeth to be eased of the over-heavy burden of single life, and resolveth to live honestly in marriage, than he that will still live single, though never so wickedly; whatsoever Pighius and Eckius prate to the contrary: who fear not to prefer a priest that liveth in adultery before him that marrieth a wife. Besides all this which hath been said, seeing single life is not simply good, and to be desired, but respectively to certain ends, therefore they that chose to live single, and intended not the glory of God, the good of his Church, and the more opportunities of doing good without distraction, did not make any lawful vow, seeing a vow must be of that which is good, and properly of the better good, and consequently, were not tied to the keeping of it; it being resolved that the vows of fools, that is, such as are made without respect to the right end, without due consideration of their own strength, and a free and voluntary purpose of performing that they promise, are not to be kept. Whence it will follow, that the most part of the vows men made in latter times not intending the right end, are not to be kept.

CHAPTER LVIII.

OF DIGAMY, AND WHAT KIND OF IT IT IS THAT DEBARRETH
MEN FROM ENTERING INTO THE MINISTRY.

HITHERTO we have proved the lawfulness of ministers' marriage, and sufficiently shewed that no law of God or the Church forbiddeth it, and that no rash and inconsiderate vow hindereth it, if men cannot contain; now let us proceed to see whether they be any more restrained and limited in their marriage than other men. Some there be who think they are, and teach that they must marry but once only; whereas other may lawfully marry as often as they please. And further, they suppose that if any man have been twice married, or have married a widow, he may not be admitted into the ministry. The ground of which

conceit is that of the apostle, where he saith¹, “A bishop must be the husband of one wife.” But the meaning of the apostle is, that he who is to be chosen a bishop must not have more wives than one at one time. So that the digamy the apostle condemneth is not the having of two or more wives successively, but the having of more than one at the same time. Of which it is that Justin Martyr² speaketh, when expounding that saying of our Saviour: “He that marrieth her that is forsaken committeth adultery,” he concludeth that they who according to man’s law run into digamies, by our Master’s judgment are found to be sinners. And therefore Chrysostom³ expoundeth the text of the apostle as meant of polygamy, which is the having of many wives at once. His words are these: “The apostle saith not this as making a law that none without a wife may be made a bishop, but appointing a measure of that matter: for it was lawful for the Jews to be joined in the second marriage, and to have two wives at once.” Thus doth he interpret the apostle’s words, though he were not ignorant that some followed another interpretation. And therefore Bellarmine⁴ untruly denieth that any of the ancient followed this interpretation but Theodoret. And the Rhemists⁵ confess that Chrysostom so interpreteth them, but they say that, writing upon Titus⁶, he followeth the other interpretation; but surely it were strange if he should so soon forget

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 2.

² Apolog. ii. [ubi supra.]

³ Μιάς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα· οὐ νομοθετῶν τοῦτό φησιν, ὥς μὴ εἶναι ἐξόν ἄνευ τούτου γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀμετρίαν κωλύων· ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐξῆν καὶ δευτέροις ὁμιλεῖν γάμοις, καὶ δύο ἔχειν κατὰ ταῦτόν γυναικάς.—Chrysost. in 1 Tim. Hom. x. [Tom. xi. p. 598.]

⁴ De Clericis, Lib. i. cap. xxiii.

⁵ Annotations upon that place. [Rhemes Testament, p. 520. 4to. Rheims, 1633.]

⁶ Ἐπιστομίζει τοὺς αἵρετικούς τοὺς τὸν γάμον διαβάλλοντας, δεικνύς, ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐναργές, ἀλλ’ οὕτω τίμιον, ὥς μετ’ αὐτοῦ δύνασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον ἀναβαίνειν θρόνον. Ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀσελεγεῖς κολάζων, καὶ οὐκ ἀφείς μετὰ δευτέρου γάμου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγχειρίζεσθαι ταυτήν· ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἀπελθοῦσαν μηδεμίαν φυλάξας εὖνοιαν, πῶς ἂν οὗτος γένοιτο προστάτης καλός; τίνα δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὑποσταίῃ κατηγορίαν; ἴστε γὰρ ἅπαντες, ἴστε ὅτι εἴ μὴ κεκώλυται παρὰ τῶν νόμων τὸ δευτέροις ὁμιλεῖν γάμοις, ἀλλ’ ὁμως πόλλας ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα κατηγορίας· οὐδεμίαν οὖν παρέχειν λαβὴν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τὸν ἄρχοντα βούλεται.—Chrysost. in Tit. Hom. ii. [Tom. xi. p. 738.]

himself. Let us hear therefore what he saith, that so we may the better discern whether he dissent from himself, and interpret the words of the apostle to Titus as they would have him, or not. His words are these: "The apostle purposeth utterly to stop the mouths of heretics which condemn marriage, shewing that marriage is without fault, and so precious, that with it a man may be preferred even to the holy seat and chair of a bishop. Also with this saying he chastiseth unchaste persons, while he suffereth them not after their second marriage to be taken to the government of the Church. For he which is found not to have kept his benevolence towards his wife, which is gone from him, how should he be a good teacher of the Church? Nay, rather, to what crimes shall he not daily be subject? for you all know, that although by the laws such second marriages are permitted, yet that thing is open to many accusations. Therefore he will have the bishop to give no occasion to them that are under him." These are the words of Chrysostom. Neither can any man doubt, that will advisedly consider them, but that he speaketh of a second marriage while the first wife liveth, but is gone away (for so are the words, and not defunct or dead, as our adversaries translate for their advantage), and not of a second marriage after the death of the first wife. For if he did, he would not condemn them that marry the second time as unchaste and wanton, or make them subject to any crimes. With Chrysostom agreeth Theodoret: his words are these¹: "The preaching then began, and

¹ Τὴν δὲ παρθενίαν οὔτε Ἕλληνες ἤσκουν, οὔτε Ἰουδαῖοι μετήρσαν. Εὐλογίαν γὰρ τὴν παιδοποιίαν ἐνόμιζον. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ῥαδίως εὐρεῖν τοὺς τὴν ἀγνείαν ἀσκούντας, τῶν γεγαμηκότων τοὺς τὴν σωφροσύνην τετιμηκότας κελεύει χειροτονεῖν. Τὸ δὲ μᾶς γυναῖκος ἄνδρα, εὖ μοι δοκοῦσιν εἰρηκέναι τινες· πάλαι γὰρ εἰώθεσαν καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ δυὸ καὶ τρισὶ καὶ πλείοσι γυναιξὶ νόμῳ γάμου κατὰ ταῦτόν συνοικεῖν. Τινὲς δὲ καὶ νῦν, καίτοι τῶν βασιλικῶν νόμων δύο κατὰ ταῦτόν ἄγεσθαι κωλύόντων γυναῖκας, καὶ παλλακίσιν μίγνυνται, καὶ ἐταίραις. Ἐφασαν τοίνυν τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον εἰρηκέναι τὸν μὴ μόνῃ γυναικὶ συνοικοῦντα σωφρόνως τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς ἄξιον εἶναι χειροτονίας. Οὐ γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον, φασίν, ἐξέβαλε γάμον, ὅγε πολλάκις τοῦτο γένεσθαι κελεύσας. Γυνὴ γὰρ, φησὶ, δέδεται νόμῳ ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐλευθέρῃ ἐστὶν ᾧ θέλει γαμηθῆναι, μόνον ἐν Κυρίῳ.

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν προτέραν ἐκβαλὼν ἑτέρα συνεζύγη, μέμψεως ἄξιος καὶ κατηγορίας ὑπεύθυνος. Εἰ δὲ τὸ βιάσιον τοῦ θανάτου διέξυψε

neither did the Gentiles exercise virginity, nor the Jews admit it; for they esteemed the procreation of children to be a blessing. And therefore forasmuch as at that time they were not easily to be found which exercised continency, of such as had married wives he commanded them to be ordained which had honoured temperance. And concerning that saying, 'the husband of one wife,' I think certain men have said well. For of old time both Greeks and Jews were wont to be married to two, three, or more wives at once. And even now, when the imperial laws forbid men to marry two wives at one time, they have to do with concubines and harlots. They have said therefore that the holy apostle saith, that he that dwelleth honestly with one only wife is worthy to be ordained a bishop. For, say they, he doth not reject the second marriage who hath often commanded that it should be used. 'For a woman,' saith he, 'is bound by the law so long as her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is free, that she may marry with whom she will, only in the Lord,' &c. For if he have thrust away his wife, and be joined to another, he is worthy to be reprehended, and is justly subject to accusation; but if force of death have disjoined his first wife, and nature urging have compelled him to be joined to a second wife, his second marriage is proceeded not of his will, but of casualty. These things considered," saith Theodoret, "I admit the interpretation of those which have so understood the place." Neither do Chrysostom and Theodoret only thus interpret the words of the apostle, but Theophylact also¹. "The apostle," saith he, "prescribeth, that he who is to be chosen a bishop must be the husband of one wife, because of the Jews, to whom polygamy was permitted, that is, to join marriage with many together." And Hierome² maketh mention of

τὴν προτέραν, ἣ δὲ φύσις ἐπικειμένη δευτέρᾳ ζευχθῆναι κατηνάγκασε γυναικί, οὐκ ἐκ γνώμης, ἀλλ' ἐκ περιστάσεως ὁ δεύτερος γεγένηται γάμος. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σκοπούμενος, ἀποδέχομαι τῶν οὕτω νενοηκότων τὴν ἐρμηνείαν.—Theodoret. in loc. [Tom. III. p. 653. Halæ, 1771.]

¹ *Εἰ γένηται, φησι, μιᾶς ἔστω ἀνὴρ. Τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· ἐκείνοις γὰρ ἐφέϊτο ἡ πολυγαμία.*—Theophylact. in loc. [Tom. II. p. 565. Ven. 1755.]

² "Ex Judæis erat apostolus: prima Christi ecclesia de Israel reliquiis congregabatur. Sciebat lege concessum, et exemplo patriarcharum ac Moysi familiare populo noverat in multis uxoribus liberos

this interpretation. "The apostle," saith he, "was of the Jews, and the first Church of Christ was gathered out of the remains of Israel. He knew it was permitted by the law, and ordinary among the people, by the example of the patriarchs and Moses, to beget children of many wives; which thing also was permitted unto the priests, and therefore he commanded that the priests of the Church should not take unto themselves the like liberty, nor have two or three wives at once; but that they should have one only wife at one time." And though he rather incline to another interpretation, yet, in his Commentary upon Titus, he mentioneth this again, without any signification of dislike, and saith¹, "We must not think that every one that hath been but once married is better than he that hath been twice married, but (indeed) he may better exhort to one only marriage, and continency, that can bring forth his own example in teaching. For otherwise, if a young man marry a wife, and she die within a little while after, and after her he marry a second, which within a short time he loseth also, and then continue continent, he is to be preferred before him that liveth with one wife till his old age. So that oftentimes if he that hath been but once married be preferred before him that hath been twice married, his happiness is chosen rather than his will. And as sundry great and worthy divines did so interpret the apostle's words as to condemn polygamy, and not to exclude from the ministry men twice married, so the

spargere: ipsis quoque sacerdotibus hujus licentiæ patobat arbitrium. Præcepit ergo eandem licentiam ecclesiæ sibi vindicent sacerdotes; ne bina pariter et trina conjugia sortiantur; sed ut singulas uno tempore uxores habeant."—Hieron. ad Oceanum. [Epist. LXIX. Tom. I. col. 414.]

¹ "Quod autem ait, 'Unius uxoris vir,' sic intelligere debemus, ut non omnem monogamum digamo putemus esse meliorem, sed quo is possit ad monogamiam et continentiam cohortari, qui sui exemplum præferat in docendo. Esto quippe aliquem adolescentulum conjugem perdidisse, et carnis necessitate superatum, accepisse uxorem secundam, quam et ipsam statim amiserit, et deinceps vixerit continenter: alium vero usque ad senectam habuisse matrimonium et uxoris usum, ut plerique existimant felicitatem, nunquam a carnis opere cessasse; quis vobis e duobus videtur esse melior, pudicitior, continentior? Utique ille qui infelix etiam in secundo matrimonio fuit, et postea pudice et sancto conversatus est, et non is qui ab uxoris amplexu nec senili est separatus ætate."—Id. In Tit. i. 6. [Tom. VII. col. 696.]

practice was according thereunto; for howsoever many urged the other construction of the apostle's words, and excluded men twice married from the holy ministry, yet others did not so. And therefore Tertullian, who was a Montanist, and condemned second marriage, in his book of monogamy, interpreting the apostle's words of such as had married the second wife, and speaking bitterly against the catholics of those times, saith, the Holy Ghost foresaw there should come some that should affirm all things to be lawful for bishops; "for," saith he¹, "how many are there among you that govern the Church which have married the second time; insulting against the apostles, and not blushing when these words are read under them." Hierome² was of opinion that men twice married might be chosen to be bishops or presbyters, if they married both or one of their wives before they were baptized, which was the case of very many in those times; seeing (besides those who were converted from paganism) many that were born of christian parents put off their baptism a long time; so that some were elected bishops before they were baptized, as we read of Ambrose³. Hereupon he saith, the number of such as had been twice married, and yet were admitted into the holy ministry, was exceeding great. His words are these; "All the world is full of these ordinations: I speak not of presbyters, nor those of inferior degrees: I come to bishops, whom if I shall go about particularly to name, I shall muster together so great a number as will exceed the multitudes of them that were at the Council of Ariminum." And it appeareth by the epistle of Innocentius⁴ to the bishops of Macedonia, that they thought as Hierome did, that such as were not twice married after baptism might be admitted into the ministry, how often soever they had been married before.

¹ "Quod enim et præsent apud vos, insultantes utique apostolo, &c."—Tertull. de Monogam. [cap. 12. p. 533.]

² "Multi superstitiosius magis quam verius, etiam eos qui quum gentiles fuerint et unam uxorem habuerint, qua amissa post baptismum Christi alteram duxerint, putant in sacerdotio non legendos."—Hieron. ubi supra. [col. 697.]

³ Ruffinus, Lib. II. cap. 11.

⁴ "Eos qui viduos accepisse suggeruntur uxores, non solum clericos affectos agnovi, verum etiam usque ad infulas summi sacerdotii pervenisse; quod contra legis esse præcepta nullus ignorat."—Innocent. Epist. xxii. cap. 1. [Labbe, Tom. II. col. 1272.]

It is true that Innocentius was of another mind, and Austin¹ likewise; but Hierome, who is wont to spare no man that crosseth his conceit, calleth them hypocrites², and telleth them that they are like the scribes and Pharisees, that did “strain at a gnat and swallow a camel, that tithed mint and annis-seed, but let pass the weightier things of the law;” because they admitted such into the ministry as had kept harlots before their baptism, and yet rejected such as had been married; for that sin is washed away in baptism, and nothing else. *Rem novam audio*, saith he, *quia peccatum non fuit, in peccatum reputabitur*; that is, “it is a new and strange thing that I hear, because it was no sin to have a wife, therefore it shall be reputed for a fault and sin.” Whoredom, impiety against God, parricide, incest, and the sin against nature, are purged and washed away in the baptism of Christ; but this, that a man hath had a wife, sticketh fast unto him still. So are the filthy stews preferred before the honourable and undefiled marriage-bed. Let the pagans hear what the harvests of the Church are, out of which our barns are filled: let the catechumens (who are not yet baptized) hear likewise, and let them take heed they marry no wives before baptism, neither enter into the state of honest marriage, but let them give themselves to all impurities: only let them take heed of the name of marriage, lest after they shall believe in Christ this may prejudice them, that sometimes they had not concubines, nor harlots, but lawful wives. Zonaras, in his exposition of the Canons of the Apostles, followeth the opinion of Hierome, and so doth Sedulius Scotus, and Anselm, as Sixtus Senensis reporteth³. And this opinion was very general, as it appeareth by Ambrose⁴, who, though he disliketh it, yet saith exceeding many did approve it.

So that to resolve this point, we see some understood the words of the apostle as meant against polygamy only, or the having of many wives at once, and not successively; and that accordingly many were permitted to govern the Church that had been twice married; and that of them that understood the words of the apostle, as meant of the not having of more

¹ De Bono Conjugali. [cap. 17. Tom. vi. col. 331.]

² [Ad Ocean. ubi supra, col. 413.]

³ Bibliothecæ Sanctæ, Lib. vi. annot. 318. and 325. [pp. 548, 9. ed. fol. Par. 1610.]

⁴ Epist. LXXXII. [al. LXXX. Tom. II. col. 1037.]

wives than one successively, some excluded only such as had more than one wife after baptism; others, all that had been twice married, either before or after. But we shall find that they who generally excluded all them that had been twice married from entering into the ministry, had no good reason leading them so to do; for neither is he always better that hath been but once married than he that hath been twice married, as I have shewed out of Hierome; neither can he always better exhort to continence; for how can he exhort others to live continently, and not to marry the second time or after the death of their wives, that himself in his widowhood committed adultery, or lived as a whoremonger? seeing the apostle willeth both men and women rather to marry the second, third, or fourth time, than to burn in lust and to commit adultery or fornication. There is therefore a third reason yielded of this pretended prohibition of marrying a second wife after the death of the first, which is mystical, and taken from a kind of sacramental signification, which must be found in them that are to be admitted into the holy ministry of the Church. And surely either this reason must prevail or none; for if it were some moral defect and imperfection that debarreth men twice married from entering into the ministry, or for that it is a sign of incontineny to have been twice married, it might be washed away in baptism as well as whoredom and other crimes; which yet these men deny. Let us see therefore what force there is in this reason of mystical signification. "The marriage of the fathers in the time of the old law," saith St Augustine¹, "by their many wives expressed and figured those Churches out of the many nations, people, and kindreds of the world, that were to join themselves unto Christ in spiritual marriage at his coming; but the marriage of Christians figureth specially that perfect unity shall be in heaven of all faithful and holy ones both with Christ and amongst themselves." This is Augustine's reason, and this the schoolmen urge². But it is strange that men of learning should stand so confidently upon so weak a ground. For if the expressing of the unity between Christ and the Church his spouse, by the undivided unity that is between one man and one woman be necessarily required in him that is to be chosen a bishop or presbyter, then of necessity every

¹ August. de Bono Conjugali. [cap. 24. Tom. vi. col. 338.]

² Bonaventura in 4 Sent. Dist. 25. Quæst. 3. [Tom. v. p. 340.]

one that desireth to be a bishop or presbyter must marry a wife, that so his marriage may express the spiritual marriage between Christ and the Church. Nay, seeing Christ never withdraweth himself from his Church, but daily begetteth sons and daughters of her unto God, each bishop must have a wife, and company with her continually, that so by the matrimonial unity that is between him and his wife he may express the unity that is between Christ and the Church. Their answer hereunto is, that as Christ is a husband so he is a virgin; and that therefore a man may bear an express resemblance and representation of Christ by virginity as well as by marriage. So that it sufficeth if either he be a virgin, or have been but once married, that is to be thought capable of ecclesiastical honour. But this answer will not serve the turn; for though a man be no virgin, (as Hierome¹ professed of himself that he was not, and as it is evident Augustine² was not, in that he had children born unto him,) yet it is not necessary, in the judgment of our adversaries, that such a one should marry a wife to make himself capable of ecclesiastical honour. Whence it followeth, that there is no necessity of representing either the virginity of Christ, or his matrimonial conjunction with the Church, by the virginity or marriage of such as are to be admitted into the holy ministry. Besides this, it is not enough to express the unity between Christ and the Church that a man marry but one wife, but it is required also that he defile not himself by being joined unto harlots, but that he keep himself entirely to his own wife. For so it is between Christ and his Church; who not only hath no other wife or spouse but the Church of the faithful, but also so entirely loveth her that he giveth no part of his love to any stranger. So that he that marrying but once, hath either before or after such marriage committed adultery or fornication, doth not express the unity that is between Christ and the Church. And yet our adversaries, that are so peremptory against such as have been more than once married, set open the doors to let in both whoremongers and adulterers into the Church and house of God. And therefore

¹ In duab. epist. citat. ab Erasmo in vita Hieronymi. [Tom. i. init. ed. fol. Bas. 1516.]

² August. Confess. Lib. iv. cap. 2. [Tom. i. col. 97.] et Lib. vi. cap. 15. [col. 130.]

the words of Hierome¹ may rightly be applied unto them, that they tithe mint and annis-seed, and omit the weightier things of the law; and that they strain at a gnat and swallow a camel; rejecting them as unworthy that have not offended, and admitting such as have; justifying the sinner, and condemning the innocent. But that we may perceive the weakness of this mystical reasoning, we must observe, that our adversaries admit none into the ministry that have been married, unless either their wives be dead, or by consent of their wives they resolve to contain, renouncing that power and interest the man hath over the body of his wife, and so (indeed) ceasing to be husbands. So that if their presbyters and other clergymen have resemblance of Christ's marriage with the Church, in respect of their marriage, it is while they are no clergymen, but mere laymen. Now howsoever it may be required of them that are to be admitted into the ministry, that they have not been scandalous before their entrance; yet I think it is not required that they have been clear representations or figures of Christ; but this is to be looked for afterwards when they supply his place. Wherefore we may assure ourselves that this was not the reason that moved those to debar men twice married from entering into the ministry that so did; but partly a misunderstanding of the apostle's words, partly for that as Duarenus noteth², though often marrying be permitted both by God's law and man's law, yet the old fathers did not greatly like it, as arguing immoderate incontinency in them that so do.

Whereupon we shall find that in ancient times they were all put to penance that married the second time, though laymen, and never intending to enter into the ministry. The words of the Council of Neocæsarea³ are these: "Concerning such as often take them wives, and such as are often married, it is ordered that they shall observe and fulfil the time of the penance which is prescribed unto them; yet so as that their conversation and faith may shorten the time." And the same council forbiddeth a presbyter to be present at the marriage-feast of them that are the second time married, seeing it is prescribed that they must be put to penance that

¹ Hieron. ad Oceanum. [ubi supra.]

² De Sacr. Eccles. Minist. et Ben. Lib. iv. cap. 8. [p. 386.]

³ Can. 3 and 7. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 1481.]

marry the second time: and asketh what presbyter that is that will for a marriage-feast consent to such marriages. And another canon¹ forbiddeth such marriages to be blessed in the Church. The Council of Laodicea² provideth in this sort, touching them that marry the second time: "Concerning them that (according to the ecclesiastical rule) are freely and lawfully joined in the second marriage, and have not secretly so joined themselves, it is fit that for some short time they give themselves to prayer and fasting; which being past, by a kind of indulgence they may be restored to the communion." The author of the unperfect work, that goeth under the name of Chrysostom³, proceedeth a little farther in this sort: "The apostles," saith he, "commanded to enter into the second marriage for the avoiding of fornication: for, according to the precept of the apostle, it is lawful to take a second wife; but according to the rule and prescription of truth it is (indeed) fornication." This conceit grew so far, that the Council of Nice⁴ was forced to make a canon that the Catharists should not be received into the fellowship of the Church, unless they would communicate with such as fell in the time of persecution, and with such as had been twice married; whereby it appeareth that some

¹ Referente Ambrosio in vii. cap. 1 ad Cor. [Tom. ii. Append. col. 138.] et in iii. 1 ad Tim. [col. 295.] August. Serm. 243. de Temp. [al. Serm. 289. Tom. ii. Append. col. 482.] Isid. Lib. ii. de Divin. Officiis. cap. 19. [Tom. vi. p. 451.]

² Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα τοὺς ἐλευθέρως καὶ νομίμως συναφθέντας δευτέροις γάμοις, μὴ λαθρογαμίαν ποιήσαντας, ὀλίγου χρόνου παρελθόντος καὶ σχολασάντων ταῖς προσευχαῖς καὶ νηστεύαις, κατὰ συγγνώμην ἀποδίδοσθαι αὐτοῖς τὴν κοινωνίαν ὥρισamen.—Concil. Laodic. Can. 1. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 1532.]

³ "Et apostoli præceperunt secundas adire nuptias propter incontinentiam hominum. Nam secundam quidem accipere secundum præceptum apostoli licitum est; secundum autem veritatis rationem vere fornicatio est."—Auctor operis imperfecti in Matthæum, apud Gratian. Decret. Part ii. Caus. xxxi. [Quæst. 1. cap. 9. col. 1723.]

⁴ Περὶ τῶν ὀνομαζόντων μὲν ἑαυτοὺς καθαρούς ποτε, προσερχομένων δὲ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδοξε τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥστε χειροθετούμενους αὐτοὺς μένειν οὕτως ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ. Πρὸ πάντων δὲ τοῦτο ὁμολογῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἐγγράφως προσήκει, ὅτι συνθήσονται καὶ ἀκολουθήσουσι τοῖς τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας δόγμασι, τοῦτ' ἔστι καὶ διγάμοις κοινωνεῖν, καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ παραπεπτωκόσι.—Concil. Nicæn. Can. 8. [Labbe, Tom. ii. col. 36.]

rejected them, as though they might not have been received into the Church, no, not after penance.

So that to conclude this point touching digamy, it is not the having of more wives than one successively that the apostle condemneth, but the having of more wives at once. Three reasons are brought by our adversaries to prove the contrary; but they will be found too weak if we examine them. The first is, that polygamy, or the having of many wives at once, was not in use in the apostle's time, and that therefore the apostle had no reason to forbid it: but this may easily be refuted by good authorities: "Your masters," saith Justin Martyr¹ speaking to the Jews, "even to this day suffer every one of you to have four or five wives:" and in his Apology², he understandeth by digamy the having of more wives than one at one time, and not successively; for he saith, they which according to man's law do enter into digamy or second marriages, are sinners according to the doctrine of our teacher and master. And Theodoret³ saith: "In former times both Jews and Gentiles took unto them in marriage many wives." Their second reason is this. The apostle requireth that a widow must have been the wife of one husband; and his meaning must needs be, that she must not have had more husbands than one successively. Therefore when he prescribeth that a bishop must be the husband of one wife, his meaning is, that he must not have had more than one wife successively, the form of speech being the same. That when he speaketh of widows he meaneth that they must not have had more husbands than one successively, they prove, because howsoever men have sometimes had more wives than one at the same time, yet women never had more husbands: and hereupon⁴ they charge us with intolerable impudency, violent wresting of the Scriptures, and bringing such an interpretation of the apostle's words as never came into any wise man's cogitation before, when we say he repelleth such from entering into the order of widows

¹ Οἷτινες καὶ μέχρι νῦν καὶ τεσσάρων καὶ πέντε ἔχειν ὑμᾶς γυναῖκας ἕκαστον συγχωροῦσι.—Dial. cum Tryphone. [§ 134. p. 226. B.]

² Καὶ οἱ νόμῳ ἀνθρωπίνῳ διγαμίας ποιούμενοι, ἁμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ τῇ ἡμετέρῳ διδασκάλῳ εἰσὶ.—Id. Apol. post. [al. Apol. i. § 15. p. 52. C.]

³ In loc. Tim. [ubi supra.]

⁴ Rhemenses in loc. Tit. [ubi supra.]

as have had two husbands at once, and not such as have been twice married. But, if it please them to give us leave, we will shew them that they are too violent, and say they know not what. For we think, nay we know it hath been heard of, that a woman should have two husbands at one time; yea, that both amongst Jews and Gentiles, in former times, women forsaking their husbands, or forsaken of them, without just cause, have married again: which the apostle might justly condemn, and debar such as had so done from entering into the order and rank of sacred widows. Neither is it hard to shew that our interpretation hath been thought of, and approved, more than a thousand years ago, by men of as great wisdom as our great masters that thus insult over us. For Theodoret¹, upon these very words of the apostle writeth thus: "Hereof also it is manifest that he rejecteth not second marriages, but decreeth that they live chastely in matrimony: for he which before hath established the second marriage by law, hath not here forbidden her which hath been twice married to obtain bodily relief." And Theophylact² likewise saith: "The apostle requireth monogamy of her that is to be admitted into the company of widows; that is, that she have been coupled but to one husband at once, as a sign of honesty, chastity, and good manners." Concerning these widows two things are to be considered. First, how and in what sort they were employed by the Church. Secondly, how far forth they were tied not to leave the church-service, and to marry again. Touching their service, it was first and principally about women that were to be baptised, for their instruction, and the addressing of themselves to that sacrament, and the sacred rites of the Church accompanying the same; as appeareth by the Constitutions of Clemens³, it being more fit for them to have

¹ Ἐντεῦθεν δῆλον, ὡς οὐ τὴν διγαμίαν ἐκβάλλει, ἀλλὰ τὸ σωφρόνως ἐν γάμφῳ βιοῦν νομοθετεῖ. Οὐ γὰρ ἄνω τὸν δεύτερον γάμον νομοθετήσας σωματικῆς ἀπολαῦσαι θεραπείας ἐκώλυσε τὴν δευτέρῳ ὁμιλησάσαν γάμοις, ὃς γε τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πάντας διαγορεύει σαφῶς.—Theodoret. in 1 Tim. v. 9. [Tom. III. p. 483. fol. Par. 1642.]

² Ἐπειτα καὶ μονογαμίαν αὐτὴν ἀπαιτεῖ, ὡς σημεῖον σεμνότητος καὶ φιλοσωφροσύνης.—Theophylact. ibid. [Tom. II. p. 577. fol. Ven. 1755.]

³ Καὶ γὰρ εἰς πόλλας χρείας γυναικὸς χρῆζομεν διακόνου. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ φωτίζεσθαι γυναῖκας, ὁ διάκονος κρίσει μὲν μόνον τὸ μέτωπον

private and often access unto them than for men. Which thing also Epiphanius sheweth¹, calling them by the name of diaconesses. Secondly, the attending and taking care of the sick and impotent. Touching the second point, we suppose that these widows, (being of great age, destitute of all outward supports, seeking relief of the Church, and dedicating themselves to the service thereof), did by this very act profess and make known their purpose of continuing in that estate of widowhood, and performing such service as to them any way appertained. And therefore the apostle condemneth them, that after such profession made, waxed wanton against Christ, sought to put themselves out of the holy ministry and service they had dedicated themselves unto, and to return to secular courses of life again. These, according to the judgment of Epiphanius², were subject to *κρίμα*; that is, just dislike and blame, and were to be condemned for their levity and inconstancy; but not to *κατάκριμα*, that is, to the condemnation of eternal death and destruction, if, declining adultery and other like uncleanness, they choose rather to marry than to defile themselves with such impurities. And Augustine³ resolveth that their marriage (notwithstanding any profession they seem to have made to the contrary) is not to be condemned as evil, or to be dissolved; but that only their breach of promise made to God and his Church, and their falling from their purpose, is to be disliked and condemned. Thus do these learned and holy fathers resolve touching such widows as the apostle speaketh of. And Peter Lombard⁴ upon these words of the apostle in like sort, adding, that they break their first faith even that they professed in baptism, in that violating so solemn a promise, and turning away so scandalously from the calling they had voluntarily put themselves into, they

αὐτῶν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐλαίῳ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἡ διάκονος ἀλείψει αὐτὰς· οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκὴ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν κατοπτεύεσθαι.—Clem. Rom. Const. Apost. Lib. III. cap. 15. [Coteler. Patr. Apost. Tom. I. p. 290.]

¹ Hæresi lxxix. [Tom. I. p. 1060.]

² Hæresi lxi. [p. 511.]

³ De Bono Viduitatis. [cap. 11. Tom. VI. col. 376.]

⁴ "Damnantur tales quia continentiae fidem primam irritam fecerunt; id est votum vel in voto violato fidem quam in baptismo professæ sunt."—Petr. Lombard. Sent. [Lib. IV. Dist. 30.]

seem to forget and cast from them the very faith and profession of Christians. So that it is clear, and not denied by us, that these widows made a kind of promise and profession of continuing in widowhood, when they were admitted to the alms and service of the Church; and that it was a fault not to be excused to shew themselves inconstant in this respect: yet such was the tenderness of the Church in ancient times, knowing the weakness of the sex, as not to cast any snares upon them, or to tie them by the bond of any solemn benediction or consecration to a necessity of continuing in such an estate; but she thought good to leave them to their own deliberations and resolutions; so that though they were wont to put a kind of sacred veil on such virgins as voluntarily devoted themselves to God, yet Gelasius¹ forbiddeth any bishop to attempt any such thing as the veiling of a widow. "If widows," saith he, "out of the mutability of their minds having made a kind of profession of not marrying again, shall return to marriage, it shall be at their peril in what sort they will seek to pacify God, seeing (according to the saying of the apostle) they have broken their first faith. For as (if haply they could not contain, according to the apostle) they were no way forbidden to marry; so having deliberated with themselves so to do, they ought to keep their promise of continent living made to God; but we ought not to cast any snare upon such, but only to exhort them to do that which is fit, by the consideration of the eternal rewards and punishments that God hath prepared for men, according to their works, that so we may clear ourselves, and make known what we think, and they may be left to give an account of that they do, knowing best their

¹ "De viduis sub nulla benedictione velandis superius late sufficienterque prædiximus. Quæ si propria voluntate professam pristini conjugii castitatem mutabili mente calcaverint, periculi earum intererit quali Deum debeant satisfactione placare, quia juxta apostolum, 'Primam fidem irritam fecerunt.' Sicut enim si se forsitan continere non poterant, secundum apostolum, nullatenus nubere vetabantur; sic habita secum deliberatione promissam Deo pudicitiae fidem debent custodire. Nos autem talibus nullum laqueum debemus injicere; sed solum adhortationes præmii sempiterni pœnasque proponere divini judicii, ut et nostra sit absoluta conscientia, et illarum pro se rationem Deo reddat intentio."—Gelas. i. Epist. ix. ad Episc. Lucan. [cap. 21. Labbe, Tom. v. col. 319.]

own intention." This was the decree of this pope, and some other were of the same judgment, who admitted widows to no benediction but that of penitency, nor suffered no other veil but the veil of penitents to be put upon them. But it seemeth this course was not holden afterwards¹; succeeding bishops degenerating from the wise and discreet moderation of their godly predecessors, and laying heavier burthens on men's shoulders than was fit.

CHAPTER LIX.

OF THE MAINTENANCE OF MINISTERS.

HAVING briefly run through all those things that concern the different degrees, orders, and callings of them Almighty God employeth in the ministry of holy things, it remaineth that in the last place I come to speak of the maintenance of them. That an honourable entertainment is due to the ministers of God, and disposers of his heavenly treasures, there neither is nor can be any doubt: the light of nature, the sense of piety, and the precedents of the Jews and Gentiles before Christ, and all Christian kingdoms, nations, and people since, most clearly convincing it. "Who goeth a warfare at any time," saith the apostle², "at his own charge? who dresseth a vineyard, and tasteth not of the fruit of it? who attendeth and feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of it?" It is an axiom most clear and evident in the light of nature, that "the labourer is worthy of his hire," and the detaining of his wages is one of the sins that cry so loud that he that sitteth in the heaven heareth them. If this be true in them that are employed in any service, business, or work in the world, for the good of men, how much more in respect of them that labour to procure their spiritual and eternal good? "Is it a small thing," saith the apostle³, "that we should reap your carnal things that have

¹ Vide Binium, Tom. II. Concil. p. 1015. Annot. in Toletan. IV. [Labbe, Tom. VI. col. 1479.]

² 1 Cor. ix. 7.

³ Ibid. ver. 11.

sown unto you spiritual things?" therefore "let him that is instructed in the word make him that instructed him partaker of all his goods¹." The Galatians thought themselves so much bound to the blessed apostle St Paul (by whose ministry they were converted from idolatry to serve the true and living God), that they would have plucked out their eyes to have done him good²: persuading themselves they were no way able to make recompence unto him for all the good he had done unto them. And the apostle is bold to tell Philemon³, that "he oweth himself unto him." This thing is so clear and evident, that I suppose no man will contradict any part of that which hath been said: yet, notwithstanding, it is not to be dissembled that Wickliffe and some others let fall some inconsiderate speeches, out of an immoderate dislike of the abuse of things in the Roman church; wherein all piety, care of religion, and performance of pastoral duties, being neglected by the most part of men, nothing was sought after but riches, honour, and greatness, accompanied with excessive and riotous expences, to the great scandal of the world. For the opinion of Wickliffe⁴ was, that the ministers of the Church ought to make no such claim to tithes, possessions, or lands, or any other reward of their labours, as may be pleadable in any temporal court of justice, as each man doth to the things that are come to him by inheritance from his fathers, or by his own purchase; but that they should content themselves with the title of original justice; by virtue whereof, that is due to every good man that is fitting to him, and answerable to his condition, merit, and worthiness. This opinion of Wickliffe proceeded from a dislike of something he conceived to be amiss, but knew not how to reform. And the censure of Gerson upon this and the like articles was right and good, that they who proposed them had cause of offence at many abuses, by them reprehended; but that to go about to reform things out of order by such a course as those articles imported, was to cast out one devil by another: whereupon he sheweth that a golden mean is to be followed between that immoderate flattery, that gave too much to the pope and his clergy, and caused them to forget that they were men, and to

¹ Gal. vi. 6.² Ibid. iv. 15.³ Philem. 19.⁴ In Dialogo. [Lib. iv. cap. 28. fol. 146. 4to. s. l. 1525.]

encroach upon the right and possession of all other men, and that vile detraction, that diminisheth the honour and reputation, and taketh away the reward of worth and learning, to the ruin of the Church, and bringing in of all barbarism and confusion. We say therefore that this position is to be rejected, as contrary to the clear evidence of heavenly truth, the light of nature, and the practice and judgment of all the world; whether we respect Jews, pagans, or Christians. For is it so, (the apostle himself disputing and determining the case,) that the ministers of God, by the rules of the law of nature, and that given by Moses, have more right to a maintenance, fitting to their worth and callings, than the labourer hath to his hire? And are not all Christian princes and magistrates bound to force by their laws such as withhold that which is thus due? Nay, may not the Church by her censures make them that are instructed to minister out of their temporal goods to such as instruct them? Surely there is no doubt but they may. Which duty being done, the minister hath as good right by positive law to that maintenance that is fitting for him, and may as lawfully sue for it in any court of mundane justice, as any other may for that which by any right of this world pertaineth to him. This (I think) will not be much gain-said: for all men will grant that a competency of maintenance is due by the prescript of God's law, and the law of nature; and that princes must take order that it be yielded. But the only thing that is questionable is, whether God have determined of this competency, or left the judgment and determining thereof unto men.

In the old law, himself from heaven declared what he thought to be a fit allowance for his servants, the priests and Levites; which we shall find not to have been sparing, but very liberal. For, besides the tenths of all the things that the rest of the tribes possessed and enjoyed, he gave them cities to dwell in, and fields adjoining to the same. Touching tithes, in the book of Leviticus it is thus written¹: "All the tithe of the land, both of the seed of the ground, and of the fruit of the trees, is the Lord's, it is holy to the Lord: and of every tithe of bullock, and of sheep, and of all that goeth under the rod, the tenth shall be holy unto the Lord."

¹ Levit. xxvii. 30.

And as God prescribed and commanded this rent of the tenth to be paid unto him out of all that men possessed by any right derived from him, so by his prophets he did exact it when it was unpaid. "Bring," saith the Lord of Hosts by his prophet Malachi¹, "all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in my house, and prove me now herewith, if I will not open the windows of heaven unto you, and pour you out a blessing without measure: I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes, and he shall not destroy the fruit of the ground, neither shall your vine be barren in the field, saith the Lord of Hosts; and all nations shall call you blessed; for you shall be a pleasant land." And touching cities for the priests and Levites to dwell in, God spake unto Moses his servant in this sort²: "Command the children of Israel, that they give unto the Levites of the inheritance of their possession cities to dwell in: ye shall give also to the Levites the suburbs of the cities round about them; so they shall have cities to dwell in, and their suburbs shall be for their cattle, and for their substance, and for all their beasts; and the suburbs of the cities which ye shall give unto the Levites, from the wall of the city outward, shall be a thousand cubits round about." These cities, by God's own appointment, were forty and eight. Besides this standing rent of tithes, which God commanded his people to pay unto the priests and Levites, and these cities, which they were to give them to dwell in, he made them yet a more plentiful and ample allowance out of his own immediate revenue, and the presents that were daily brought unto him. For whereas the people (after they were entered into the land of promise) stood bound to make some acknowledgment that they had received all of God's hands, and therefore were to give unto him the best, first, and principal of all that they were blessed with, even the first of the fruits they gathered; the Levites by God's appointment had their parts in these first-fruits: nay, as we may read in the book of Numbers, God gave these first-fruits which the people offered to him to the priests, saying unto Aaron and his sons³; "All the fat of the oil, and all the fat of the wine, and of the wheat, which they shall offer unto the Lord for their first-fruits, I have given them

¹ Malac. iii. 10.

² Numb. xxxv. 2, &c.

³ Numb. xviii. 12.

unto thee ; and the first-ripe of all that is in their land, which they shall bring unto the Lord, shall be thine." This allowance did God make them out of his set revenue of first-fruits ; and yet was not unmindful of them when any other presents were brought unto him. So that they "who attended at the altar were (indeed) partakers of the altar¹." Thus we see in what sort God did provide for his servants the priests and Levites in the time of the law.

Wherefore now it remaineth that, passing by that addition that was out of those offerings which were proper to those times, we come to see whether the same kind of provision by tithes (which God then prescribed) remain still in force by virtue of any law of God or not. Here we shall find a great and main controversy between the schoolmen and the canonists. For the schoolmen (for the most part, nay all, if we may believe Bellarmine²) do think that tithes are not due since the coming of Christ by any law of God or nature. The canonists resolve the contrary, and are so peremptory in their opinion, that they do (almost) condemn such of heresy as think otherwise. Aquinas³, one of the

¹ 1 Cor. ix. 13.

² De Clericis, Lib. i. cap. 25. [Tom. ii. p. 157, sq.]

³ "Decimæ in veteri lege dabantur ad sustentationem ministrorum Dei.

"Quod enim eis qui divino cultui ministrabant ad salutem populi totius, populus necessaria victus ministraret, ratio naturalis dictat ; sicut et his qui communi utilitati invigilant, scilicet principibus, et militibus, et aliis hujusmodi, stipendia victus debentur a populo.

"Sed determinatio certæ partis exhibendæ ministris divini cultus non est de jure naturali, sed est introducta institutione divina, secundum conditionem illius populi cui lex dabatur, qui cum in duodecim tribus esset divisus, duodecima tribus, scilicet Levitica, quæ tota erat ministeriis divinis mancipata, possessiones non habebat unde sustentaretur. Unde convenienter institutum est, ut reliquæ undecim tribus decimam partem suorum proventium Levitis darent ut honorabilius viverent, et quia etiam aliqui per negligentiam erant transgressores futuri. Unde quantum ad determinationem decimæ partis erat judiciale, sicut et alia multa specialiter in illo populo instituta erant ad æqualitatem inter homines ad invicem conservandam secundum populi illius conditionem, quæ judicialia præcepta dicuntur : licet ex consequenti aliquid significarent in futurum, sicut et omnia eorum facta, in quo conveniebant cum cæremonialibus præceptis, quæ principaliter instituta erant ad significandum aliquid futurum : unde et præceptum

greatest rabbins amongst the schoolmen, determineth the question in this sort : “ The precept concerning the paying of tithes, in the time of the old law, was partly moral, natural, and perpetual, and partly judicial, applied to the condition of that people ; and so to continue no longer by force of God’s prescription than that state should continue. In that it prescribed a sufficient, large, and honourable maintenance to be yielded to them that attended the holy things of God, it was natural and moral, and is to continue for ever ; but in that it prescribed such a proportion as a fit and competent maintenance, namely, the tenth part out of every man’s increase, it was not natural but judicial, applied and fitted to the condition of that people. For the whole nation of the Jews being divided into thirteen tribes, and the tribe of Levi, that served at the altar, and in the temple, having no inheritance or possession amongst the rest, but God himself being the inheritance of them of that tribe, that they might have in some proportionable sort as good an estate of maintenance as any of the rest, He gave unto them the tenth of all that the rest had.” If it be said they were not the tenth part of the people, but the thirteenth ; and that therefore to make them equal with the rest God should have given them the thirteenth part only, and not the tenth, he answereth, that “ therefore God gave them something more than each of the rest of the tribes had ; first, for that he knew all that he allowed them would not be duly and exactly paid unto them, but that they should lose some part of that which he meant unto them, which by this overplus of allowance he would make up unto them again. Secondly, for that he would have their allowance to be something better than that which others had, they being more near unto him than the rest. Thus doth he make the particular determination of the tenth to be judicial, fitted to the con-

de decimis solvendis significat aliquid in futurum. Qui enim decimam dat, quæ est perfectionis signum, eo quod denarius est quodammodo numerus perfectus, quasi primus limes numerorum, ultra quem numeri non procedunt, sed reiterantur ab uno, novem sibi partibus reservatis, protestatur, quasi in quodam signo ad se pertinere imperfectionem ; perfectionem vero, quæ erat futura per Christum, esse exspectandam a Deo, nec tamen propter hoc est cæremoniale præceptum, sed judiciale, ut dictum est.—Thom. Aquin. *Secunda Secundæ*, Quæst. 87. [Art. 1. Tom. v. p. 804. Rom. 1773.]

dition of that people, and neither moral nor ceremonial ; and yet saith, that as all things that were done in that state and by that people figured something that was afterward to come to pass ; so this paying of the tenth of that each man possessed, though it were a judicial constitution and not ceremonial, yet figured the perfecting of all things by Christ the Son of God. For in that the number of ten is the uttermost extent and perfection of numbers beyond which no man goeth in numbering ; by giving the tenth part (that signifieth perfection) to God, and keeping nine (expressing imperfection) to themselves, they professed their own wants, defects, and imperfections, and the desire, hope, and expectation they had that God (in whom only perfection is found) would, in his good time, perfect all things by Christ his Son." How aptly these things are delivered by Thomas let the reader judge. There are other that likewise insist on the number of ten, as being the uttermost extent of number, but to another purpose. For they say, in that the people of God gave unto him the tenth of all that they possessed, which is the uttermost bound and extent of all the things they had, they did thereby express the desire they had that this tenth part, as being the bound and limit of all the rest, (in a sort included within it,) should sanctify the rest ; and that in respect of the blessing which God hath promised unto that which is given unto him, it should be as a wall of defence for the safe-keeping of the rest. And yet neither Thomas nor these make the paying of the tenth to be ceremonial in respect of these significations, for then no such custom might be used amongst Christians, as some ignorant men have taught in our age out of this false conceit. But Thomas supposeth the paying of the tenth in the particular determination to be judicial, and the other think it natural and perpetual. For (say they) seeing something is to be yielded to God out of that which we have, and the number of ten is the bound of all the things we have or can have, at least one of ten is to be paid unto God for an acknowledgment of our obligation unto him, and for the maintenance of his service and those that attend the same. For if we may pass the number of ten, which is the bound of our possessions, and yield no one part thereof as an acknowledgment to God, we need not to pay anything to him at all.

This opinion is strongly confirmed, in that Abraham

paid tithe to Melchizedech¹ (who was a priest of the high God, and blessed him in the name of the Lord) of all that he possessed, before any law written, or any particular prescription that we read of touching the same. Whereby he shewed (as it may more than probably be concluded) that tithes are due by the law of nature. Neither did Abraham only by his fact shew the natural duty of paying tithe, but Jacob also confirmed the same by the vow he made, that if God would prosper his journey, and bring him back in safety, the Lord should be his God, and “he would offer unto him the tenth of all that he should give him².” But some man perhaps will say that this vow of Jacob proveth rather the contrary, namely, that he was not bound to pay tithes; for men do vow such things as they are not bound unto by any general law of God or nature. And therefore Cardinal Bellarmine saith³; “It had been an impious thing for Jacob, in this conditional sort, to have vowed the paying of tithe, if by the general law of God and nature he had been bound thereunto.” But surely this saying of the cardinal is impious, and injurious to the holy patriarch, who never was charged with any impiety in respect of this his vow; neither can be (as I suppose), and yet necessarily must be if this inference of the cardinal be good. For it is the first commandment in the law natural and moral, “Thou shalt have no other Gods but me.” And the holy patriarch was bound by a general obligation of the law of nature to take the Lord for his God, and yet he voweth conditionally, that “if the Lord will be with him,” keep him in his journey, and bring him safe back again, “he shall be his God⁴, and he will serve him,” which, if the cardinal says true, he could not do without impiety.

But let us pass by this oversight, and see what is to be resolved touching this point. It seemeth by the fact of Abraham, and vow of Jacob, before the law, by the prescription of the same in the time of the law, and by the judgment and practice of Christians since the time of the gospel, that the duty of paying tithes is natural and perpetual. “How doth our righteousness,” saith Origen⁵, “exceed the righteousness

¹ Gen. xiv. 20.

² Gen. xxviii. 22.

³ De Clericis, Lib. I. cap. 25. [p. 157]

⁴ Gen. xxviii. 21.

⁵ “Quomodo ergo abundat justitia nostra plusquam scribarum et Phariseorum, si illi de fractione terre sue gaudere non audent, primo-

of the scribes and Pharisees, if whereas they do not taste of the fruits of the earth before they offer the first-fruits to God, and set out the tithe for the Levites; we do no such thing, but so use, or rather abuse, the things which God hath given us, *ut sacerdos nesciat, Levita ignoret, altare non sentiat*; that is, in such sort, that the priest shall not know of it, the Levite shall never hear of it, and the altar of God never feel it, or have any sense of it." St Hierome saith¹: *Quod de decimis primitiisque diximus, quæ olim dabantur a populo sacerdotibus et Levitis, in ecclesiæ quoque populis, intelligite quibus præceptum est, non solum decimas et primitias dare, sed et vendere omnia quæ habent, et dare pauperibus: quod si facere nolumus, saltem Judæorum imitemur exordia, et pauperibus partem demus ex toto, et sacerdotibus et Levitis honorem debitum deferamus: quod qui non fecerit, Deum fraudare, et supplantare convincitur.* That is, "Understand that which I said of tithes and first-fruits, which of old were given by the people to the priests and Levites, concerning the people of the Church also, who are commanded not only to give tithes and first-fruits, but to sell away all that they have, and to give to the poor; which if we will not do, at the least let us imitate those beginnings of the Jews, that we may give a part of all to the poor, and yield due honour to the priests and Levites, which whoso doth not, is convinced to defraud and deceive God." Here we see Hierome is of opinion, that Christians stand bound at least to perform as much touching the matter of tithes and first-fruits as the Jews, and that he maketh the not paying of tithes to be a sinful defrauding of God; but that which he addeth of selling all and giving to the poor, is not to be understood as meant generally, but only in some cases that may fall out. With Hierome, Augustine, or the author of the sermons *de Tempore*, whosoever he was, agreeth, saying², *Audi indevota mortalitas, nosti quia Dei sunt cuncta quæ percipis, et de suo non ac-*

quam primitias suas sacerdotibus offerant, et Levitis decimæ separen-
tur; et ego nihil horum faciens, fructibus terræ ita abutar, ut
sacerdos nesciat, Levites ignoret, divinum altare non sentiat?"—Orig.
 hom. xi. in Num. [Tom. ii. p. 305. fin.]

¹ In Malach. iii. [Tom. vi. col. 978.]

² De Temp. Serm. ccxix. [al. cclxxvii. Tom. ii. Append. col. 460. fin.]

commodas omnium conditori; that is, "Hear, O mortal man, void of devotion, thou knowest that all the things that thou enjoyest are God's, and wilt thou present him with nothing that made all, &c. He vouchsafeth to require only the tenth, and the first-fruits, and thou deniest him: what wouldst thou do if he should challenge nine parts, and leave thee but the tenth? For why might not God say, the men that serve thee are mine, I made them; the earth that thou tillest is mine, the seed thou sowest is mine, the oxen are mine that thou weariest in thy work; yea, the showers of rain, the blasts of wind, and the heat of the sun is mine; all the things which cause thy increase are mine; and thou only puttest to thy hand; therefore the tenth only is due unto thee, and the rest is mine? But God (who is rich in goodness) hath not given thee so sparing a reward of thy labour: for behold he is content thou shalt have nine parts, and exacteth only the tenth; and thou most unthankfully, perfidiously, and falsely withholdest it from him; and therefore, in his wrath, he often depriveth thee of those nine parts that thou mightest have had, destroying and bringing to nothing all that which thou hopest to reap by immoderate drought or rain, by hail, frost, or some other means, as seemeth best unto him." But whatsoever we think of the author of these Sermons, it is certain St Augustine did urge a necessity of paying the tenth at least of all that men possess: "Set out," saith he¹, "some certain thing out of thy revenues, increase, or gain, if thou wilt the tenth, though this be too little: for the Pharisees paid tithes of all that they possessed; and yet, 'If our righteousness exceed not theirs, we cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.' And if we urge you to the paying hereof," saith he, "think not that we seek your wealth, but your well-doing." With Augustine agreeth Chrysostom². The first

¹ "Præcidite ergo aliquid, et deputate aliquid fixum, vel ex anni fructibus, vel ex quotidianis quæstibus vestris. Exime aliquam partem reddituum tuorum. Decimas vis? Decimas exime, quanquam parum sit. Dictum est enim, quia Pharisei decimas dabant, . . . et quid ait Dominus, 'Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plusquam scribarum et Phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum cælorum'."—August. in Psal. cxlvi. [Tom. iv. col. 1648. F.]

² Τί οὐκ ἐποιοῦν ἐκεῖνοι; δεκάτας, καὶ πάλιν δεκάτας ἐτέρας παρείχον ὀρφανοῖς, χήραις, προσηλύτοις ἐπηρκοῦν. Ἀλλὰ ἐμοί τις θαυμάζων τινὰ ἔλεγε· δεκάτας δίδωσιν ὁ δεῖνα, πόσης αἰσχύνῃς τοῦτο γέμει, εἰ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν

Council of Hispalis (as we read in Ivo¹) urgeth the paying of tithes as commanded by God, and pronounceth that he maketh a prey of things holy unto God, and is as a thief and a robber, that payeth not tithe of all that he possesseth; and that all the curses which God poured out on Cain, that made no good division, but gave the worst to God, and kept the best to himself, shall be poured upon him. The first Council of Orleans sheweth² that tithes were paid at that time; and the second Council of Matiscon saith³, The law of God providing for the priests and ministers of the Churches, commanded the people to bring into the holy places the tenth of their increase for an hereditary portion; that so being hindered by no labour, they might in due sort attend the work of the holy ministry; which law the whole multitude and heap of Christians hath kept inviolably for a long time. The fathers assembled in the Council of Forum Julii⁴, after they have alleged the mandate of Almighty God in the third of Malachi, add, that God himself pronounceth that his wrath and indignation abideth upon the nation or people which ful-

*Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ἦν θαυμασμοῦ, τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θαυμαστὸν γέγονεν; εἰ τότε κίνδυνος ἦν, τὸ δεκάτας ἀπολιπεῖν, ἐννόησον ὅσον ἐστὶ νῦν.—*Chrysost. Hom. iv. in Ephes. [Tom. xi. p. 31. A.]

“Sacerdotes avaritia pleni, si quis de populo decimas non obtulisset, ita eum corripiebant, quasi magnum crimen fecisset, quia decimum alicujus rei vel saltem minimæ non obtulisset: si quis autem de populo in Deum peccabat, aut lædebat aliquem, aut aliquid tale faciebat, nemo curabat corripere eum. . . . Sic enim et modo fit. . . . Si populus decimas non obtulerit, murmurant omnes: et si peccantem populum viderint, nemo murmurat contra eum.”—Id. Op. imperfect. in Matt. Hom. XLIV. [Tom. vi. Append. p. 188. B.]

¹ Ivo, part. ii. cap. 174. in 2 Tom. Concil. p. 954. apud Bin.

² Cap. xvii. [This reference is erroneous: the error is due to Ivo, Decret. Lib. iii. cap. 202. See Selden, Hist. of Tithes, cap. 5. p. 59, and Bingham, Book v. chap. 5, § 3.]

³ “Leges divinæ, consulentes sacerdotibus ac ministris ecclesiarum, pro hæreditatis portione omni populo præceperunt decimas fructuum suorum locis sacris præstare, ut nullo labore impediti horis legitimis spiritualibus possint vacare ministeriis. Quas leges Christianorum congeries longis temporibus custodivit intemeratas.”—Concil. Matiscon. ii. Can. 5. [Labbe, Tom. vi. col. 675.]

⁴ “Quia indignatio et ira Dei manet super gentem vel populum qui hoc Domini præceptum toto corde et bona voluntate non adimplet, supra præmiserat Malachias, etc.”—Concil. Foro-Julienne, Can. 14. [Labbe, Tom. ix. col. 49.]

fillet not this his commandment with an entire heart, and a good-will; and after recital of the blessings and curses that follow them that keep or break this commandment; If ye believe not us, or despise us (say they) because we are men, believe God himself in his threats and promises; and whosoever thou art that professest thyself a Christian, *De suis, non de tuis, da Domino; quia omne quod sumus, vivimus, et habemus, ejus est, et de ipsius benignitatis suscepimus manu:* that is, "Give unto God of his own, not of thine; seeing all that we are, live, and have, is his, and we have received it at the hand of his goodness." The fourth Council of Arles decreeth thus¹: Let every one offer to God the tenth and first-fruits of all the increase of his labour, as it is written, "Thou shalt not be slow to offer thy tithes and first-fruits unto God." The Council of Mentz, under Charles the Great, prescribeth in this sort²: "We admonish and command that no man neglect to pay tithes unto God, which God himself appointed to be given, because it is to be feared, lest each man shall withhold from God that which is due unto him, so God for his sin should take from him those things that are necessary, and which he would otherwise suffer him to enjoy. Which agreeth with that of Augustine in his book of his fifty Homilies, where he saith³, "Our ancestors did therefore abound in wealth, and had plenty of all things, because they gave tithe to God, and tribute to Cæsar." *Modo autem, quia discessit devotio Dei, accessit indictio fisci, nolumus partiri cum Deo decimas, modo autem totum tollitur, hoc tollit fiscus, quod non accipit Christus;* that is, "But now because devotion giveth nothing to God, the officers of princes call for our treasure, to fill their coffers; we will not so part and divide with God as to give him the tenth, and therefore all is taken from us by men; the exchequer seizeth on that which Christ

¹ "Ut unusquisque de propriis laboribus decimas et primitias Deo offerat, sicut scriptum est: 'Decimas et primitias tuas non tardabis offerre Domino Deo tuo.'"—Concil. Arelat. iv. [al. vi. Can. 9. Labbe, Tom. ix. col. 324.]

² "Admonemus atque præcipimus, ut decimas Deo omnino dari non negligatur, quas Deus ipse sibi dari constituit: quia timendum est, ut quisquis Deo debitum suum abstrahit, ne forte Deus per peccatum suum auferat ei necessaria sua."—Concil. Mogunt. Can. 38. [Labbe, Tom. ix. col. 337.]

³ Hom. XLVIII. [al. LXXXVI. Tom. ii. Append. col. 156. A.]

could have no part of." The Council of Tribur allegeth and alloweth the saying of the author of the Sermons *de Tempore* before cited, and addeth these words¹; "If any man ask why tithes are paid, let him know that they are therefore paid, that God being pleased with this devotion, may give more largely the things we have need of." The persuasion of the necessity of paying tithes was so deeply imprinted in the minds of our forefathers, that when they were ready to die, there was no account concerning things in this world they more carefully sought to perfit than this; and therefore, after they had taken order for satisfying all that they could any way find to be behind in this kind, they were wont (lest happily something there might be that came not to their mind) to appoint that the second best of those moveable things they had should be brought after them to the church when they went to be buried, as a recompense, if in anything they had done wrong in paying their tithes; and this thing thus brought after them was named a Mortuary².

Thus we see the fact of Abraham, and vow of Jacob, before the giving of the law, the prescription of Almighty God in the time of the law, the resolution of learned and worthy men, and the practice of the Church since the coming of Christ, prove strongly that tithes are perpetually and for ever due; yet the schoolmen, and such as follow them, are of another opinion. Bellarmine goeth about to prove that tithes are not due by God's law in this sort³. They are neither

¹ "Si ergo quærit aliquis cur decimæ dentur, sciat quod ideo dandæ sunt ut hac devotione Deus placatus largius præstet quæ necessaria sunt."—Concil. Triburiens. Can. 13. [Labbe, Tom. xi. col. 637.]

² "Si decedens tria vel plura cujuscunque generis in bonis suis habuerit animalia, optimo cui de jure fuerit debitum reservato, ecclesiæ suæ a qua sancta recepit dum viveret sine dolo fraude seu contradictione qualibet pro recompensatione subtractionis decimarum personarum nec non et oblationum, secundum melius animal reservetur post obitum pro salute animæ suæ ecclesiæ suæ hujusmodi liberandum.... Quod si duo tantum in bonis decedentis exstiterint ecclesiæ exactio quælibet nomine mortuarii remittatur."—Lyndewood, Provinciale, Lib. i. De Constitutione. [Fol. 10, 11. Par. 1506.]

³ "Probatur præceptum de solvendis decimis quantum ad determinationem talis quantitatis non esse nunc de jure divino. Tale præceptum nusquam invenitur Christianis impositum, nec in nova nec in veteri lege: et quod non in nova patet; quod non in veteri probatur

prescribed in the old law nor in the new (saith he), therefore they are not due by God's law. That they are not prescribed in the new, he saith, it is clear, but proveth it not. But that tithes are to be paid may be proved by necessary consequence out of that which is prescribed in the New Testament. That they are not prescribed in the Old he cannot say; all the books of the Old Testament being full of mandates, threats, promises, and encouragements, to move men to pay tithes. But he saith, the precepts that are found in the Old Testament, requiring and urging men to pay tithes, were judicial, not moral and perpetual. That they were not moral, he endeavoureth to prove, because there was no law concerning the paying tithes before the time of Moses. If he speak of a written law, it is true there was no such before Moses, neither touching tithes, nor anything else: but if he speak of a law simply, we say there was a law before Moses, which moved Abraham to pay tithe; and that as (presupposing the knowledge of the creation of the world in six days, and God's rest in the seventh) reason convinceth us, that one day in seven must be a day of rest from our own works, affairs, and businesses, that we may spend it in divine thoughts, meditations, prayers, and praises of God: so in like sort, the number of ten, being the uttermost extent, limit, and bound of all numbers, it being presupposed that something is to be given to God out of that we possess, the very light of reason will make us know that we ought not to pass the number of ten, but that one of ten (at the least) is to be yielded unto God out of all that we possess; and that not the worst, (for we do not so deal with mortal princes), but the best, the first and principal. Which is confirmed unto us, in that the Gentiles and people that knew not God but by the light of nature, and such traditions as they had received from the patriarchs, did pay tithes as well as the Jews did, and the Christians do. The proof hereof the reader may find at large out of divers authors in

nam præceptum legis veteris, quoad illam determinationem, non erat morale nec proprie cæremoniale, sed judiciale. Quod non sit morale patet, quia moralia semper obligaverunt, lex autem de decimis non fuit ante tempora Mosis; nec ratio dictat, ut sacerdoti dentur decem partes, sed ut detur quantum satis est ad ejus sustentationem.—Bellarm. *De Clericis*, Lib. i. cap. 25. [p. 157.]

a treatise of tithes, written not long since¹, and in Jansenius². But some man (perhaps) will say that this confirmation is too weak, for that many among the Gentiles were circumcised as well as the Jews, and that yet it followeth not from thence that circumcision was prescribed and imposed by the law of nature; so that the custom, practice, and observation of the Gentiles paying tithes, will not prove that it is a natural duty to pay tithes. But they who bring this objection should know, that there is a great difference between these two observations of the Gentiles; for the one was but in some certain parts of the world only, and among such people as were descended of Abraham, or by leagues, compacts, and persuasions, were induced by them to be circumcised. But the paying, vowing, and offering of tithes to their supposed gods was general amongst all the Gentiles, Romans, Grecians, and Barbarians. Wherefore we may resolve, that the prescription of tithe was not merely judicial, and fitted to the state of the people of the Jews (as Bellarmine out of Aquinas would have it), but that it was natural, and from the beginning. And surely it is worth the noting, how strangely he forgetteth himself, and so runneth into gross contradictions in this point. For first, to make it seem probable that this prescription was but merely judicial, he saith³, “The intendment of God in prescribing tithe was, that there should be a certain equality amongst the parts and tribes of his people; and that therefore he allotted the tenth to the Levites, who were almost the tenth part of his people;” and yet after he saith⁴, “The Levites were not the sixtieth part of the people;” and proveth the same out of the first and third of Numbers. So that it cannot be imagined that the reason of allowing this proportion to the Levites was for that they were little less than the tenth part of the people, that so they might have at least as much as the rest, if not a little more; especially seeing it may easily be proved, that the cities and suburbs that were allowed unto them by

¹ M. Carleton of Tithes. [Chap. 2. p. 10. 4to. Lond. 1611: Selden, Hist. of Tithes, cap. 3. p. 24. 4to. Lond. 1618.]

² Comment. in Concord. Evang. Cap. 84. [p. 529. fol. Mogunt. 1612.]

³ “Ideo jussit Deus dari decimam partem omnium bonorum Levitis, non octavam aut vicesimam, ut esset proportio inter opes Levitarum et aliorum.”—Ubi supra.

⁴ Eod. capite, dubio iv. [p. 158.]

God himself, besides the first-fruits, and that part of the sacrifices which they had, was as much as the possessions of any tribe, though they had had no tithes at all. So that the possessions of the Levites and priests being more than the thirteenth part of the whole land (whereas they were not the sixtieth part), and all the tithes, first-fruits, and a part of the sacrifices, being assigned unto them besides, it is most clear and evident the intendment of God in allowing tithes unto the Levites was not the equalling of them and the rest. But to conclude this point, if we had neither the fact of Abraham, the vow of Jacob, the custom of the Gentiles before Christ, nor any other reason to persuade us that tithes are due by God's law; yet this very prescription in the time of Moses' law would prove sufficiently that Christians must yield the tenth (at the least) of all their increase towards the maintenance of the ministers. For seeing the ministry of the gospel is much more glorious than that of the law, and the obligation of the people unto them stronger, there can be no doubt made but that Christians are bound to give the tenth of their increase (at the least) towards the maintenance of them that attend the service of God; and, consequently, that God hath not left it to men to determine what is a competent allowance for his servants (as some think); which thing may easily be proved, if any man shall make any question of it. For seeing they of Levi's tribe had so large an allowance, whereas yet the most part of them were but ordinary Levites, and employed in mean services, the priests being (in comparison) but a few, and attending but by courses once in twenty-four weeks, there is far greater reason that the ministers of the Church that attend more holy things, and that continually, (whose education out of their own patrimony hath been chargeable unto them, and whose profession of learning and knowledge is such that the very furnishing of them with books is a matter of great expence), should have a more plentiful allowance made unto them than the Levites. Neither is there any kind of provision for ministers fitter than this by tithes. For if they have their allowance in money, the prices of things often rising, it may be too short; neither will they have so sensible a fellow-feeling of the blessings of God, or his punishments the people taste of, if they have their allowance cer-

tain, and no way subject to those different courses of times that others have. And therefore we shall find that, howsoever in the very first times Christians were forced to supply the necessities of their ministers by other means, before things were settled, yet so soon as there was any quiet establishment of things, they embraced this course of providing for ministers by tithes, as of all other the best.

These tithes (before there was that perfect distinction and division of parochial churches that now is) they paid to the bishop and clergy jointly. Whereupon we shall find, that at first, as all lands, so all money, tithe, first-fruits, and other contributions made to the Church, were in the hands of the bishop and clergy jointly, but of the bishop principally, as more eminent than the rest; and that he was bound to divide all into four parts¹, whereof one served for his own maintenance, another for the clergy, the third for the reparations of the buildings and houses belonging to the Church, and a fourth for the relief of the poor, and the entertainment of strangers. And therefore at the first the clergy was maintained out of the common dividend, and the portion allowed to each man was named *sportula*², and they that lived by these allowances *sportulantes*. In which sense Cyprian, writing of some that he had designed to be presbyters, hath these words³: *Presbyterii honorem designasse nos illis jam sciatis, et ut sportulis iisdem cum presbyteris honorantur, et divisiones mensurnas æquatis quantitatibus partiantur, sessuri nobiscum proVectis et corroboratis annis suis.*

But this course continued but a while; for afterwards as there was a division of parochial churches with particular assignation of several presbyters to take care of them, so likewise of the tithes of the increase of the lands and possessions of such as were within those limits, the bishop and clergy of the city, or of the chief church, living in common of such lands, revenues, and possessions as had been given to the Church, and the tithes and offerings of them that received sacraments, and resorted ordinarily to be taught

¹ Gelas. Epist. ix. ad Episc. Lucanæ. Vide Gratian. Part. ii. Decreti, Caus. xii. Quæst. 2. [col. 1079.]

² This word imported no base, but an honourable allowance.

³ Cyprian. Epist. xxxiv. [al. xxxix. p. 78.] et lxiv. [al. i. p. 2, "In honorem sportulantium fratrum."]

in the cathedral church; till, in the end, as the inhabitants of the country abroad, so they of the cities likewise were put to parochial divisions, and none but the bishop, clergy, and such as pertained to them, resorted ordinarily to the cathedral or great church, but to other divided from it; and then was there no more tithe paid to the bishop and clergy of the cathedral or chief church, but to the inferior churches only, the bishop and his clergy of the mother-church living of such lands as were given unto them; which also in process of time they divided. So that the bishop had his distinct possessions, lands, and revenues, proper to himself, and likewise they of the cathedral church.

So that to conclude this matter, as tithes are payable by the laws of God and men, for the maintenance of God's service and them that attend the same; so before there was any particular division of parochial churches, and while each city and the places adjoining made but one church, they were due and of right to be paid by men living within those limits to the bishop and clergy jointly, who by a joint care were to govern and teach the people of such places. But after parochial churches were divided, each man was and is to pay the tithes of the things he possesseth within each parish to that particular presbyter that ruleth the same. And therefore it is an error to think, as some do, that before the Council of Lateran men might pay their tithes to what places and persons they pleased; and that by the decrees of that council they were first limited to the place of their habitation. For the thing that was ordered in the Council of Lateran was not the limiting of the duty of paying tithe to one certain and definite place, as if men had been free before to pay them to whom and where they listed; but whereas men dwelling in one place, and having lands, livings, and possessions, in another, thought they might pay the tenth of the increase of such things as they had in other places to the minister of the place where they dwelt, and of whom they received the sacraments: the council decreed¹ that the tithes of such lands as men had lying elsewhere should not be paid by them in the places of their habitation, but where the land lieth; and personal tithes in the place of their abode where they are

¹ In indice in Appendicem Concil. Lat. III. Part. 50. de Pactione, cap. 39, 40. [Labbe, Tom. XIII. col. 628.]

partakers of the holy things of God, and not elsewhere; than which nothing could be more just and reasonable. Neither did the Council of Lateran alone take order for this matter, but the Council of Mentz, cited by Gratian¹, provideth likewise, that if any man give away such places as he had propriety in, or other things, the tithe shall not be alienated from the church it did formerly belong unto.

But that men were always bound to pay their tithes of such things as they possess within the place of their habitation to the ministers of the same, it may easily be proved, in that very ancient councils do provide that no man shall pay the tithes of such things as he hath within the limits of any place but to that church to which all they that inhabit there resort for baptism and spiritual instruction. "We decree," saith Anastasius², bishop of Rome, "that if any man seek to withhold the oblations and tithes which the people ought to yield unto the Church, or give them away from that church, where they of the places where such tithes arise do usually receive the sacrament of baptism, to any other without the bishop's consent, let him be accursed." "It hath seemed good not only to us but to our ancestors," saith Leo the Fourth³, "that the people shall pay their tithes where they and their children are baptized, and nowhere else." The Council of Worms⁴ provideth, that if any man with the bishop's consent build a new church within his own land, the ancient church shall not be prejudiced, but all accustomed

¹ "Si quis laicus, vel clericus, vel utriusque sexus persona proprietatis suæ loca vel res alicui dare delegaverit, decimationum proventus priori ecclesiæ legitime assignatum inde abstrahere nullam habeat potestatem."—Concil. Mogunt. apud Gratian. Decret. Part. 2. Caus. xvi. Quæst. 1. cap. 42. [col. 1209.]

² "Statuimus, ut si quis oblationes ecclesiæ, vel decimas, quas populus dare debet, tenere contenderit, vel extra baptismalem ecclesiam dare voluerit, præter conscientiam episcopi, vel ejus cui hujusmodi officia commissa sunt, nec cum eorum voluntate agere concilio; bannum nostrum componat, et communione privetur."—Anastas. ibid. cap. 55. [col. 1217.]

³ "De decimis justo ordine non tantum nobis, sed etiam majoribus nostris visum est, plebibus tantum ubi sacrosancta baptismata dantur, debere dari."—Leo IV. ibid. cap. 45. [col. 1011.]

⁴ Can. 47. [Apud Gratian. Decret. Part. 2. Caus. xvi. Quæst. 1. cap. 44. col. 1209.]

tithes shall be still paid unto it. The Council of Ticin¹ saith, "There are certain laymen, who having churches or oratories within the compass of their own lands and possessions, pay not the tithes to those churches where they are partakers of the benefit of baptism, preaching, imposition of hands, and other sacraments of Christ; but give them to their own churches or their own clerks as they list, which is contrary to the law of God and the sacred canons." And therefore the Council of Mentz², in the time of Arnulphus, decreed, that ancient churches shall not be deprived of their tithes or other possessions, and that the things that formerly did belong unto them shall not be given to new chapels or oratories.

The first wrong that was offered unto churches in depriving them of their tithes that prevailed was in favour of monks, who having their mansion-houses within the precincts of parishes, and lands belonging to the same, which for their provision they held in their own hands, and used for their own benefit, rested not till they obtained of the pope and other bishops to have them tithe-free. The Council of Lateran under Alexander the Third ordaineth³, "that religious men shall pay no tithes out of such their lands as they till themselves. But if they shall rent any they shall pay tithe as other do; and likewise if they let any lands out unto countrymen to be tilled they shall pay tithes out of them; yea, if they shall get new lands after their foundation and confirmation of their privileges, they shall pay tithes, though they keep them in their own hands." But this exemption of religious men (though very prejudicial to the Church) staid not here, but prevailed yet further, to the great hurt of the Church; and therefore we read that some sought to exempt their farmers also from paying tithes; which the bishops assembled in

¹ "Quidam laici, qui vel in propriis vel in beneficiis suis habent basilicas, contempta episcopi dispositione, non ad ecclesias ubi baptismum et prædicationem, manus impositionem, et alia Christi sacramenta percipiunt, decimas suas dant; sed vel propriis basilicis, vel suis clericis pro suo libita tribuunt. Quod omnimodis divinæ legi et sacris canonibus constat esse contrarium."—Tom. III. Concil. apud Bin. p. 656. [Labbe, Tom. XI. col. 1165.]

² "Ecclesiæ antiquitus constitutæ nec decimis, nec aliis possessionibus, pro novis oratoriis sine consensu et consilio episcopali priventur."—Concil. Mogunt. I. Can. 11. [Labbe, Tom. IX. col. 1041.]

³ Indico in Appendicem. [Ubi supra.]

the Council of Cabilon disliked¹, and commanded that both bishops and abbots should permit their tenants to pay tithes in the places where they received the sacraments; and that they should keep the tithes of such fields and vineyards as they held in their own occupation to themselves. Thus we shall find that this monkish generation first robbed the parochial churches, within the bounds whereof their houses and possessions were, of a great portion of tithes due unto them by their privileges and exemptions; and that after they had tasted the sweetness of this robbery they went forward till they had subjected those ministers and their churches to themselves, to whose jurisdiction they were formerly subject; and got the tithes that others paid to parochial churches to be appropriated to themselves, that at first by privilege exempted themselves from paying tithes; forgetting that of Saint Hierome²; *Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum; clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor, illi de altari vivunt, mihi quasi infructuosæ arbori securis ponitur ad radicem, si munus ad altare non defero; nec possum obtendere paupertatem cum in evangelio anum viduam duo quæ sola sibi supererant æra mittentem laudaverit Dominus. Mihi ante presbyterum sedere non licet; illi si peccavero, licet tradere me Satanæ in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit.* That is, “The condition of monks and the condition of clergymen differ very much. Clergymen feed the sheep of Christ, but I am fed; they live by the altar, but if I bring not my gift to the altar the axe is laid unto me as to an unfruitful tree; neither can I pretend poverty, seeing the Lord in the Gospel praised the widow that cast in two mites, which was all that she had; I may not sit in the presence of a presbyter, but if I offend he may deliver me to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved.”

But as these idle bellies and evil beasts by the favour of popes and prelates got into their hands the portion which God

¹ “Decrevit sacer iste conventus, ut episcopi et abbates de agris et vineis, quæ ad suum vel fratrum stipendium habent, decimas ad ecclesias deferri faciant; familiæ vero ibi dent decimas suas, ubi infantes eorum baptizentur, et sibi per totum anni circulum missas audiunt.”—Concil. Cabilon. 2. Can. 19. [Labbe, Tom. ix. col. 363.]

² Hieron. ad Heliodorum de laude vitæ solitariæ. [Epist. xiv. Tom. i. col. 33.]

appointed for his servants the ministers of his churches ; so in the end growing odious to the world, for that professing mortification and a voluntary penitential course of life, they abounded in wealth and surfeited upon pleasures more than any secular men in the world, they were devoured of others, who seized upon their houses, took from them their revenues, and together with their other livings led captive that portion of tithes they found in their possessions ; and hold it (in sort) as the former usurpers did, even to this day. So that we may truly pronounce that the cloisters of monks are guilty of all that horrible sacrilege that hath laid waste so many churches, spoiled so many Christians of the comfort of godly pastors that otherwise they might have enjoyed, and brought the clergy into that mean estate that now it is come unto. For it is not to be imagined that ever any layman would once have entertained a thought of receiving tithes, that (as consecrated things to God, and holy unto him) were to be put into the storehouse of his temple, if they had not found them (who by the original of their order and institution were to pay and not to receive tithes) possessed of them and spending them in most vile and shameful manner. Neither shall we ever find (as I think) that laymen inherited this portion of the Lord, in sort as now they do, till the suppressing of the houses of these irreligious monks, which were become cages of unclean birds and dens of thieves and robbers. It is true indeed that Duarenus hath¹, that the right of receiving sacred tithe, *clientelæ titulo*, was by certain princes, with the consent of the whole clergy, made over to knights and marshalsmen for defending the Church and people of Christ against the enemies of religion. But this was for the good and benefit of the clergy, and in their right ; and not as now it is by absolute title of inheritance and fee-simple or freehold. The beginner of this kind of assignation of tithes to laymen for defence of the Church was Charles Martel, as Duarenus saith ; and the third Council of Lateran reversed and voided it more than four hundred years since.

From tithes, (which the Lord God, possessor of heaven and earth, appropriated to himself, as his own particular portion from the beginning, though all were his,) let us proceed to see what the devotion of men gave unto him since the

¹ De Sacr. Eccles. Minist. et Benef. Lib. vii. cap. 1. [p. 1198. fol. Franc. 1598.]

appearing of Christ his Son in the world. Touching which point, first we shall find in the sacred story of the evangelists, that many ministered unto Christ out of their substance, and that he had a bag wherein he kept the things which the faithful ministered unto him; and out of the same supplied his own necessities, and the wants of others, as St Augustine¹ observeth. So that he did not live so as to have nothing, or to beg, as some heretofore have thought, whose error pope John the Two-and-twentieth long since condemned. Here was the first pattern of church-goods and treasure, as Augustine noteth. After the death, resurrection, and return of Christ into heaven, such was the devotion of the believers in the beginning, that many of them sold their possessions, and brought the price thereof, and laid it down at the apostles' feet². Which communication of the goods of the first Christians, though it extended to the benefit of all, yet was there a special respect therein had to the apostles; to whom they would have nothing to be wanting, and to whose disposition all was committed. The reason why they rather sold their possessions, and turned their lands into money, than gave them to the apostles for the relief and maintenance of themselves and others was, (as some think³) for that the Church was soon after to be removed from those parts, and to be dispersed amongst the Gentiles, which made them little regard to have lands and possessions in Judæa.

But after these times, when the Christians were dispersed throughout the world, and Churches established amongst the Gentiles, they thought it better to give lands unto the Churches, for the maintenance of the ministry, relief of the poor, and entertainment of strangers, than money; as being a more sure, certain, and settled endowment, and consequently fitter for Churches established. Of which change we may read in the epistle attributed to Urbanus bishop of Rome⁴, about the year 226. And though the first course

¹ In Johan. xiii. [Tract. LXII. Tom. III. Part. 2. col. 669. f.]

² Acts iv. 34, 35.

³ "Futuram ecclesiam in gentibus apostoli prævidebant; idcirco prædia in Judæa minime sunt adepti, sed pretio tantummodo ad fovendos egentes."—Melch. apud Gratian. Decret. Part. 2. Caus. xvi. Quæst. 1. cap. 15. [col. 1057.]

⁴ Ibid. cap. 16. [col. 1058.]

of giving all that men possessed to the common benefit soon ceased, and was never practised (for ought we read) amongst the Gentiles, yet great was the devotion of Christians, turning from Gentilism, in those first ages of the Church, while the blood of Christ, lately shed, was yet warm in men's hearts; so that they gave many goodly and ample endowments and possessions to the Church. Whereupon we shall find that the Church had very anciently goods and lands, as well as treasure. For the Council of Ancyra, holden in the year 314, voideth the sale of such things¹ as the Church made by presbyters when there was no bishop, and leaveth it in the choice of the bishop when he is chosen, if he please, to resume the things themselves again. The Council of Antioch, in the year 340², maketh mention of the fields, lands, and possessions of the Church, and taketh order how they shall be disposed. *Agri Ecclesiæ* (saith Ambrose) *solvunt tributa*; that is, the fields and lands of the Church pay tribute. Constantine the emperor made a law, that it might be lawful for such as pleased to leave their goods unto the Church³. And Licinia, a rich and wealthy matron, gave her goods by will unto the church of Rome⁴, when Marcellus was bishop. Hilary bishop of Arle (as Prosper reporteth⁵) not only possessed such things as the Church had formerly, but greatly increased the possessions of it, receiving the inheritances of many, who gave that they had to the Church. Thus did the devout Christians of the primitive Church religiously give, and the godly bishops take, such temporalities as were given unto them. And therefore the conceit of Wickliffe (if that be true that is imputed to him) and some other, cannot well be excused, who thought that Constantine and other Christian emperors sinned in giving, and Sylvester and other bishops in receiving, temporal goods and possessions.

¹ "De his quæ pertinent ad ecclesiam, quæcunque cum non esset episcopus presbyteri vendiderunt, placuit, rescisso contractu, ad jura ecclesiastica revocari. In judicio autem erit episcopi, si pretium debeat recipi, necne: quia plerumque rerum distractarum reditus ampliore summam pro pretio dato reddiderat."—Concil. Ancyr. Can. 14. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 1498.]

² Can. 25. [Labbe, Tom. ii. col. 596.]

³ Duaren. De Sacr. Eccles. Minist. et Benef. Lib. ii. cap. 1. [p. 1167.]

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ De Vita Contemplativa, Lib. ii. cap. 9.

It is true, that great was the superfluity of churchmen in latter times, and their state such as made them forget the things that most concerned them: whence grew that saying, *Religio peperit divitias, et filia devoravit matrem*; that is, "Religion brought forth riches, and the daughter hath devoured the mother." Naclere reporteth¹, that there was a common conceit among many, that when Constantine first began to endow the Churches with lands and possessions, a voice was heard from heaven, saying, *Hodie venenum Ecclesiæ est immissum*; that is, "This day is poison poured into the Church:" and in process of time, temporal princes (finding that the indiscreet devotion of men, giving more than was fit to the Church, prejudiced the state of their kingdoms and commonwealths), made statutes of mortmain, to stay men from putting any more of their lands and possessions into such dead hands, as would do them no service. But such is the infelicity of the sons of men, that commonly they run out of one extremity into another; and while they seek to avoid one evil, they fall into another, as bad or worse. The abuse of the riches and wealth the Church had in the time wherein Wickliffe lived, made him so far dislike the present state of things, that he thought the contrary would right all again: as the manner of men is, when they go about to straighten a thing that is crooked, to bow it as much the other way. But Gerson², a right, good, religious, and wise man, bringeth in an even and just moderation, to interpose itself between these extremities, that neither men give so much to the Church as to make her set her feet on the necks of emperors, nor yet bring her to want and contempt; which hath been the course of some men in our times, the unhappy sequels of whose proceedings we see already in part; and, it is to be feared, that posterity shall feel the smart of it in more grievous sort than we do.

But to return to the matter whence we are a little digressed. These lands which devout and good people gave unto the Church were at first possessed jointly by the bishop and clergy; but, in process of time, a division was made, and either knew distinctly their own, and had power to dispose of it; so that they did nothing prejudicial to the

¹ Vol. II. Gener. 11. p. 505.

² De Potest Eccles.—consider. 12. [Tom. II. Part. 2. col. 248.]

inheritance of their Churches, or tending to the hurt of them that were to succeed them. For (to restrain them from doing any such thing) the bishop was forbidden by the laws of the Church to let anything belonging to his see, without the confirmation of his clergy, and the ministers abroad, to alienate, exchange, or demise anything without the consent of the bishop and patrons, or founders of the Churches. Otherwise, both the bishop might dispose of himself alone of that portion that belonged unto him, and the ministers of their tithes, oblations, obventions, and glebe-lands, without the bishops intermeddling with them. Only three things were due to the bishop out of the livings of inferior ministers. For first, as Duarenus noteth¹, the ministers of inferior churches were to give yearly a certain tribute or pension unto the bishop; which tribute or pension was called *Cathedraticum, quod Cathedræ, id est, honori episcopali, debeatur*. Secondly, when the bishop goeth to visit his diocese, and the parishes abroad, the inferior ministers are to give him entertainment, and provide for him; which is called *Procuratio; quia Ecclesiæ episcopum procurant, i. e. curant, alunt et tuenter, sicut pueri dicuntur procurari a nutricibus*; that is, “procurations, because the Churches abroad must take care, provide, and procure all things necessary for the bishop’s lodging, diet, and entertainment.” But because in these visitations some bishops grew too chargeable, therefore the Council of Lateran² limiteth what company a bishop shall have with him when he goeth to visit. Thirdly, in former times, the fourth part of the tithes due to inferior churches, and the fourth part of such things as by will men gave to them, was by the ministers of these churches to be paid unto the bishop; which thing is now grown out of use. Neither is there any other thing payable and due to the bishop, from inferior ministers, but procurations only.

Thus were church-lands and tithes (which at first were enjoyed by the bishop and clergy jointly) in time divided, and either of them had an entire power to dispose of the same, as seemed good unto them, without the intermeddling of the other; yet was there a difference made between such things

¹ De Sacris Eccles. Minist. et Benef. Lib. vii. cap. 5. [p. 1200.]

² Sub Alex. iii. cap. 4. [Labbe, Tom. xiii. col. 419.]

as they had by right of inheritance, or by the gift of their friends, and those things which they gained and gathered upon their ecclesiastical livings. For sundry canons provided, that bishops and other clergymen might make their last will and testament, and give to whom they pleased that which came to them by inheritance, the gift of their friends, or which they gained upon the same; but that which they gained upon their church-livings they should leave to their churches. But the Church of England had a different custom; neither were these canons ever of force in our Church, and therefore her bishops and ministers might ever at their pleasure bequeath to whom they would whatsoever they had gained either upon their church-livings or otherwise. And surely there was great reason it should be so, for seeing “the labourer is worthy of his hire,” why should not they have power to give that which was yielded unto them as due recompence and reward of their labours to whom they please? And how can it be excused from injustice and wrong that men (spending a great part of their own patrimony in fitting themselves for the ministry of the Church, which converted to the best advantage and benefit might greatly have enriched them) should not have right and power to dispose of such things as they have lawfully gained, out of those livings which are assigned to them, as the due reward of their worthy pains? Yet are there some that are much more injurious to the holy ministry. For Waldensis¹, out of a monkish humour, thinketh that clergymen are bound to give away whatsoever cometh to them by inheritance or by any other means, and that they ought not to possess any thing in private and as their own; and allegeth to this purpose the saying of Origen, Hierome, and Bernard, that the clergyman that hath any part or portion on earth cannot have the Lord for his portion nor any part in heaven. But Cardinal Bellarmine² answereth to these authorities, that these fathers speak of such as content not themselves with that which is sufficient, but immoderately seek the things of this world; and proveth that clergymen may have and keep lands and possessions as their own. First, because the apostle prescribeth that such a one should be chosen a bishop “as governeth his own house

¹ Doct. Fid. Lib. iv. Art. 3, cap. 42. [fol. 285. Par. 1532.]

² De Clericis. Lib. i. cap. 7. [p. 123.]

well, and hath children in obedience¹;" which presupposeth that he hath something in private and that is his own. Secondly, he confirmeth the same by the canons of the apostles², the Council of Agatha³, Martinus Bracharensis in his decrees⁴, and the first Council of Hispalis⁵; and further addeth, that a man having lands, possessions, and inheritance of his own, may spare his own living, and receive maintenance from the Church; for proof whereof he allegeth the gloss, and John de Turrecremata⁶, a cardinal in his time of great esteem, and confirmeth the same by that saying of Christ⁷, "The labourer is worthy of his hire;" and that of the apostle Saint Paul⁸, "Who goeth to warfare at any time at his own charge?"

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 4.

² "Ἐστω φανερά τὰ ἴδια τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πράγματα (εἶγε τὰ ἴδια ἔχει), καὶ φανερά τὰ κυριακὰ, ἵνα ἐξουσίαν ἔχη τῶν ἰδίων τελευτῶν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, οἷς βούλεται, ἢ ὡς βούλεται, καταλείψαι, κ.τ.λ.—Can. Apost. 39. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 33.]

³ "Ut de rebus episcopi propriis vel acquisitis, vel quicquid episcopus de suo proprio habet, hæredibus suis, si voluerit, derelinquant."—Concil. Agathens. Can. 48. [Labbe, Tom. v. col. 529.]

⁴ "Neque res propriæ episcopi debent importunitatem pro rebus ecclesiæ pati. Dignum vero et justum est, apud Deum et homines, ut ea quæ episcopi propria sunt, cui voluerit derelinquat."—Martin. Bracharens. Can. 15. [Apud Voell. Biblioth. Jur. Canon. Tom. i. Append. p. xvii.]

⁵ Canon. 1. [Labbe, Tom. vi. col. 1313.]

⁶ In cap. 'Clericos.' 1. Quæst. 2. [In Decret. Part. 2. Caus. i. Quæst. 2. fol. 39 b. ed. fol. Lugd. 1555.]

⁷ Matt. x. 10.

⁸ 1 Cor. ix. 7.

APPENDIX.

**A N A P P E N-
DIX: CONTAIN-
ING A DEFENCE OF
SUCH PARTS AND PAS-
SAGES OF THE FORMER
four books, as have been
either excepted against, or wrested
to the maintenance of Romish errors.**

Divided into three parts.

THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

SINCE the time I presumed (good Christian reader) to offer to thy view what I had long before for my private satisfaction observed touching certain points, concerning the nature, definition, notes, visibility, and authority of the Church, much questioned in our times; first, there came forth a pamphlet, intituled, “The first part of Protestant Proofs for Catholic Religion and Recusancy¹,” after that a larger discourse bearing the name of “A Treatise of the Grounds of the Old and New Religion²,” and thirdly, “The First Motive of one Theophilus Higgons, lately minister, to suspect the Integrity of his Religion³.”

The author of the first of these worthy works undertaketh to prove out of the writings of protestant divines, published since the beginning of his majesty’s reign over this kingdom, that his Romish faith and profession is catholic. The second endeavoureth to make the world believe that protestants have no sure grounds of religion. And the third, having made shipwreck of the faith, and forsaken his calling, laboureth to justify or make good that he hath done. Every of these hath been pleased, for the advantage of the Romish cause, amongst the works of many worthy men, to make use of that which I have written; the first seeking to draw me into the defence of that he knoweth I impugn; and the other two taking exceptions to certain parts and passages scattered here and there.

Such is the insufficiency and weakness of the idle and

¹ [The First Part of Protestants Proofes for Catholikes Religion and Recusancy. Taken only from the writings of such Protestant Doctors and Divines of England as have beene published in the raigne of his Majesty over this Kingdome. 4to. Par. 1607.]

² [A Treatise of the Groundes of the Old and Newe Religion. 4to. s.l. 1608.]

³ [The First Motive of T. H., Maister of Arts, and lately Minister, to suspect the integrity of his Religion, &c. 8vo. s.l. 1609.]

empty discourses of these men, that I almost resolved to take no notice of them; but finding that the last of these good authors fronteth his book with an odious title of "Detection of Falsehood in Doctor Humfrey, Doctor Field, and other learned Protestants," and addeth an Appendix, wherein he undertaketh to discover some notable untruths of Doctor Field, and D. Morton, pretending that the consideration thereof moved him to become a papist; I thought it not amiss to take a little pains in shewing the folly of these vain men, who care not what they write so they write something, and are in hope that no man will trouble himself so much as once to examine what they say; yet not intending to answer all that every of these hath said (for who would misspend his time and weary himself in so fruitless a labour?), but that which concerneth myself, against whom they bend themselves in more special sort than any other, as it seemeth, because I have treatised, as Mr Higgons speaketh, of that subject which is the centre and circumference in all religious disputes; and because Mr Higgons is pleased to let us know his name, whereas the other conceal theirs (it being no small comfort for a man to know his adversary), I will do him all the kindness I can; and first begin with him, though he shewed himself last, and from him proceed to the rest. What it is that maketh him so much offended with me I cannot tell, but sure it is he hath a good will to offend me, for he chargeth me with trifling, egregious falsehood, collusion, unfaithful dealing, abusing the holy fathers, and I know not what else. But such is the shameless and apparent untruth of these horrible imputations, that it is altogether needless to spend time and bestow labour in the refutation of them. Yet because in the suspicion of heresy, falsehood, and unfaithful dealing in matters of faith and religion, no man ought to be patient, I will briefly take a view of his whole book; and though his beginning be abrupt and absurd, his whole discourse confused and perplexed, and all that he doth without order or method, yet to give satisfaction to all I will follow him the same way he goeth. I was unwilling (good Christian reader) to trouble thee with such discourses; but the restless importunity of our adversaries, setting every one at work to say something against us, forceth me thereunto. Read without partiality, and judge between us as God shall direct thee.

THE FIRST PART,

CONTAINING A DISCOVERY OF THE VANITY OF SUCH
SILLY EXCEPTIONS AS HAVE BEEN TAKEN
AGAINST THE FORMER FOUR BOOKS,
BY ONE THEOPHILUS HIGGONS.

(HIGGONS, Book I. Part I. § 1.)

THE first exception Master Higgons is pleased to take against me is, that in all my four books I have not graced any father with the glorious title of saint: his words are these¹: “I am bold to entreat D. Field’s leave to honour Augustine with the name of saint, howsoever he hath not once vouchsafed in his four books to grace him or any father with this glorious title.” It is strange that such a novice as he is should dare to begin in so scornful a manner, with so shameless an untruth, as if he had been an old practitioner in the faculty of lying; but his desire (it seemeth) was to give as good proof at first as possibly he might of the good service he is like to do, if his new masters will be pleased to make use of him, and employ him as they do others. For otherwise he could not but know he might easily be convinced of a lie; for I have given the title of saint to Augustine, that worthy and renowned father, more than once, twice, or thrice; and I call Leo blessed Leo, and so give him a title equivalent to that of saint, and more often found in the writings of the ancient. If happily it offend him, that every time I name any father I give him not the title of saint, let him take the pains to peruse the writings of Alexander of Hales, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Durandus, Waldensis, Sixtus Senensis, and other of that sort, and I doubt not but he will soon perceive his folly, and cease to be angry with me any longer, unless he be resolved to condemn them also. This surely is a childish and a bad beginning, and may make us justly fear he will perform little in that which followeth.

¹ Pag. 4.

(HIGGONS, Book I. Part I. § 2.)

That which he hath in the next place¹, that “D. Humphrey and I admit trial by the fathers,” is true, but to no purpose; for he and his consorts know right well that the fathers make nothing for them, and therefore they are soon weary of this course of trial, as often as they are brought to it, as it appeared by Harding’s writing against bishop Jewel. For whereas the Challenge was made by that worthy bishop to try the matter of difference between the Romanists and us, not only by discourse of reason, or testimonies of scripture, wherein all the world knew our adversaries to be too weak; but by the authorities of the ancient, wherein they were thought to have more strength; and whereas to that purpose he brought out against them all the renowned fathers and bishops that lived in ancient times, the decrees of councils then holden, and the report of historians; Harding could find none to speak for him but Martialis, Abdias, Amphilochius, and such branded counterfeits, nor no other proofs of his cause but the feigned epistles of the ancient popes, and shameless forgeries, under the honourable names of holy fathers, with other-like base stuff. The thing that offendeth Master Higgons in doctor Humphrey is, that he saith the Romanists are like Thrasilaus, who, in a mad humour, took all the ships in the Attic haven to be his own, though he possessed not one vessel: or, rather, maketh the degree of their frenzy greater because they see, and yet seeing dissemble, that they are destitute of all defence from the fathers. Which saying of the worthy and renowned doctor is most true, and shall be defended against a far better man than Theophilus Higgons, though childishly he charge him with notable and vast untruth in this behalf. Neither shall he, nor any of his great masters, ever prove that I have untruly alleged the cause why Luther, Zuinglius, and other, at the first seemed to decline the trial by the fathers²: for the true cause was indeed, as I have alleged, the fear of the corruptions of the fathers’ works and writings, and not any imagination that the fathers generally from the beginning were in error; which is so barbarous a conceit that it cannot enter into the heart of any reasonable man.

¹ Pag. 12 & 13.² [Field, Book IV. Chap. v. Vol. II. p. 407.]

Neither was it any folly in them (as this wise man is pleased to censure the matter) to decline the trial by the fathers in those times after barbarism, superstition, and tyranny, had so long prevailed, and almost laid waste all learning, religion, and liberty of the Church, seeing Vincentius Lirinensis¹ prescribeth, that after heresies have long prevailed and grown inveterate, we should fly to the scriptures alone.

(HIGGONS, Book I. Part I. § 3.)

In the third place he saith², “He was desirous to understand why, amongst other particulars, I should esteem it a folly and inconstancy in the Romanists to say, that purgatory is holden by tradition, and yet proved by scripture.” Which argueth, that the man is either very weak in understanding, or else maketh himself more simple than indeed he is. For having shewed that the name of tradition sometime signifieth every part of Christian doctrine, delivered from one to another, either by lively voice only, or by writing, sometimes such parts thereof only as were not written by them to whom they were first delivered; and that our adversaries so understand the word in the controversies between them and us; I note it as a contradiction amongst papists, that some of them say, purgatory is holden by tradition, in that latter sense, and other that it is proved by scripture: as likewise that some of them allege for proof of unwritten traditions the article of the consubstantiality of the Son of God with the Father, and the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from them both; and others constantly affirm that those articles may be proved out of scripture. Now if to be written, and not to be written, to be holden by unwritten tradition, or tradition opposite to writing, and to be proved out of scripture, be not contradictory in Master Higgons’s apprehension, it is no great matter of what side he be.

¹ Contra profanas hæreticorum novitates.

² Pag. 14 & 15.

(HIGGONS, Book I. Part I. § 4.)

In the fourth place he saith¹, I “accept the rule of St Augustine, that whatsoever is frequented by the universal Church, and was not instituted by councils, but was always holden, that is believed most rightly to be an apostolical tradition.” And that liberally I add, “that whatsoever all, or the most famous and renowned in all ages, (or at the least in divers ages) have constantly delivered, as received from them that went before them, no man doubting or contradicting it, may be thought to be an apostolical tradition¹.” Whence he thinketh he may conclude inevitably by my allowance, that prayer for the dead may be thought to be an apostolical tradition, many famous and renowned fathers in divers ages mentioning prayer for the dead, and none disliking or reproving it. For answer whereunto I say, that prayer for the resurrection, public acquittal in the day of judgment, and perfect consummation and bliss of them that are fallen asleep in the sleep of death, is an apostolical tradition, and so proved by the rule of St Augustine, and that other added by me; as likewise prayer made respectively to the passage hence, and entrance into the other world: and hereof there is no controversy between us and our adversaries. But prayer to ease, mitigate, suspend, or wholly take away the pains of any of them that are in hell, or to deliver men out of the supposed purgatory of papists, hath no proof from either of these rules, as shall appear by that which followeth; and therefore this poor novice hath not yet learned his lesson aright, nor knoweth what it is he is to prove. But if he will be content to be informed by me, the thing he must prove (if he desire to gratify his new masters, and to maintain the Romish cause) is, that all the fathers, or the most famous amongst them, from the beginning of Christianity, did in the several ages wherein they lived teach men to pray for the deliverance of their friends and brethren out of the pains of purgatory; which if he will undertake to do, he must bring some better proofs than such as are taken from the mutual dependence and conjunction of purgatory and prayer for the dead; which yet

¹ Pag. 17 & 18. ² [Field, Book IV. Chap. xxi. Vol. II. p. 471.]

principally he seemeth to urge. For many catholic Christians (whom this gentleman must not condemn) made prayers for such as they never deemed to be in purgatory. Neither did the ancient catholic Church (as he fondly imagineth) in her prayers and oblations for the dead, intend to relieve souls temporally afflicted in a penal state; but in her general intention (whatsoever private conceits particular men had) desired only the resurrection, public acquittal, and perfect consummation and blessedness of the departed, and respectively to the passage hence, and entrance into the other world, the utter deletion, and full remission of their sins, the perfect purging out of sin being in or immediately upon the dissolution in the last instant of this life, and the first of the next, and not while the soul and body remain conjoined. This is strongly proved, because the most ancient amongst the fathers make but two sorts of men dying and departing out of this world, the one sinners, the other righteous; the one profane, the other holy: so Dionysius in his *Hierarchy*; so Epiphanius against Acrius; so Ambrose in his book *de Bono Mortis*; and Cyril of Hierusalem in his *Catechism*; and all of them teach that the souls of the just are in a joyful, happy, and good estate, and present with God, in an excellent sort, immediately upon their dissolution, and departure hence. *Obdormitio sanctorum*, saith Dionysius¹, *est in lætitia, et spe immobili, quia pervenerunt ad finem certaminum, et norunt se totos percepturos Christi-formem requiem*; that is, “the falling asleep of the holy ones is in joy and gladness, and immoveable hope, because they are come to the end of their combats:” and again, “they know they shall altogether be partakers of the rest of Christ, being come to the end and bound of this life: so that they are filled with holy joy and gladness, and with great delight and pleasure enter the way of the most happy regeneration. Whereupon the friends and kinsmen of any faithful man departed, when they carry him to his bed of rest, pronounce him blessed, as indeed he is, having obtained the wished end of victory, and send forth hymns of gratulation to God, that hath made him a conqueror, and praying that they also may

¹ Ἡ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐστὶ κοίμησις ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀσαλεύτοις ἐλπίσιν εἰς τὸ τῶν θείων ἀγώνων ἀφικνουμένη πέρας.—Dionys. Eccles. Hier. cap. 7. [Tom. i. p. 406.]

be admitted into the like rest, carry him to the bishop to be crowned with garlands, who praiseth the departed as being in a most happy condition; and amongst other, the party presently dead as being a companion of saints, and partaker of like happiness with them. After this his body is laid up with other already fallen asleep in the Lord; comfortable places of scripture are read touching the resurrection and blessed hope of the just; and the bishop prayeth God to forgive unto him all his sins committed through human infirmity, and to place him in the land of the living in the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." Thus doth Dionysius¹ teach, that the souls of all faithful ones are at rest with God immediately upon their departure hence; and yet sheweth that the bishop was wont to pray for the departed at the time he was brought to his bed of rest; which things seeming not well to agree together, he demandeth what good the prayer of the bishop doth the dead, seeing every one shall receive the rewards of the things he did in this life, whether good or bad; and prayers have no force to put any man after death into any other estate than that he is worthy of when he dieth? Whereunto he answereth, that by desiring and wishing that good to the departed which God hath promised, and of his mercy undoubtedly will do unto them, he accompanieth them to the presence of God, and the place of rest which he hath appointed for them, solemnly conveying them thither with his desires, and as having the power of binding and loosing, and discerning between the holy and profane, separateth in a sort (by the solemn good wishes he sendeth after them) such as God hath adjudged to eternal happiness, from other not partakers of like precious hope with them: admitting the one (as dear unto God) by way of declaration, and convoy, into their resting-place, and rejecting the other. So that the prayers Dionysius speaketh of were made respectively to the departure hence, and first entrance into the other world, and were nothing else but an accompanying of the faithful departed to the throne of God, with desire of that utter deletion of sin, and full remission of the same, which is not to be found but in the dissolution of soul and body, and in the first entrance into the other world; but of any relieving men temporally afflicted in a penal estate

¹ Eodem cap. 3. [p. 407.]

after this life he never dreamed. Irenæus¹ is of opinion that the souls of the faithful go into a certain invisible place, and are there stayed till the resurrection. But of purgatory, as Erasmus² noteth, he maketh no mention. Justin Martyr³ teacheth, that after the departure out of the body there is presently a separation made between the souls of the just and the unjust, and that they are carried into places worthy of them, and fit for them; that is to say, the souls of the just into Paradise, where they enjoy the company of angels and archangels, as also the sight of our Saviour Jesus Christ; but those of the unjust and wicked into infernal places. Tertullian saith⁴, “There is a place whither the souls of good and evil men are carried, and where they have a kind of forejudging and discerning of that which shall be adjudged to them in the last judgment.” And again he saith⁵, that every soul, immediately upon the departure hence, is in this appointed invisible place, having there either pain, or ease and refreshing: that there the rich man is in pain, and the poor in a comfortable estate; for, saith he, why should we not think that the souls are tormented, or refreshed, in this invisible place, appointed for them, in expectation of the future judgment, *in quadam usurpatione et candida ejus*? The judgment, doubtless, is begun there: so that neither is good altogether wanting to the innocent, nor the sense and feeling of evil to the nocent. Here we see Tertullian maketh but two sorts of men departing hence: and that he thinketh that presently after their departure hence, the good are in

¹ “Manifestum est quia et discipulorum ejus, propter quos et hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abibunt in invisibilem locum, definitum eis a Deo. Et ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur.”—Iren. adv. Hæres. Lib. v. fin. [p. 338. fol. Bas. 1526.]

² “In altero loco videtur sentire animas exutas corpore non statim frui glorificante visione Dei; sed abditas servari in diem resurrectionis: de purgatorio nulla mentio.”—Erasm. in argumento, lib. v. [p. 293.]

³ Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἔξοδον, εὐθὺς γίνεται τῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων ἡ διαστολή. Ἀγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς ἀξίους αὐτῶν τόπους· αἱ μὲν τῶν δικαίων ψυχαὶ εἰς τὸν Παράδεισον, ἔνθα συντυχία τε καὶ θεία ἀγγέλων τε καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων· κατ’ ὀπτασίαν δὲ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, Ἐκδημοῦντες ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἐνδημοῦντες πρὸς τὸν Κύριον· αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων ψυχαὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἄδῃ τόπους.—Just. Mart. ad Quæst. Orthod. lxxv. [p. 436. fol. Par. 1636.]

⁴ De Trin. in initio. [al. Novatian. de Trin. cap. 1. ad calc. Tertull. p. 707. c.]

⁵ Lib. de Anima, cap. 33, 34. [p. 288, 9.]

a kind of imperfect possession or enjoying of that good they look for hereafter: and the evil and wicked, in a kind of state wherein they already begin to taste of those everlasting miseries that shall swallow them up in the day of judgment. So that, according to his opinion, there is no purgatory nor state of temporal pain and affliction after this life out of which there is hope of escape or deliverance. Gregory Nazianzen, in his oration made in the praise of Cæsarius¹, after many comforts against the sorrows conceived for the loss of so worthy a man, addeth this, as the chiefest of all other: *Verbis sapientum adducor ut credam generosam omnem, Deoque caram animam, posteaquam corporis vinculis soluta hinc excesserit, protinus bonum quod eam manet, persentientem, et contemplantem, (utpote eo quod mentem caligine obducebat, vel purgato, vel abjecto, vel quo verbo ea res appellanda sit nescio) mirabili quadam voluptate affici, et exsultare, atque hac vita veluti gravissimo quodam ergastulo relictæ, excussisque compedibus, quibus animi penna deprimi solebat, hilarem ad Dominum suum convolare, beatitudinem recondita imaginatione quadam jam percipere.* That is, “I am induced and moved by the sayings of the wise to believe, that every generous soul, and such as is beloved of God, presently after the loosing from the bonds of the body and departure hence, (that which darkened the mind being either purged out or cast from it, or done away in what sort I cannot well express,) beginneth sensibly to discern and behold that good which remaineth for it, to be filled with wonderful delights, and to leap for joy; and that leaving this life as a most grievous prison, and having cast off those fetters that depressed and held her down, desiring to mount up on high with her silver wings, she flieth joyfully to her Lord, and presently, in a certain apprehension, beginneth to taste of that hidden happiness that shall be revealed.” Epiphanius², speaking of the godly departed, remembered in the prayers of the Church, saith, “they are and live with God.” Ambrose³

¹ [Orat. vii. § 21. Tom. i. p. 212.]

² Πιστεύειν μὲν . . . ὅτι οἱ ἀπελθόντες ζῶσι, καὶ ἐν ἀνευπαρξίᾳ οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ εἰσὶ, καὶ ζῶσι παρὰ τῷ δεσπότῃ.—Epiphan. Hæres. LXXV. [§ 7. Tom. i. p. 911. A.]

³ “Ergo dum expectatur plenitudo temporum, expectant animæ

is more full to this purpose than any of the former, for in his book *de Bono Mortis*, first he saith, "All souls remain in certain habitations till the day of judgment, whence they shall be called forth in that great day of resurrection." Secondly, that "till the fulness of time appointed they all are holden in an expectation of the reward due unto them, and are not in full possession of it." Thirdly, that "in the mean time neither the souls of the wicked are without some present sense of evil, nor the other without some enjoying of good." The joy of the good and righteous he sheweth to be in respect of the victory which they have obtained over the flesh, the divine testimony which they have in their consciences of their former walking in the ways of God, making them not to fear the future judgment, their escape out of the prison of the body of death, the liberty they are come to, and the possession of the promised inheritance, &c. Here we see plainly that Ambrose maketh but two sorts of men, two sorts of souls separated from the body, and two estates; assuring us that all good faithful ones ordained to eternal life are presently after their separation in a state of happiness, boldly hastening to the view and sight of that God whom they have so carefully served: to which purpose he allegeth that of the prophet to the angel¹; "Shall there be given a time to souls after they are separated, that they may see the thing thou hast spoken of?" And the angel's answer, "Seven days shall their liberty endure, that in those seven days they may see the things that have been spoken, and after they shall be gathered into their dwelling-places;" out of which (as I noted before) he thinketh they shall not be called till the resurrection; so that, according to the opinion of St Ambrose, there is no place of temporal pain and punishment after this life appointed for the souls of men dying in state of grace.

Neither was this the opinion of Dionysius, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Nazianzen, Epiphanius, and Ambrose only, but all the ancient were of the same judgment, touching the state of the faithful departed; and therefore never any of them made any prayers for the delivering of them out of

remunerationem debitam. Alias manet poena, alias gloria: et tamen nec illæ interim sine injuria, nec istæ sine fructu sunt."—Ambros. *de Bono Mortis*, cap. 10. [Tom. i. col. 408. D.]

¹ [2. al. 4. Esdr. vii. 32.]

temporal pain and punishment; but, as it hath been before observed, they made prayers for them respectively to their passage out of this world, and the entrance into the other; as also for their resurrection, public acquittal in the day of judgment, and perfect consummation. This the mass-book, and all the prayers that are found in any ancient books of ecclesiastical prayers, do clearly shew. George Cassander hath published a book of ecclesiastical prayers, gathered out of the old liturgies and books of divine service that he could meet with; amongst which there are many *pro commendatione animæ*; some few of them I will produce for example¹. The first: "We beseech Thy clemency, O God, mercifully to receive the soul of Thy servant returning unto Thee. Let Michael the angel of thy covenant be present with it, and vouchsafe to place it amongst Thy saints and holy ones in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; that being freed and delivered from the princes of darkness, and the places of punishment, he may be confounded with no errors of his first birth, of ignorance, or of his own iniquity and frailty; but that rather he may be acknowledged of Thine, and enjoy the rest of holy blessedness; and that when the day of the great judgment shall come, being raised up amongst Thy saints and chosen ones, he may be satisfied with the glory of the clear beholding of Thee." The second: "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to give to Thy servant a lightsome place, a place of refreshing and quiet; let him pass by the gates of hell, and the punishments of darkness; let him remain in the mansions of the saints, and in holy light, which of old Thou promisedst to Abraham, and to his seed; let his spirit sustain no hurt; but when the great day of resurrection and reward shall come, vouchsafe to raise him, together with Thy saints and chosen ones; blot out and do away his sins, even to the uttermost farthing; and let him attain the life of immortality with Thee." The third: "Receive the soul of Thy servant which Thou ledest out of the dirty and miry gulf of this world to the heavenly country; receive it into the bosom of Abraham; bedew it with the dew of refreshing; and let it be kept apart from the cruel burning of the fiery and flaming hell." The fourth: "Grant that Thy servant may escape the place of punishment, the fire of hell, and the flames of the lowest gulf." The like may be shewed in the rest, for

¹ [p. 383.]

they are all framed to the same purpose, for the escaping of hell, the power of the prince of darkness, and the devouring gulf of eternal condemnation: all which things, in the judgment of our adversaries themselves, are granted unto men dying in the faith of Christ, and state of grace, in the very entrance into the other world, and the first instant of the next life: so that all the prayers that we find in the ancient were made respectively to the passing hence, and entrance into the other world, with desire of the resurrection and perfect consummation which we expect in the last day; and because this passage is often past, and they that are departed already entered into their rest, before their friends whom they leave behind them can send so many good wishes after them as they desire, it was an ordinary thing with the ancient, in their prayers, to acknowledge and profess they were persuaded the thing was already granted and performed which they desired; and to beseech God, notwithstanding, to accept their voluntary devotions and good affections. In this sort Augustine¹ prayeth for Monica, his mother, "That God will keep her from the powers and princes of darkness, and remit her sins:" and yet saith, "He believeth it is already done that he asketh." So Nazianzen² professeth his assured persuasion, that Cæsarius is with God, and yet commendeth him to God. And the like we find in Ambrose³ touching Valentinian. By all which it is evident, that the ancient prayed not to deliver the departed out of purgatory, or any estate of temporal affliction; but on their obit days acknowledged the goodness of God towards them, preventing all desires of men, declared their readiness to entreat for them, if they were in need or danger, and not past before they could send their good wishes after them, and expressed their desires of the perfecting and accomplishing of all that which is yet wanting to them. And as the ancient were wont to pray for their brethren and friends on the days of their obits, and the deposition of their bodies respectively to their passage hence, and the escaping of the dangers of hell, and eternal death in the same; so in like sort⁴, in process of time, in those days wherein their obits

¹ Confess. Lib. ix. cap. 13. [Tom. i. col. 170.]

² Ubi supra.

³ In Orat. de obitu Valent. [Tom. ii. col. 1188.]

⁴ Bellarm. de Purgat. Lib. ii. cap. 5.

were remembered, and by return of times represented to them, they used the same form of prayer again, as if they had been but even then in the passage hence, and in danger of hell and the powers of darkness. But as on the days of the birth, circumcision, apparition, passion, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, (for so we call the days answering to these, and representing them to us, signs and remembrances, carrying the names of the things themselves,) men so speak, as if God did then send his Son into the world to be born of a woman, to be made under the law, to suffer, overcome, and triumph over death, and by ascending into heaven, to take possession thereof for us; and yet mean not (as the words may seem to import) that Christ doth newly take flesh, and is born of the Virgin, &c.: but that he is born unto us, and we made partakers of the benefits of his birth, circumcision, passion, &c.:—so in the days wherein they remembered the obits of their brethren and friends as then present, and prayed for them as then in passage hence, and in danger to be swallowed up of hell and destruction; they desired not that which the words may seem to import, (for that was granted to them on their dying days, or else they are incapable of it for ever,) but that which is yet wanting to them. In which sense the words of that prayer in the mass-book must be understood¹: “Lord Jesus, king of glory, deliver the souls of all faithful ones departed from the hand of hell, and from the deep lake; deliver them from the mouth of the lion, that the lowest hell swallow them not up, and that they fall not into the dungeons of utter darkness; but let thy standard-bearer, holy Michael, present them into the place of holy light, which of old thou didst promise to Abraham, and to his seed.” For these dangers of falling into the deep lake, the mouth of the lion, the dungeons of utter darkness, and being swallowed up of the lowest hell, the dead in Christ escaped in the day and time of their dissolution; neither is there anything to be wished farther unto them in this behalf; but that public acquittal, and full and perfect escape in the day of judgment, according to that other prayer found in the Missal²: “O gracious God, which calledst back the first man to eternal glory; O good shepherd, which broughtest back the lost sheep upon Thy shoulder to the fold; righteous judge, when Thou shalt

¹ Offic. pro Defunctis in Anniversariis. [fol. xciii.] ² Ubi supra.

come to judge, deliver from death the souls of them whom Thou hast redeemed; deliver not the souls of them which confess unto Thee, unto the beasts; forsake them not for ever." In all these prayers there is no word of petition for the deliverance of the dead out of any pains or punishments; but for their escaping, avoiding, declining, and not falling into hell, eternal condemnation, the power of Satan, and the mouth of the lion.

It is true, that some long since began to pray to deliver men out of pains and punishments; or to suspend, mitigate, and ease their pains; but in such sort as the Romanists dare not pray. It was an opinion of many, who otherwise were right believers, that all Christians professing the truth in Christ, how ill soever they live, shall be saved in the end. *Frustra nonnulli*, saith St Augustine¹, *immo quamplurimi, æternam damnatorum pœnam, et cruciatus sine intermissione perpetuos, humano miserantur affectu; atque ita futurum esse non credunt*: that is, "There are some, nay, there are exceeding many, who out of an human affection commiserate the eternal punishments of the damned, and their torments that are without ceasing:" these men thought the sayings of Christ and his apostles concerning the eternal punishments of the wicked, were uttered rather *minaciter* than *veraciter*; and that they rather shew what men, according to their deserving, should suffer, than what indeed they shall suffer. Hence it came, that many did pray for the deliverance of men out of hell that died in mortal sin. This opinion Damascene² followed; and whereas the prophet asketh, "Who shall confess unto thee, O Lord, in hell?" he answereth, that "The threats of the judge are terrible, but his unspeakable mercy exceedeth all:" and is of opinion, that Christ when he went down to hell delivered such as had lived honestly, though without the knowledge of God, preaching unto them, and persuading them to believe in him; which he saith, is not to contradict the prophet, but to shew that God is overcome of his mercy, as he was in the case of the inhabitants of Ninive, Ezechias, and Achab, to whom that was threatened, which yet mercy staid that it should not be executed. This mercy he thinketh shall prevail and overcome

¹ Aug. in Ench. ad Laur. cap. 3. [Tom. vi. col. 238. E.]

² De dormientibus. [p. 516. ed. fol. Par. 1619.]

till the time of retribution come, and the time of negotiation be past; so that till the day of judgment we may help them that are in hell, but that afterwards there shall be no place left for the relieving of any there, or the delivering of any thence. The same Damascene¹ teacheth, that all men when they depart hence are weighed in the balance; and that if their well-doings and virtues in the right scale weigh down the other, they shall be brought into a place of refreshing; that if the scales be equal, mercy carrieth it; if the evil doings in the left scale be too heavy, mercy supplieth that which is wanting to the weight of the right scale; yea, that though their evil doings do much exceed their virtues when they are weighed, yet the exceeding goodness and mercy of God shall sway the matter for their good; and pronounceth, that in whomsoever any conscience of good at any time appeared, God will stir up the hearts of men to pray for them, that they may be delivered; and that none shall perish everlastingly, but such as lived so vilely that no man sendeth a good wish after them when they are gone. Hereupon he bringeth forth sundry examples of men delivered out of the hell of the damned by the prayers of the living: for first, he saith, that all the East and West know that Gregory the Great prayed for Trajan, an infidel and a persecutor of Christians in the time wherein he lived, almost five hundred years after his death, moved so to do by the consideration of some virtues that were in him; and received this comfortable answer from God: "I have heard thy prayers, and do pardon Trajan; but see hereafter thou offer no more sacrifice unto me for any godless, unbelieving, and profane person." Secondly, he reporteth that Tecla the protomartyr, by the prayers which she poured forth to God while she lived, delivered Falconilla out of hell, who was a worshipper of idols, and averse from Christian religion as long as she lived. Another tale he telleth of a dissolute man continuing in a wicked course of life even till his end; who appeared to a good father after his death in flaming fire, first up to the neck, afterwards, upon the prayers that were made for him, up to the girdle only; so finding ease and deliverance out of his torments. This opinion was very prevailing in Augustine's time, and therefore with all modesty he opposeth himself against it,

¹ Ubi supra.

and sheweth himself willing to yield as much to them that were so minded, as possibly he might; and saith¹, if they would only have the pains of the damned to be mitigated, or wholly suspended till the day of judgment, and acknowledge them to be eternal, he would not greatly strive with them. Upon this conceit of the mitigation or suspension of the pains of such as are in hell, many in former times made prayers for the damned in hell. Damascene² reporteth, out of the sacred history of Palladius to Lausus that Macarius the Great, praying oftentimes for the dead, and carefully seeking to know whether his prayers did help or profit them anything or not, a certain dry skull of a dead man who had been an idolater, which by chance lay in the way, by the commandment of God, brake forth into the lively voice of a man, saying, "O Macarius, when thou offerest up thy prayers for the dead, we for the time find some ease." Præpositivus, presbyter of the Church of Leoden, was of opinion³ that prayers for the damned may be multiplied in such sort, that in process of time they may be freed from all pain and punishment, though not perpetually, as Origen thought, yet till the time of the general resurrection, at what time (their bodies resumed) they shall be cast into everlasting punishments, without all hope of any refreshing or comfort. Gilbertus Pictaviensis supposed⁴ that there is something continually taken away from the pains of the damned by the prayers and oblations of the faithful, without any consumption of them, or utter taking of them away: as infinite proportionable parts may be taken from a line without consuming of it, though itself be finite. Gulielmus Antisiodorensis thinketh⁵ that prayers be available and helpful to the damned, not to diminish or interrupt their torments, but to strengthen the sufferers, that so the burden that lieth on them may be borne by them with the less pain: as if a man give meat to him that is ready to faint under his burden, or wine that cheereth his heart, he maketh him the better able to bear it, though he no whit diminish the weight of it.

Thus we see there is no such "mutual dependence and

¹ Ench. ad Laur. cap. 67. [col. 221.]

² Ubi supra.

³ Sixtus Senensis, Biblioth. Sanctæ, Lib. vi. annot. 47. [p. 442.]

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

connexion of purgatory and prayer for the dead," as Theophilus Higgons¹ childishly imagineth: and that many prayed for the dead that never dreamed of purgatory, some praying only for the resurrection, public acquittal, and perfect consummation of the dead, and respectively to their passage hence, and entrance into the other world, for the remission of their sins, and their escaping of hell, and everlasting destruction: other, out of an erroneous conceit for the deliverance of men dead in mortal sin out of the hell of the damned, or for mitigation of their pains, or at least the suspension of them for a time, as Damascene and sundry others before mentioned; and therefore the poor novice is to be put in mind, that he grossly abuseth himself and others when so sadly he citeth St John Damascene², for proof of the deliverance of men out of purgatory, that speaketh no word of any such thing, but of the deliverance out of hell, or the mitigation of the pains of them that be there; which he should not do that talketh of nothing but "falsehood, notable untruths, and collusion" in our writers, especially seeing Bellarmine's³ grace telleth him, that the author of the book under the name of Damascene, writeth so absurdly, that we may assure ourselves Damascene was not the author of it. Having thus out of the writings of the fathers delivered the sense and purpose of the ancient Church in praying for the dead, it is strange that this shameless companion should charge me with "collusion⁴," there being no part of that I have said, that he, or any other, can except against, nor anything concealed by me that is found in the ancient touching this point. I would desire him therefore to tell me, if he can, wherein I informed him amiss, as he saith I did? For, first, I shewed that there was an ancient custom of commemorating the departed, of rehearsing their names, and offering the sacrifice of praise for them, to express the assurance Christian men have of the immortality of the soul, and their hope of the resurrection. Secondly, that this sacrifice of the Eucharist, that is of praise and thanksgiving, was offered for the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and the blessed mother of Christ, and every soul at rest in the faith of Christ: for proof whereof I produce the Liturgy that goeth under the

¹ Book i. Pt. i. chap. 2. § 3. [p. 19.]

² Pag. 55.

³ De Purgat. Lib. ii. cap. 8.

⁴ Pag. 31.

name of Chrysostom. Thirdly, that the ancient prayed for the souls of men in their passage hence, and entrance into the other world. Fourthly, that they prayed for the resurrection, public acquittal in the day of judgment, and perfect consummation of the departed; all which customs and observations I allow and approve. Fifthly, that some prayed for the remission or mitigation of the pains of men in hell. Sixthly, that some other, out of a conceit that there is no judgment yet passed, and that none of the just enter into heaven till the resurrection, prayed for their admittance into those heavenly palaces, and into the presence of God; but that none of the ancient ever prayed to deliver men out of purgatory. What collusion or what unfaithful dealing doth Master Higgon find in any of these passages? Yet the faithless and perfidious apostata having, as he saith¹, “experience of my unfaithful dealing, directed himself to four considerations,” whereof the first is, “that it is vanity in us Protestants to accept and refuse the Liturgy of Chrysostom at our pleasure;” the second, “that Chrysostom did pray for the dead;” the third, “that it was by way of thanksgiving, and not of petition, that the Church offered sacrifice to God for the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, &c.,” the fourth, “that in the Liturgy of Chrysostom there is prayer for the dead.” To the first of these wise considerations I answer, that we do not accept and refuse the Liturgy of Chrysostom at our pleasures, but that we admit it so far forth only as we find the things it hath in it confirmed out of the indubitate writings of the ancient, and in other things rely not much upon the credit of it. Now that which I allege it for hath proof out of Epiphanius and others; and therefore I might rightly allege it as I did, and doubt of the credit and authority of it in some other things. To the second we say, Chrysostom did pray for the dead; not to deliver them out of purgatory, whereof he never dreamed, nor any Greek father that ever lived; but in such a sort as Master Higgon dareth not pray, namely, for the ease of men in hell. Chrysostom, saith Sixtus Senensis², in his three-and-thirtieth Homily upon Matthew, interpreting these words³, “The damsel is not dead,

¹ Pag. 32.

² Biblioth. Sanct. Lib. vi. annot. 47. [p. 442.]

³ Εἰ γὰρ καὶ βάρβαροι συγκατακαίουσι τοῖς ἀπέλθουσι τὰ ὄντα, πολλῶ μᾶλλον σε συναποστεῖλαι τῷ τετελευκότε δίκαιον τὰ αὐτοῦ· οὐχ' ἵνα τέφρα

but sleepeth," treating of the care that is to be taken for the dead, fell, in a sort, into the opinion of them who think that the suffrages and prayers that are made here in the Church do profit as well those that are damned in hell, as those that enjoy eternal glory. For there he hath these words: "If many barbarous nations do use to consume in fire, together with the dead, the things that pertain to them, how much more oughtest thou to deliver to thy son departed such things as he possessed, not to be burnt to ashes, but that they may make him more glorious! Supposest thou that he went hence defiled with spots and stains? Give unto him the things he had when he lived, that he may wash away those spots. Supposest thou that he departed in righteousness? Give them to him for the increase of his reward." And again, that prayers and oblations do bring some refreshing to them that departed hence without repentance, the same Chrysostom seemeth to shew in his third Homily upon the Epistle to the Philippians, where he speaketh to them that bewail the dead more than is seemly in this sort¹: "Bewail them that died in the midst of great riches, and procured with their riches no consolation to their souls; who, when they had power to wash away their sins would not so do: let us weep for those, but with seemly modesty: let us help them what we can; let us procure unto them some help, though small; yet let us help them. But how, or in what sort? Let us pray, and exhort others to pray for them. Let us, without ceasing, give alms to the poor for them: this thing hath some comfort doubtless, &c." To the third consideration I say, that the ancient offered for the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, &c. by way of thanksgiving, princi-

γένηται, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα, ἀλλ' ἵνα πλείονα τούτῳ περιβάλῃ δόξαν. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἁμαρτωλὸς ἀπῆλθεν, ἵνα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα λύσῃ· εἰ δὲ δίκαιος, ἵνα προσθήκη γένηται μισθοῦ καὶ ἀντιδόσεως.—Hom. xxxi. in Matt. [Ed. Ben. Tom. vii. p. 362. c.]

¹ Κλαῦσον τοὺς ἐν πλούτῳ τετελευτηκότας, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλούτου παραμυθίαν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς ἐπινοησάντας, τοὺς λαβόντας ἐξουσίαν ἀπολούσασθαι αὐτῶν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, καὶ μὴ βουλευθέντας Κλαίωμεν οὖν τούτους, βοηθῶμεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ δύναμιν, ἐπινοήσωμεν αὐτοῖς τινα βοήθειαν, μικρὰν μὲν, βοηθεῖν δ' ὅμως δυνάμενον. Πῶς, καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ; Αὐτοί τε εὐχόμενοι, καὶ ἑτέροις παρακαλοῦντες εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, πένησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδόντες συνεχῶς. Ἔχει τινὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα παραμυθίαν, κ.τ.λ.—Id. Hom. iii. in Philip. [Tom. xi. p. 217. c.]

pally, but in a sort also by way of petition; which this good man also confesseth¹, and bringeth Gerson's authority to prove they might do so; who saith² that as it is not absurdly delivered by the learned divines that there is an addition or increase of accidental felicity in the saints: so it is not inconvenient if in this respect also we recommend them to God in our devotions. To which purpose it seemeth to be that Gregory³ ordaineth, that men shall pray in this sort in the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist: "We have received, O Lord, the divine mysteries, which as they profit thy saints for their glory, so we beseech thee that they may profit us for our health." And Chrysostom willeth the living parents to give something out of their substance to their children departed, though they suppose they are departed in the state of righteousness, for the increase of their reward. Touching the fourth and last consideration of this considerate and advised young man, we confess that Chrysostom, or the author of the Liturgy that goeth under his name, whosoever he was, teacheth men to pray unto God, to remember all them that are fallen asleep in the hope of the resurrection of eternal life, and to make them to be at rest, where the light of his countenance is seen: but that this form of prayer must be understood in the same sense that the other in the missal is, wherein men are taught to pray to God to deliver the souls of all faithful ones departed from the hand of hell, from the deep lake, and from the mouth of the lion, that the lowest hell swallow them not up, and that they fall not into the dungeons of utter darkness: or else as proceeding from that opinion that Sixtus Senensis speaketh of⁴, that the souls of the just are not in heaven-happiness till the resurrection; and not of any deliverance out of purgatory. For there is not any the least signification of the desire of easing men temporally afflicted in another world, expressed in any prayer found in Chrysostom's Liturgy. Neither doth it any way contrary any thing that we profess, that he teacheth men to pray to God to grant what is yet wanting to the faithful departed, or to such as are

¹ Pag. 33. ² Part i. Lect. i. super Marcum. [Tom. i. col. 89.]

³ In Lib. Sacrament. citat. a Sixto Senens. Lib. vi. Biblioth. Sanctæ annotat. 47. [p. 442.]

⁴ Bibliothecæ Sanctæ, Lib. vi. annotat. 345. [p. 555.]

alive, at the suit and supplication of the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, &c. For seeing it is confessed by us that the saints in heaven do pray for us in a generality, we may desire of God the granting of such things as we or others need, not only upon our own suit, but much more for that there are so many suppliants to him for us, not in earth alone, but in heaven also, though without sense or knowledge of our particular wants. So that there is nothing found in Chrysostom either touching prayer for the dead, or invocation of saints, that maketh anything for the confirmation of popish errors. For neither doth Chrysostom in that Liturgy pray for the ease of men in purgatory, neither doth he invoke any saint, but calleth upon God only, though not without hope of being heard the rather, for that not only the faithful on earth, but the saints in heaven also make petition for him. But Master Higgons asketh¹, “why I concealed these things?” To whom I answer, that I did not conceal any of them: for, howsoever citing some other parts of Chrysostom’s Liturgy to another purpose, I had no reason to bring in these passages, being altogether impertinent to my purpose and the matter in hand, yet in other places I have shewed at large the ancient practice in all these things; and therefore this seduced runagate, whom Satan the tempter hath beguiled, had no reason to compare me to the tempter leaving out certain words in the text he alleged unto Christ.

(HIGGONS, Book I. Part I. § 5.)

In the next place he objecteth to us the heresy of Arius², condemned by Augustine, amongst many other impious heresies; and Augustine’s conclusion, that “whosoever maintaineth any of the heretical opinions condemned by him is no catholic Christian;” and telleth us, that this censure toucheth us very near; but that I demean myself plausibly, and artificially, to avoid the pressure of that difficulty which is too heavy for me to bear³. Whereunto I briefly answer, that I

¹ Pag. 33.

² Pag. 34.

³ [“How nerely this censure appertayneth unto us Protestants, the sequelo will declare. Meanewhile, it may please you to observe with me, how plausibly, and artificially D. Field demeaneth himself,

demean not myself artificially to avoid the force of any truth, which I esteem and value above all treasures in the world, but in all sincerity unfold those things which papists seek to wrap up in perplexed and intricate disputes, to the entangling of the readers. For I shew that the naming of the names of the departed, the offering of the sacrifice of praise for them, the praying for their resurrection, public acquittal, and perfect consummation and bliss in the day of Christ; yea, the praying for their deliverance from the hand of hell and the mouth of the lion, and the utter deletion and remission of their sins respectively to their passage hence and first entrance into the other world, are not disliked by us: and that thus far the general intention of the Church extended; but that, to pray for the deliverance of men out of hell, or for the mitigation or suspension of the punishments that are in hell, was but the private devotion of some particular men, doubtfully and erroneously extending the public prayers of the Church farther than they were meant and intended by her; and that in this particular they fell from the truth; which, if M. Theophilus Higgon shall deny, and justify such kind of prayers for the dead, we will be bold to call him by his new name Theomismus. But he is "desirous to know of me, or any other, without lies, obscurities, and circuitions, whether Cyril of Hierusalem, concurring absolutely with the papists in this point of prayer for the dead, and Augustine agreeing with him, fell away from the truth or not¹." That he professeth himself an enemy to lies, obscurities, and circuitions, the best sanctuaries of their evil cause, I greatly marvel; and fear, that if he give over the advantage, which he and his companions are wont to make thereof, this his first book will be his last. But in that he saith, Cyril of Hierusalem concurreth absolutely with the papists in the matter of prayer for the dead, and Augustine with him, he doth as seemeth him: for he uttereth lies and untruths, which before unadvisedly he condemned. For first, it is most certain that Cyril² maketh but two sorts of men departing out of this life, sinners and righteous; and that he thinketh, as Chrysostom to escape the pressure of that difficulty, which is too heavy for him to beare."—p. 34.]

¹ Pag. 35.

² [Vide Cateches. iv. § 19. p. 63. fol. Oxon. 1703.]

also doth, and after them Damascene, and many other, that wicked and sinful men in hell may find some ease, and be relieved by the prayers of the living; but of purgatory he speaketh not. Touching Augustine, he dissenteth altogether from this opinion of Chrysostom, Cyril, and Damascene; and thinketh¹ that the prayers of the Church, for such as excelled in goodness, are thanksgivings to God; for such as died impenitently in grievous sins, comforts of the living, but no helps of the dead; for those that were neither exceeding good, nor exceeding evil, propitiations and means to obtain favour and remission. But whether they of this middle sort be in any penal estate after death, or whether by the mercy of God, and working of his grace, the prayers of the living accompanying them, they be freed from sin, and the punishment of it, in the first entrance into the other world, he resolveth nothing; and therefore there was no cause why this good man, “reflecting,” as he saith², “upon my assertion, should be amazed to behold such a repugnancy between these things,” to wit, “Augustine ran doubtingly into the opinion of purgatory; and yet he affirmeth, there is no doubt but that some sins are remitted in the other world, and that some souls may be relieved by prayer.” For in the judgment of wiser men than Master Higgons, these things imply no contradiction; and therefore the Grecians admit the latter of them, and yet deny purgatory. Yea, in their Apology touching purgatory³, they say, if there be remission of sins after this life, there is no enduring of the punishments due to sin, it being one thing to have remission of a sin or fault, and another to suffer the extremity of punishment it deserveth. That there is therefore remission of sins of a middle sort of men after this life, in the entrance into the other world, Augustine made no doubt; and to that purpose he alleged the saying of Christ, concerning the sin that is neither remitted in this world, nor the other: from

¹ “Neque negandum est, defunctorum animas pietate suorum viventium relevari, cum pro illis sacrificium Mediatoris offertur, vel eleemosynæ in ecclesia fiunt. Sed eis hæc prosunt, qui cum viverent, ut hæc sibi postea possent prodesse, meruerunt, &c.”—August. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 110. [Tom. vi. col. 238. A.]

² Pag. 113.

³ [Ad calc. Nili, de Primatu Papæ, ed. Salmas. p. 69. 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1645.]

thence to infer, that some sins are remitted after this life. But whether there be any purgatory-punishments after this life or not, he was ever doubtful; as appeareth by sundry places in his works, where he saith¹, "Perhaps there is some such thing: it is not incredible that there is some such thing; and whether there be or not, it may be found out, or it may be hid:" neither will it follow, that because he maketh three estates of men dying, whereof some are so good that we have rather cause to give God thanks for them, than to pray; others so ill, that they cannot be relieved; and a third sort, that need our prayers, and may be relieved by them; that therefore there is a third place, wherein they are to be temporally afflicted. For all this may be in the passage hence, and entrance into the other world; the prayers of the living accompanying them, and God purging out that which is impure, and remitting that which offendeth him, in this middle sort of men, even in that first entrance into the state of the other world. And surely Augustine himself, in his own prayer² for Monica, his mother, never speaketh one word of releasing her out of pain or punishment; but prayeth God not to enter into judgment with her, to suffer none to divide her from him, and take her out of his protection; to keep her, that neither the lion nor dragon, by force or subtilty, interpose himself; for that she will not plead that she hath not trespassed, lest she should be convinced, and the accuser should prevail against her, and get her to himself; but that her trespasses are remitted to her by Christ: so shewing that he made his prayer for her respectively to the state she was in in her passage, and while she stood to be judged; and because this might seem to be already past, and the things he asked performed, when he prayed, he saith, he thinketh God hath already done that he prayeth for, but beseecheth him to accept his voluntary devotions. Two places there are found in Augustine's works where he seemeth peremptorily to affirm, that there is a penal state, and purging fire after this life;

¹ "Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri, incredibile non est, et utrum ita sit, quæri potest: et aut inveniri aut latere, nonnullos fideles per ignem quendam purgatorium, quanto magis minus ve bona pereuntia dilexerunt, tanto tardius citius ve salvari," &c.—Id. cap. 69. [col. 222. F.]

² Confess. Lib. ix. cap. 13. [Tom. i. col. 169.]

the first is in his one and twentieth book *De Civitate Dei*; where he saith¹, “When the dead shall rise again, there shall some be found to whom after they have suffered punishments, mercy shall be shewed, that they be not cast into eternal fire.” But the words (as Vives noteth upon the same place) are not found in some ancient manuscripts, nor in that printed at Friburg. The other place is in his second book² *De Genesi*, against the Manichees. The words are these: “He who happily shall not till his field, but shall suffer it to be overgrown with thorns and briers, hath in this life the curse of his life in all his works, and, after this life, he shall have either the fire of purgation, or eternal punishment;” which words being spoken of them that till not their field, that suffer it to be overgrown with thorns and briers, whose whole life is accursed in all they do, and not of such good men to whom some imperfection cleaveth, are uttered according to that opinion then prevailing of deliverance out of hell; which Augustine in that place would not stand to discuss, but elsewhere refuteth at large. So that the things that are found in Augustine clearly resolved on, are only these; First, that some sins are remitted after this life; which we grant, understanding that remission to be in the first entrance into the other world. Secondly, that they are only the lesser sins that are thus remitted after this life, and not those more grievous wherein men die without repentance; for these exclude from the kingdom of heaven. Thirdly, that prayers do help men dying in those lesser sins. Which likewise we acknowledge to be true, if such prayers be conceived and understood as made respectively to the entrance into the other world. Fourthly, that there is no deliverance of men dying in the state of mortal sin out of hell; and that no prayers can benefit them in this behalf. In all these points

¹ “Sicut etiam facta resurrectione mortuorum non deerunt quibus post pœnas, quas patiuntur spiritus mortuorum, impertiatur misericordia, ut in ignem non mittantur æternum.”—Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. XXI. cap. 24. [Ed. Ben. Tom. VII. col. 642. F.]

² “Si qui forte agrum non coluerit, et spinis eum opprimi permiserit, habet in hac vita maledictionem terræ suæ in omnibus operibus suis, et post hanc vitam habebit vel ignem purgationis, vel pœnam æternam.”—Id. de Genes. contr. Manich. Lib. II. cap. 20. [Tom. I. col. 677. D.]

his resolution is full and clear; but whether the pains of men damned in hell may be eased, mitigated, or suspended for a time by the prayers of the living, he professeth¹ he will not strive; so that the wrath of God be acknowledged to remain eternally upon them. Neither is this contradictory to that which he hath elsewhere², that the prayers of the living are no helps of such as are damned, but only comforts of the living: for he meaneth that they are no helps able to free and deliver them out of that state of punishment wherein they are; but whether they may some way ease them or not, he will not much contend; and therefore he saith, that whom prayers profit, either they profit them for full remission, as they do men dying in the lesser sins, or that their damnation may be the more tolerable and easy. The papists³ applying these latter words of more tolerable damnation to the state of souls in their supposed purgatory, is absurd; for they cannot, in any proper sense, be said to be damned. These things being thus distinguished, we see there is nothing found in Augustine for confirmation of the popish error touching purgatory; that no testimonies of Augustine could "seal up" M. Higgons his heart in this idle conceit of purgatory, as untruly he saith⁴ they did; that we no way oppose ourselves against the universal resolution and practice of the whole Church, which to do Augustine pronounceth insolent madness; that we no way contradict this worthy father reporting to us the doctrine and tradition of the Church; and consequently that Higgons ridiculously and idly asketh⁵, "Whether Augustine, or I, know better the sense and judgment of antiquity?" thereupon childishly⁶ making a comparison between him and me: for I make no question but he knew the sense of antiquity right well; neither do I dissent from him in anything that he constantly delivereth; and for the comparison, confess myself unworthy to be named the same day; but whereas he saith⁷, he found sincerity in him, and "unfaithfulness" in me, I defy the faithless apostata, and challenge him, or any of the proudest of his consorts, to tell me truly wherein I have shewed the least unfaithfulness? It seemeth he measureth

¹ Enchirid. ad Laurentium, cap. 112. [Tom. vi. col. 238.]

² Ibid. cap. 110. [ibid.]

³ Higgons, pag. 29.

⁴ Pag. 30.

⁵ Pag. 36.

⁶ Pag. 37.

⁷ Ibid.

other men by himself, and his companions; but we are not, like them, making merchandise of the word of God. After these idle discourses, he passeth from me to that reverend, renowned, and worthy divine, doctor Humfrey¹, in his time the light and ornament of the university that bred him, whom such a silly novice as M. Theophilus durst not have looked in the face while he lived. But it is easier to insult upon a dead lion than a living dog; and that maketh him bark against him: but such was his great reading, variety of learning in all kinds, profound science, and mature judgment, as made him so highly esteemed at home and abroad by all that knew how to judge of things aright, that the scornful speeches of this renegado, concerning his rhetorical flourishes, will never be able to diminish or lessen the good opinion that most deservedly all wise and good men hold of him. Yet let us see what it is that this grave censorer reprehendeth in D. Humfrey: surely he knoweth not what himself. D. Humfrey, speaking of the ancient commemoration or commendation of the dead, saith, "We retain it in our colleges;" which is most true: but he hath spied, as he supposeth, three differences: for (1) as he saith, the commendation and commemoration then used was at the altar; but we have no altar: (2) in the holy sacrifice; but we admit no sacrifice: (3) with intention to relieve the dead; but we have no such intention. For answer whereunto, I say briefly (for he deserveth no large answer), that we have altars in the same sort the fathers had, though we have thrown down popish altars; that we admit the Eucharist to be rightly named a sacrifice, though we detest the blasphemous construction the papists make of it. And lastly, that the fathers did not intend to relieve all them they remembered at the altar; no more do we: that they accompanied their friends' souls going out of their bodies, to stand before God with their prayers and good wishes: that they prayed for their resurrection, public acquittal in the day of Christ, and perfect consummation, and so do we: that they never knew any thing of purgatory, nor never prayed to deliver any one from thence; no more do we: and that therefore D. Humfrey might well impute frenzy to the Romanists, as challenging the fathers in this and other points, whereas they are destitute of all defence from them. That which he inter-

¹ Pag. 38.

laceth of "frothy volumes¹," in which we silly men, for lack of his direction, spend our time, is less to be esteemed than any bubble or froth upon the water: for all men know that this Church never wanted worthy men, matchable with the proudest of the adverse faction in the study of the fathers, councils, histories, and schoolmen: neither is there any decay of these kinds of study now, thanks be given to God, as both our friends and enemies (I think) will bear us witness. Thus doth this champion end the first part of his book, having played his prizes very handsomely, as you see.

(HIGGONS, Book I. Part II. § 1.)

In the second part, first he endeavoureth to prove the perpetual visibility of the Church, which he saith², I teach "sincerely and effectually;" though with some mixture of "corruption in my discourse" concerning the same: but telleth us not what those corruptions be; and therefore I know not what to say to him till I hear farther from him. Secondly, he laboureth to shew that the visible Church is free from damnable error, which we willingly yield unto; but that which he addeth³ touching the not erring of general councils, is not so clear: as it appeareth by that which I have elsewhere⁴ noted out of Picus Mirandula and Waldensis. There is extant an excellent conference between Nicholas Clemangis and a certain Parisian schoolman, touching this point, wherein he willeth him considerately to think upon it, lest as he thinketh it to be a matter of rashness to affirm that general councils may err, so likewise it be not altogether free from temerity and rashness pertinaciously to defend, that general councils cannot err, unless it were proved by most strong authorities, or certain reasons: and farther addeth, that though it were most certainly proved that councils cannot err, yet it were not fit for them that meet in councils to rely upon this

¹ "I am bold to assure you, loving countrymen, who spend your pretious time, and exercise your noble witts in many froathy volumes." p. 39.

² Pag. 44.

³ Pag. 45.

⁴ In the Fifth Book of the Church, Chap. LI. [p. 44, above.]

persuasion, lest under the shadow, and upon the occasion of this confidence, they might proceed with less consideration, and more lightly than they should: but to make us doubt that councils may err sometimes in their determinations, he bringeth sundry reasons; whereof one is, that the most part of men that are in the Church (he speaketh of the Church in his time) are merely carnal, seeking the things of the world, and no way savouring the things of God, or regarding the good of the Church: that these men are reputed the wisest, and most sufficient to manage the affairs of the Church: that when councils are to be holden, either they are chosen, or put themselves into such employments. And consequently, that things being carried in councils by voices, there is little reason to expect any great good, either for the due settling of the persuasion of men in matters of faith, or the reformation of such things as are amiss in matters of discipline and manners. Whereupon he telleth of the ill success of the Council of Pisa, and of another called at Rome by Balthazar then pope: into the midst whereof an owl came flying, making an horrible noise, and sat upon a beam in the midst of the room where the synod was holden, as she had been president of the assembly, and could not be made to give place till she was beaten down dead: yea, concerning the Council of Constance, wherein the long-continued schism, by reason of the antipopes was ended, and the peace of the Church restored, he saith, that many things fell out in it which were not fruits of the Spirit, but works of the flesh, as contentions, emulations, dissensions, sects, clamours, outcries, mockings, and the like. But of the erring of councils, I have elsewhere treated at large, and therefore will not insist upon the repetition of the same things in this place. Only let us hear what Master Higgon can say for their not erring. He thinketh to strike the matter dead with the resolution of Gerson, a man, as he saith, highly advanced by me. It is true that I esteem of Gerson as of a most learned, judicious and godly man, that mourned for the confusions he saw in the Church in his time, that reprov'd many abuses, gave testimony to many parts of heavenly truth then contradicted by those carnal men of whom Clemangis speaketh, who counted gain to be godliness, and scorned all that lived as beseemeth Christians, traducing them as hypocrites, and I know not what else. Yet I think

no man will infer, upon any commendation that I have given him, that I must of necessity embrace as true whatsoever he saith. Waldensis is a man highly esteemed by our Romanists, yet will they not allow his opinion, that councils may err. Alphonsus à Castro, Adrian the pope, and other, who teach that the pope may papally err, are highly prized by them: yet will they not grant that the pope may err as they teach: but what is it that Gerson saith? surely, that “Whatsoever the pope and a general council of the whole Church determine, must be received as true¹.” It is true indeed that he saith so, but it appeareth by the words immediately following that he speaketh not of a general council consisting of the bishops of the West only, such as was the Council of Trent in our time; but of a general council, consisting both of Greeks and Latins; and therefore he saith, if the Grecians dissenting from the Latins in the article of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, and not admitting the determination of the West Church, shall say, that the council that defined that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son, was not truly general, that they were not duly called to the same, and consequently, that notwithstanding their dissenting they are not to be judged pertinacious, obstinate, and subject to the curse; it were diligently to be considered what they would say, or some fitting means were to be found out, that all things might be brought to an agreement, without persisting in a peremptory proof of the same article against them: for that men disposed to resist would hardly ever be convinced in this point. And further, he wisheth men to think upon it, whether, as some determinations of doubts and questions passed and agreed on in Paris, are said to bind none but those that are within the diocess of Paris, so it may not be said in like sort, that the determinations of the Latin Church bind the Latins only: and secondly, whether that which is defined and holden as an article of faith, may not be made to be no article, by bringing things to the same state they were in before any determination passed. Which thing he exemplifieth in a decree of Bonifacius, voided by one of his successors. To what purpose Master Higgon allegeth the opinion of Gerson touching the not erring of general councils, I cannot tell; for I am well assured never any such council as yet approved purgatory,

¹ Part. iv. de Unitate Græcorum, consid. 6. [Tom. ii. col. 116.]

and prayer to deliver men out of it, nor I think ever will. But whatsoever we think of councils, there is no question to be made but that the "Church is free from damnable error," as Master Higgon, in the title of his chapter, undertaketh to prove¹. But whether it be free from all ignorance and error, as he seemeth in the discourse following to enforce, it is not so clear; neither doth that text of St Paul touching the house of God², which is "the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth," nor any other authority or reason brought to that purpose, prove the same; and particularly, touching that place of St Paul to Timothy, it is evident the apostle's words are to be originally understood of the Church of Ephesus; and that he maketh the glorious title of pillar and ground of truth common to that particular Church, with that which is universal; and consequently, that this title proveth not every Church or society of Christians to which it agreeth, to be free from error; unless we will privilege all particular Churches from danger of erring. If any man doubt whether the apostle give the title of pillar and ground of truth to the Church of Ephesus, it is easily proved by unanswerable reasons. For (as Lyra, writing upon the words of the apostle, rightly noteth) the apostle writeth to Timothy, and giveth him directions that he may know how to behave himself in the Church of God; that is, how to order and govern it. Now the Church which Timothy was to order and govern was not the universal Church, but the Church of Ephesus; therefore the Church wherein he was wisely to behave himself, was but a particular Church; and the same Church in which the apostle directeth him how to behave himself, he calleth "the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth," therefore he giveth this title to a particular Church; though he restrain it not to it, as Master Higgon untruly saith I do³; so that I have not eluded the gravity of this testimony, as he is pleased unjustly to charge me, but I give the right sense of it; whence it followeth, that seeing particular Churches may be said to be pillars of truth, this title doth not prove that society of Christian men to which it agreeth to be free from all error.

From the reprehension of our opinion in that we think the Church subject to some kind of error, he falleth into a

¹ Pag. 45.

² 1 Tim. iii. 15.

³ Pag. 46.

discourse touching “the confusion of protestants, admitting innumerable sectaries into one vast incongruous Church¹ ;” which, he saith, “is a mere chimera, thrust together and fashioned in specifical disproportion ;” and hence, he saith², it is that “I, laying the foundation of my Babel, fear not to say that the Churches of Russia, Armenia, Syria, Æthiopia, and Greece, are, and continue, parts of the true catholic Church.” For answer whereunto I say, that we do not admit any sectaries into the communion of the true catholic Church, much less innumerable sectaries ; for we admit none into the communion of our Churches but such as receive all the lawful general councils that ever were holden touching any question of faith, the three creeds, of the Apostles, of Nice, and Athanasius, and whatsoever is found to have been believed and practised by all not noted for singularity and novelty at all times, and in all places : so rejecting Arians, Zuinkfeldians, Anabaptists, Familists, and all other like monsters. Touching the differences between the Churches of England; Denmark, Sweden, Germany, France, &c., they are not specifical, as this bad logician fancieth, but imaginary, or merely accidental. And for the Churches of Greece, Russia, Armenia, Syria, and Æthiopia, agreeing in all the things before mentioned, it is most strange that this schismatical fugitive should dare utterly to reject them from the unity of the catholic Church, and to cast into hell so many millions of souls of poor distressed Christians, for so many hundred years enduring so many bitter things for Christ’s sake, in the midst of the proudest enemies that ever the name of Christ had. That all these admit the doctrine of faith agreed on in all the lawful general councils that ever were holden, the three creeds, and the whole form of Christian doctrine catholicly consented on, and that they reject and condemn all the heresies condemned by Augustine and Epiphanius, it shall be proved, if Higgons, or any other smatterer of that side, shall go about to improve it. It is true, indeed, that the Armenians refused to admit the Council of Chalcedon; but it was upon a false suggestion, as I have elsewhere shewed³. And it is most certain that they condemn the heresy of Eutyches, as likewise those other that were condemned in the fifth and sixth councils; and

¹ Pag. 47.² Pag. 48.³ Book III. Of the Church, Chap. I. [Vol. I. p. 140.]

though the Grecians seek to avoid the evidence of that part of Athanasius's Creed touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, yet do they not deny the Creed itself; and my Gerson¹ (as Master Higgon's is pleased to call him) thinketh it were better to desist from the strict urging of the allowance of that determination of the Latins, touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, that both the Churches might be reduced to unity, than peremptorily to insist upon the proof of it, seeing men disposed to resist will very hardly ever be convinced; so that he doth not think as Master Higgon's doth, that the not admitting of this article as defined and determined by Athanasius casteth men into hell; for then St John Damascene should be damned², who denieth the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, after the publishing of Athanasius's Creed. Thus do we moderate our censures, not daring to cast all into hell that dissent from us in some particular points, not fundamental, as the Romanists do: yet do we not think that every one may be saved in his own sect and error, whatsoever it be; for we exclude all such out of the communion of the true catholic Church as admit not all the things before specified: so that I lay no foundation of Babel, as this Babylonian is pleased to say I do; but, pitying the breaches of Zion, endeavour, as much as in me lieth, to make them up, that "Hierusalem may be as a city at unity within itself." But the Romanists indeed build Babel, and their tongues are confounded, every one almost dissenting from other, and that in most material and essential points. Pighius³ and Catharinus⁴ have a strange fancy touching original sin, contrary to the doctrine of other papists; Pighius⁵ is of Calvin's opinion touching justification; Catharinus⁶ defendeth against the common tenet, that men in ordinary course (without special revelation) may be certain, by the certainty of faith, that they are in a state of grace: yea, Master Higgon's himself saith⁷, "Our faith in

¹ Part iv. de Unitate Græcorum. [Consid. 6. Tom. ii. col. 147.]

² Ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ λέγομεν, πνεῦμα δὲ υἱοῦ ὀνομαζόμεν.—
Joann. Damasc. Orth. Fid. Lib. i. cap. 2. [p. 43. fol. Bas. 1575.]

³ De Peccato Originis. Controvers. 1.

⁴ In Lib. de Originali Peccato.

⁵ De Fide et Justificatione. Controvers. 2.

⁶ Apolog. contra Dominicum a Soto.

⁷ Pag. 48.

Christ must be trustful, lively, and active, by a special application of his merits unto ourselves¹," as he was wont to preach in St Dunstan's Church. So urging a necessity of special faith, which the Romanists condemn as heretical in the doctrine of our Church; and innumerable like differences they have; yet all these are of one Church, faith, and communion; nothing, it seemeth, being necessary to the unity of their Church but the acknowledging of the supremacy of the pope. And yet, which is most strange, they that think he may err, and they that think he cannot err; they that make him to be but prime bishop, and they that make him universal bishop; they that attribute to him power to depose princes and dispose of their states, and they that deny that he hath any such power, are of one and the same Church; but it is a Babylonical Church.

(HIGGONS, Book I. Part II. § 2.)

From the perpetual visibility and undoubted assurance the Church hath of holding the true faith, he proceedeth to shew² our "zeal in impugning and condemning the opinion of purgatory;" and that yet, notwithstanding, the whole universal Church received it; and thereupon saith³ he was misinformed by me and others, that the Greeks never entertained this doctrine, and that now he findeth that we err, not knowing or dissembling the truth; assuring himself that howsoever some Greeks did not, or do not admit the doctrine of purgatory precisely under this name, and with some other circumstances, yet the Church of Greece generally doth retain the thing itself. But whatsoever this good fellow say to the contrary, we know the Greek Church never admitted the name or thing. There is extant a most excellent and learned apology of the Grecians, exhibited to the Council of Florence, or Basil, as it is thought. In this apology, first, they clearly resolve that there is no purging after this life by fire, especially material and corporeal, such as the papists imagine. Secondly, they insinuate that some amongst them are of opinion,

¹ Pag. 50.

² Pag. 51.

³ Pag. 54.

that such as are of a middle condition, and so depart hence, are after death in a certain obscurity, without enjoying the light of God's countenance, or holden as it were in a prison or in a state of sorrow, till, by the goodness of God, and the prayers of the Church, they be delivered: and thus much some professed in the Council of Florence; for there was a division amongst them. Thirdly, they incline to an opinion that the lesser sins of men dying in the state of grace are remitted after death without any punishment at all, either by fire or in any other kind, by the mere mercy and goodness of God. And whereas some bring proofs of remission of sins after this life, thereby to confirm their conceit of purgatory, they say there is no agreement between remission and purging by fire and punishment; for that either punishment or remission is needful, and not both: and again, they confidently pronounce that neither Scripture, nor the fifth general council, delivered unto us a double punishment, or a double fire after this life. This judgment and resolution they confirm, and prove by very excellent reasons and authorities; for first, thus they argue. It more beseemeth the goodness of God to suffer no good, though never so little, to pass away unsuspected and unrewarded, than to punish small sins and offences; but some little good in them that have great sins hath no reward, because of the prevailing of the evil that is found in them; therefore small evils in them that have great works of virtue are not to be punished, the better things overcoming. Secondly, as is a little good in those that are mainly evil, so is a little evil in those that are otherwise mainly good. But a little good in those that are otherwise evil can procure no reward, but only causeth a difference in the degree of punishment, making it the less; therefore little evil causeth no punishment, but a difference in the degree of glory and happiness, which it maketh to be less than otherwise it would be; whence it followeth that there is no purgatory. Thirdly, either the wills of men departed hence are mutable, or immutable: if they be mutable, then they that are good may become evil, and they that are evil may become good: whence it will follow (according to Origen's opinion) that neither the good are unchangeably happy, nor the evil unchangeably miserable; but that men may fall from happiness to misery, and rise from misery to the height of all happiness. And so

we shall make the punishments of all castaways, even of the devils themselves, to be temporary : as indeed, supposing the mutability of the will to continue after death, justly they may : for the reason why in justice the punishment of sin in the damned is to be eternal, is, because they are immutably, unchangeably, and eternally evil. If they be immutable, then are they not capable of any correction ; for he who is corrected is set right by being brought to just dislike and forsaking of that he formerly affected ill ; which change from love to hate, from liking to disliking, from pursuing and following to forsaking and flying from, cannot be found in a will that is immutable. Bonaventura¹ disputeth the matter, how afflicting fire purgeth the soul ; and answereth, that some think that this fire, besides the punishing virtue and power it hath, hath also a spiritual purging virtue, such as sacraments have, which he thinketh to be absurd ; especially seeing Gregory out of visions and apparitions of the dead sheweth that souls are purged in divers places, and by divers other means, as well as by fire ; and therefore there are other who think, that what this purging fire worketh, it worketh by punishing and afflicting, which helpeth and strengtheneth grace, that it may be able to purge out sin. Now punishment and affliction can no way help grace or strengthen it, to the expulsion of sin ; but in that, by the bitterness of it, it maketh us know how much it offendeth God and hurteth us ; and thereby causeth a dislike of it, or at least an increase of the dislike of it : which dislike the will cannot newly grow unto, if it be immutable. For, to dislike that which before we did not dislike, or to dislike a thing more than formerly we did, upon farther and better consideration, argueth a mutability in the will : so that if the will be immutable in those that are departed hence immediately upon their dissolution, as our adversaries think it is, the fire of purgatory can no way help to the purging out of sin. To these reasons they add another, taken from the story or parable of the rich man and Lazarus in the Gospel ; where Christ sheweth that the poor man Lazarus, as soon as he was dead, was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom, and that the rich man's soul, as soon as he was dead, was found in the torments of hell. By the bosom of Abraham expressing a most excellent estate in the blessed

¹ In 4 Sentent. Dist. 21. Quæst. 2. [Tom. v. p. 286.]

rest of such as are beloved of God; and by hell, and the torments thereof, the uttermost condemnation, and the everlasting punishment of sinners: and no way leaving any other place between these, having temporal affliction and pain; but making between them a great and unpassable gulf, separating the one from the other, and establishing an extreme and immediate opposition between them; than which what could be more clearly spoken against purgatory, and for our opinion? For if there be no middle place of temporal torment, as the authors of this Apology say there is not; if there be but two sorts of men, the one expressed by the condition of the rich man, the other of Lazarus; and if the one of these go immediately, upon death, into a place of torment everlasting, the other into a place of rest, and into the bosom of Abraham; where is the purgatory of papists, either in the name or in the thing, in substance or in circumstance? To these reasons, for farther confirmation, they add two most excellent testimonies out of Gregory Nazianzen¹, who upon these words touching the Passover, "We shall carry out nothing, nor leave nothing till the morning," saith expressly and clearly, that beyond or after this night there is no purging; calling the life of each man here the night, and yielding no purging to be after it: and elsewhere hath these words²: "I omit to speak of the torments to which impunity doth deliver men in the other world: for they are such, that it were better for a man to be chastised and purged here, than to be reserved and delivered over to that punishment that is after this life, when there is a time of punishment, but not of purgation:" so expressly defining that there is no purging after the departure out of this life, and that there remaineth nothing but eternal punishment for such as must there be punished. Elias Cretensis, a learned Grecian, writing upon that place of Nazi-

¹ Οὐκ ἐξοίσομεν δὲ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ πρῶτῳ καταλείψομεν· ὅτι μηδὲ ἐκφορὰ τοῖς ἔξω τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων μυστηρίων, μηδὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἔστι τις κάθαρσις, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀναβολῆς οὐκ ἐπαινετὸν τοῖς τοῦ Λόγου μεταλαμβάνουσιν.—Greg. Naz. Orat. 45. de Pascha. [cap. 16. Tom. i. p. 858. A.]

² Ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν τὰ ἐκεῖθεν δικαιοτήρια, οἷς ἡ ἐνταῦθα φείδω παραδίδωσιν, ὡς βέλτιον εἶναι νῦν παιδιασθῆναι καὶ καθαρθῆναι, ἢ τῇ ἐκεῖθεν βασάνῳ παραπεμφθῆναι, ἥνίκα κολάσεως καιρὸς, οὐ καθάρσεως.—Id. Orat. 16. de Plaga Grandinis. [cap. 7. Tom. i. p. 304. E.]

anzen, where he saith¹, "He is a poor and a mean pastor, and not liked of other pastors, whether because he defendeth the truth, or for what other cause he knoweth not, but God knoweth, and (as the apostle saith) that day of revelation and last fire shall clearly manifest it, whereby all our works are either judged or purged," hath these words: "The word 'judged,' Gregory Nazianzen put for tried; and 'purged,' for revealed or manifested: for that fire doth make the works of just men to shine, and burneth up the works of sinners; and, that I may speak plainly and simply, manifesteth of what sort each man's works are, those things being taken away that in this world did hide them, and suffered them not to appear to be such as indeed they are. For here oftentimes, as well the works of a virtuous man, as of an evil man, are hid; but there they are revealed and made manifest: therefore their judgment is passed upon all, that is, all are tried: and again, all things are purged, that is, manifested; and not by any means, according to the fooleries of those men who think that there shall be an end of punishment after a thousand years, and that, after they are purged, men shall cease to be punished." Thus doth this worthy bishop of Candy contradict the papists in their fancy of purgatory, and agree with the authors of the Apology.

In the writings of Armachanus², I find that one Athanasius, a Grecian, proposed sundry excellent reasons against the imagined purgatory of the Latins, which Armachanus goeth about to answer, but indeed cannot answer; the first is this: It is no way just that the soul alone should be punished for the sins of the whole man, or that the body should have part and fellowship in sin, and glory after remission of sin, and not in the punishment that purgeth out sin. The second is this: It is more proper to God to reward good things than to punish evil; so that if it were necessary that the souls of such as are truly penitent should after death go into purgatory punishments, it were much more necessary that the souls of such as have kept the commandments of God all their life long, and at last falling into sin, die in such an estate without

¹ Orat. 7. de Composita Disserendi Ratione, p. 210. [Vide in Orat. 1. p. 150. ed. fol. Par. 1630.]

² Quæst. Armeniorum, Lib. xiii. cap. 1. [fol. 102. A. ed. fol. Par. 1511.]

repentance, should go first into a place of refreshing to receive the rewards of their well doings, before they should be cast out into eternal punishments: but this is not to be granted by any means; therefore much less the other. Thirdly, whereas some go about to prove purgatory by the custom of praying for the dead, he sheweth, by an unanswerable reason, that if we admit purgatory, we may not pray for the dead; his reason is this: Whosoever causeth another to be afflicted, doth it in one of these three sorts, either only out of unreasonable passion and desire of tormenting and afflicting; or for the upholding of the course of justice, and the example and good of others, as when murderers are put to death; or, thirdly, in mercy, for the good and benefit of him that is punished, as the physician afflicteth the sick patient. And in this third sort it is that God is supposed to afflict souls in purgatory. As therefore the physician and surgeon delight not in afflicting their sick patients, but deal as tenderly with them as possibly they may, due respect had to the recovering of their health and former estate, so God will afflict no more than is precisely necessary for the purging out of sin: so that as it were vain, if not hurtful, to entreat the good and skilful physician, tendering his patient, and no way afflicting him more than is precisely necessary for the recovering of his health, either wholly to withdraw his hand, or to remit anything of that he intends to do; for that, if so he should do, the patient could not recover; so in like sort it were not only vain, but hurtful, for the souls of men departed to entreat God any way to lessen their afflictions, which otherwise he would lay upon them, seeing he intendeth to afflict them no more than is precisely necessary for the purging out of the impurity that is found in them; and if he remit anything of it, he must leave it in them still. In this life God may work men to a judging of themselves, so that they shall not need to be so chastised and judged of him, as otherwise they should be, and so we may pray God to ease their afflictions: but after this life, when there is no more time nor place left for repentance, or conversion to God, it is not so. If it be said that the punishments of them that are in purgatory, in that they are medicinal, and for the purging out of sin, are not to be diminished, but that something may be remitted of the extremity of them, in that they

are satisfactory, he answereth as we also do, that after the remission of sin repented of, there is no satisfaction needful for the pacifying of God's wrath, and that all punishments that are inflicted are but to make us know thoroughly what it is to offend God, to pluck up the root, take away the remainders, prevent the occasions, and to stop the re-entrance of it again.

By this which hath been said we may see how advisedly and truly Master Higgon's saith¹ that the Greek Church generally doth believe purgatory; but he will prove it doth by the censure of the Oriental Church upon the Augustan Confession. Concerning this censure, the author of it was Hieremias, patriarch of Constantinople, who had written many things very prejudicial to the state of the Romish religion; for he denieth the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and maketh the Church of Constantinople the chief of all Churches²; he defendeth the lawfulness of ministers' marriage³; he condemneth the communicating in one kind alone⁴, and the consecration of unleavened bread⁵; he denieth that the saints hear our prayers⁶; besides some other things of like nature; but touching purgatory he hath no word. It is true indeed that he alloweth prayer for the dead, but to another purpose, and not to deliver men out of purgatory, as this seduced novice hath been misinformed. For he seemeth in part to be of the same mind that Theophylact is of⁷, who thinketh that they who die sinners are not always cast into hell, but that they are in the power of God, that he may cast them into hell, or keep them from it, and deliver them if he please. Whereupon he noteth that Christ doth not say, "fear him who after he hath killed the body doth cast into hell;" but, "can cast into hell:" and this he saith, as he professeth, because of the oblations and alms given for the dead; which greatly profit even them also that die in grievous sins: for though this Hieremias⁸ deny that the saints in heaven pray for men dying in mortal sin, God

¹ Pag. 55.

² *Censura Eccles. Orient.* cap. 13. [p. 106. fol. Cracov. 1582.]

³ Cap. 21. in *Epilogo de Abusibus*. [p. 208.]

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Cap. 21. [p. 204.]

⁷ In 23 *Lucæ*. [Tom. i. p. 487.]

⁸ Cap. 21. [p. 21.]

having excluded them from his mercy, and in a sort pronounced that though Noah, Job, or Daniel, should entreat for them, they should not deliver them, yet he saith¹, such as die in the middle course of penitency, and not having fully purged out their sins, may be relieved by prayer and mediation; if such prayers and entreaty be made for them while the judgment yet continueth, and before the sentence be pronounced; for so soon as the solemn sitting shall be dissolved, and every one carried into the place of punishment designed and appointed for him, there neither is nor never shall be mediation for him. Whereby it appeareth he extendeth the benefit of these prayers only to the keeping of men out of hell, that might be cast into it, and no way to the relieving of souls afflicted with temporal pains, as Master Higgon untruly reporteth. So that he agreeth with Theophylact, in that he thinketh men, who otherwise might justly be cast into hell, may be stayed from coming thither, if request be made for them in time, and seemeth to dissent from him, in that he will not extend this mercy of God to any dying without some beginnings of repentance, whereof the other maketh no mention; in which restraint yet he dissenteth from himself, who produceth and alloweth the testimony of Damascene², reporting Gregory's delivering Trajan, who died in infidelity, out of hell; Tecla's delivering of Falconilla, who died an idolatress; and sundry other things of the same kind.

Thus we see the Grecians, being a great and principal part of the Church of God, deny purgatory, not in respect of the name, or some circumstance alone, but even in respect of the thing itself, notwithstanding anything Master Higgon can say to the contrary; and therefore it was more than ordinary impudence in him to say that "none but Arians, Henricians, and Waldensians³," did ever simply and absolutely deny purgatory: and all his discourse grounded upon this false surmise is vain and idle. For let the Arians, Henricians, and Waldensians, be what they will, it little concerneth us, for we derive not our denial of purgatory from them, but from the fathers, and the principal parts of God's Church in all ages. That which he hath against Luther's marrying a professed nun⁴, and St Augustine's dis-

¹ Ibid.

² Cap. 12. [p. 93.]

³ Pag. 56.

⁴ Pag. 62.

like of such marriages, doth but argue the distemper of his idle brain. For first, it is besides the purpose, and maketh nothing to the matter in hand. Secondly, it clearly confuteth the error of the Romanists, who think marriages after vows made to the contrary to be void, which false conceit Augustine largely refuteth¹. Thirdly, he belieith Augustine; for he doth not say the marriage of such as have vowed the contrary is evil, much less that it is worse than adultery; but that the falling from the good purpose and resolution they were entered into is worse than adultery; which falling is found amongst the Romish votaries more than anywhere else in the world, their houses of nuns (as Clemangis², who knew the state of those cages well enough, testifieth) being for the most part nothing else but stews of filthy harlots. Now, though it be worse than simple adultery to break a vow, and burning in lust to wallow in all impurity, yet is it no way ill for men or women thus surprised to betake themselves to the remedy of lawful marriage. And therefore I mince not the matter, as this mincing fugitive is pleased to say I do³, but truly report the judgment of Augustine, who indeed misliketh and reproveth rash vowing, without full purpose and due care of performing the same afterwards, as a grievous evil; and yet alloweth ensuing marriage, as lawful, honourable, and good, contrary to the impious conceit of the Romanists, condemning the same. What is to be thought of Luther and such other as married after vows of single life, I have elsewhere shewed⁴, whither I refer the reader. I have likewise proved at large the lawfulness of Luther's ministry⁵, notwithstanding all the corruption that was in the Church wherein he received it, and the tyranny of antichrist, endeavouring to lay all waste; and therefore the idle glances of this silly fellow are to be condemned as words of vanity, especially seeing such as are ordained by heretics are truly ordained, in the judgment of our adversaries themselves⁶; but if all fail, he will go back to prayer for the dead, which hath

¹ De Bon. Viduit. cap. 11. [Tom. vi. col. 876.]

² De Cor. Eccles. Stat. [cap. 23. p. 22. 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1613.]

³ Pag. 62.

⁴ Fifth Book Of the Church, Cap. LVII. [p. 153.]

⁵ Book III. Chap. XXXIX. [Vol. I. p. 316.]

⁶ Bonav. in 4 Sent. dist. 25. art. 1. quæst. 2 [Tom. v. p. 335.]

made him dead while he is alive, and will prove that Bernard¹ confuted Henricus impugning prayer for the dead with a miracle, and that therefore the impugning of prayer for the dead is pronounced impious by God's own voice from heaven: surely if it could be proved that God gave testimony by a miracle against Henricus his impugning of prayer for the dead, to deliver them out of purgatory, it were something; but neither he, nor all the rabble of Romanists, shall ever prove that. Henricus is reported to have holden many damnable opinions, in confutation whereof Bernard might work a miracle without any respect to his denying prayers for the dead: for he contemned the sacraments, denied reconciliation to penitents, and the comfort of the holy Eucharist to such as in their greatest distresses desired the same; and feared not to exclude infants from the benefit of the sacrament of regeneration. Bernard² himself describing him, and the good effects that followed his preaching, sheweth, that having been a monk, he became an apostata; that he gave himself to all impurity; and that what he got by his preaching, he played away at dice, or spent it amongst harlots; that his preaching wrought so good effects, that churches were forsaken, and left without people, people without priests, priests without due reverence, and Christians without Christ: churches were reputed synagogues, the sanctuaries of God denied to be holy, sacraments accounted unholy, festival days deprived of festival solemnities, men died in their sins, and their souls were every where caught up, and brought to the terrible judgment-seat, neither reconciled by penitential reconciliation, nor guarded with the sacrament and holy communion; that the way of the life of Christ was shut up against infants, whiles the grace of baptism was denied unto them; and that they were hindered from drawing near to salvation, though the Saviour himself cried out aloud for them, saying, "Suffer little children to come unto me." This is all that Bernard imputeth to him, neither doth Willielmus Abbas (as Master Higgon's untruly reporteth³) charge him with denying of prayer for the dead; but one Godefrey, a monk of Claravallis⁴, whose report is not greatly to be regarded, because what he addeth above that

¹ Pag. 70.

² Epist. ccxli. [Tom. i. col. 238. fol. Par. 1719.]

³ Pag. 72.

⁴ Vitæ Bernardi, Lib. iii. cap. 5. [Tom. ii. col. 1139. D.]

before alleged by us, touching prayer for the dead, invocation of saints, excommunications of priests, pilgrimages, building of churches, and the like, he addeth, as out of Bernard's epistle before mentioned, wherein there is no such thing. So that it is very probable that he mistook the matter, and imputed such things to Henricus as were taught by the Apostolici, or some other such like. Hitherto we find no great proof of the confirmation of prayer for the dead, or any other point of popish error, by miracles: so that my 'peremptory denial,' that ever any miracle was done by any man in times past, or in our times, to confirm any of the things controverted between the papists and us, standeth as yet uncontrolled. Wherefore Master Higgon riseth from Henricus to Gregory the First, and Augustine, whom he sent into England for the conversion of our nation, who, he saith¹, "were papists, and yet wrought many miracles for the confirmation of the doctrine they preached." A more trifling fellow I think never adventured to put pen to paper; for we confidently deny that either Gregory or Augustine were papists, and say with bishop Jewel in his worthy Challenge, that all the learned papists in the world cannot prove that either of them held any of those twenty-seven articles of popish religion mentioned by him. If some superstition began in their times to grow in, it is not to be marvelled at: neither will it follow, that if Augustine and his colleagues, sent hither "to sing the Lord's song in a strange land," did miracles for the confirmation of the Christian faith taught by them, that the same miracles confirmed every superstitious opinion which any of them held. For then Cyprian and the African bishops teaching rebaptization; the Oriental bishops thinking it necessary to keep the feast of Easter with the Jews; Papias, and all the worthy fathers that taught, that Christ raising up the saints from the dead, shall reign with them on earth a thousand years in all earthly felicity; that there are two resurrections, the one of the just, the other of the wicked, and that there are a thousand years between; Lactantius, Irenæus, and others, excluding the souls of the faithful departed out of heaven till the resurrection; such as held that men may be delivered out of hell; such as held it necessary to minister the communion to infants; and other like catholic Christians, erring in some point of

¹ Pag. 82.

doctrine, could do no miracles for the confirmation of the Christian faith amongst infidels or misbelievers, but that the same must be confirmations of their errors; and God must concur with them by confusion, as this confused companion speaketh¹; but if this instance serve not the turn, he hath another evidence more potent and persuasive, which served as a key to unlock his understanding, and that is this²: “Transubstantiation is affirmed by me to be one of the greatest mysteries of popish religion.” Gerson is highly approved by me; and yet he affirmeth³, that “Transubstantiation is confirmed by a thousand and a thousand miracles.” For answer whereunto we say with Cassander⁴, that the names of conversion, transmutation, transformation, and transelementation, are found among the ancient; and that the word transubstantiation was used some hundred of years since; but touching the manner of this conversion there is great variety of opinions, yet so that all agree in this, that they understand such a mutation or change to be made, that that which before was earthly and common bread, by the words of institution, the invocation of God’s name and divine virtue, is made a sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ, visibly sitting at the right hand of God in heaven, and yet after an invisible and incomprehensible manner present in the Church. And that the body and blood of Christ are in the sacrament, and exhibited and given as spiritual meat and drink for the salvation and everlasting life of them that are worthy partakers of the same. Thus much we doubt not but a thousand and a thousand miracles may confirm; and more, Gerson doth not say is confirmed by miracle. For whereas there is almost infinite variety of opinions touching the manner of this conversion amongst such as admit it in generality, it would be very hard for Master Higgon, or a wiser man than he is, to say which of them any miracle ever confirmed. All admit, saith Cajetan⁵, the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, but in truth many deny that which

¹ Pag. 83.

² Pag. 85.

³ Part. 4. Serm. in Festo Corp. Christi. [Tom. iv. col. 569. fol. Par. 1606.]

⁴ Cassand. in Consult. Art. 10. de Transub. [p. 939.]

⁵ In 3 Part. Sum. Quæst. 75. Art. 7. [Tom. xii. fol. 243. B. fol. Ven. 1595.]

the word transubstantiation indeed importeth, and therefore are diversely divided; some understanding that the bread is therefore said to be made the body of Christ, because, where the bread is, the body of Christ becometh present; others understanding nothing but the order of succession whereby the body succeedeth, and is under the veils of those accidents under which the bread (which they suppose to be annihilated) was before; which opinion in substance Scotus followeth, though in the manner of his speech he seem to decline it, some admitting both the word and thing not wholly, but in part, as Durandus, who thinketh the matter of the bread and wine remaineth, the form only changed; and some thinking the form to remain, and the matter to cease. Ockam¹ saith there are three opinions touching transubstantiation, of which the first supposeth a conversion of the sacramental elements; the second an annihilation; the third maketh the bread to be so turned into the body of Christ, that it is no way changed in substance, or substantially converted into Christ's body; but that only the body of Christ becometh present in every part of the bread. Cameracensis², Gerson's master, professeth, that for aught he can see, the substantial conversion of the sacramental elements into the body and blood of Christ cannot be proved either out of Scripture, or any determination of the Universal Church; and maketh it but a matter of opinion, inclining rather to the other opinion of consubstantiation. And therefore, in his judgment, it was not witnessed by a thousand and a thousand persons of most holy life and profound knowledge, testifying the truth thereof unto death, by a thousand and a thousand miracles. So that the thing which Gerson saith hath been proved by miracles, is the true presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, the exhibition of them to be the food of our souls, and such a change of the elements in virtue, grace, and power, of containing in them, and communicating to us Christ's body and blood, as the nature of so excellent a sacrament requireth.

¹ Centil. Conclus. 39. [ad calc. Annot. in Sent. fol. Lugd. 1495.]

² "Et licet ita esse non sequatur evidenter ex scriptura, nec etiam videre meo ex determinatione ecclesiæ, quia tamen magis favet ei, et communi opinioni sanctorum et doctorum, ideo teneo eam."—Petrus ab Alliaco Cameracensis, in Sent. Lib. iv. Quæst. 6. [fol. 265. H. 8vo. Par. sin. ann.]

This is the key¹ which Master Higgon found to unlock his understanding, that it might run riot into all idle and childish discourses. But see the infelicity of the man! He was no sooner at liberty, but presently again he was encompassed and brought into such a strait, that either he must disclaim my book, or his Protestantal belief. Yet² did he not suffer himself long to be so inclosed, but full wisely chose rather to forsake the religion he was bred in, and which, as a public preacher, he had taught others, than to disclaim my book. Because, as he saith, “that religion cannot be good that is so falsely and absurdly defended by me, and all the chief authors that ever applied their pains unto that service.” Surely the poor fugitive is greatly to be pitied, as weak in understanding, and meddling with things not fit for him, if he do that he doth in simplicity; or exceedingly to be detested as a graceless person, if he do it, as it is to be feared, out of malice. For what is it in my book that is so false and absurd as that the consideration thereof should make a man forsake his religion? Is not transubstantiation one of the greatest mysteries of popish religion, as I have said? Is that falsely delivered by me? No: but I say no miracle was ever done to confirm anything defended by the Romanists against us, and yet Gerson, highly commended by me, saith, many miracles have been wrought for proof and confirmation of that transubstantiation which the papists at this day believe; and this is the falsity and absurdity he speaketh of. That no miracle was ever wrought to prove the monstrous conceit of popish transubstantiation, or any other popish error, shall stand good when heaven and earth shall be no more. And if ten thousand Gersons, nay, if so many angels from heaven should affirm the contrary, I would not believe them; much less Gerson, a single witness, in such a case. This is then the absurdity that made him become a papist, that I commend Gerson, and yet believe not everything he saith. Truly this absurdity would never move any but an absurd smatterer to alter his religion. For doth not Higgon himself admire Pighius, Catharinus, Contarenus, and sundry other from whom he dissenteth in the matter of justification, original sin, and the certainty of grace? Doth he not highly commend many that thought the pope may

¹ Pag. 83.² Pag. 86.

err, that he is subject to general councils, and may be deposed by them, not for heresy alone, but for other enormous crimes also? And yet I think he will not be of their opinion. So that though Gerson should think that the transubstantiation which we deny was proved by miracles, it were no such intolerable absurdity to commend him for much piety, devotion, learning, and virtue, and yet to dissent from him in this point. In the matter controverted in former times in the Roman Church touching the conception of the blessed virgin, were there not worthy men on both sides? Did not the patrons of her spotless conception pretend and allege sundry miracles and visions for confirmation thereof? Yet was it no absurdity for cardinal Cajetan¹, following the current of antiquity, to dissent from them, how many and worthy soever they were, and to call all their pretended miracles in question. But indeed here is no such matter; for Gerson is not so ill advised as to dissent from his worthy master, and confidently to affirm that a thousand and a thousand, renowned for piety and learning, by a thousand and a thousand miracles, gave testimony to the opinion of the substantial conversion of the sacramental elements into the body and blood of Christ (which the Master of the Sentences², and the author of the Ordinary Gloss³, profess to be doubtful, and Cajetan saith so many admitted not even in his time). But the only thing he affirmeth to have been confirmed by miracles is, that Christ's body and blood are truly present in the sacrament; that they are given to be food of our souls; and that the outward elements are changed to become the body and blood of Christ; which we deny not, though we dissent from the papists touching the manner of the conversion, which they imagine to be substantial; to which opinion haply Gerson might consent, as Cameracensis also did, though he professed he could not see the deduction of it from scripture, or any determination of the Church, and inclined rather to think that the substance of bread and wine remains, and that the body and blood of

¹ Opusc. Tom. II. Tract. 1. De Concep. Virg. cap. 1. [fol. Ven. 1593.]

² "Si autem quæritur, qualis sit illa conversio, an formalis, an substantialis, vel alterius generis, definire non sufficio," &c.—Petr. Lombard. Sent. Lib. IV. Dist. 11. [p. 293. fol. Lovan. 1546.]

³ In 1 ad Cor. xi. [Tom. VI. p. 294. Antv. 1634.]

Christ become present together with them, according to that of Cusanus¹, who saith certain ancient divines are found to have been of opinion, that the bread is not substantially changed, but that it is clothed upon with a more noble substance, as we hope to be clothed upon with the light of glory, our substance remaining the same it was; and seemeth not much to dislike their opinion. Thus we see poor runagate Higgons hath made a great outcry, when there was no cause; for here is neither falsehood nor absurdity, but in himself, who, to wreck his anger, hath sold himself to be an absurd patron of error and untruth. The rest of his frivolous discourse following being but a reflection, as he calleth it, upon these premises, I will not trouble myself nor the reader with.

(HIGGONS, Book II. Part 1. § 1.)

I come to his Second Book, in the first part whercof he challengeth me for traducing the four doctors of the Church, beginning with Gregory, and from him proceeding to the rest. To make it appear that I have wronged Gregory, First, he noteth², that the principal drift of my discourse touching the Church³ is, to prove that “the opinions wherein the papists dissent from the protestants at this day, were not the doctrines of the Church wherein our fathers lived and died, but of a faction only predominating in the same.” Secondly⁴, that “to this purpose I frame an Appendix, wherein I produce the testimonies of sundry fathers and school-authors, to justify the foresaid position.” Thirdly⁵, that “descending into the controversy, whether any sins be remitted after this life or not, I use this pretence; to wit, that whereas Lombard and other do say, that some venial sins are remitted after this life, we must so understand their sayings, that therefore they are said to be remitted

¹ “Tamen si quis intelligeret, panem non transubstantiari, sed supervestiri nobiliori substantia, quemadmodum nos expectamus lumine gloriæ supervestiri, nostra substantia salva, prout quidam veteres theologi intellexisse reperiuntur,” &c.—Nicol. de Cusa, Exercit. Lib. VI. [p. 522. fol. Bas. 1565.]

² Pag. 101.

³ [Book III. capp. VI. VII. [Vol. I. p. 165.]

⁴ Pag. 102.

⁵ Ibid.

after this life, because they are taken away in the very moment of dissolution, the last instant of life being the first after life. That this is the sum of that exposition I make of Lombard's and other men's opinions, concerning the remission of sins after this life; wherein how sincerely and exactly I deal, he will not dispute." Fourthly¹, that "to corroborate this my exposition, I bring a testimony of St Gregory, not without great wrong done unto him."

To these his observations I briefly answer: First, that it is true that the doctrines wherein the papists and we dissent at this day were not the doctrines of that Church wherein our fathers lived and died; but that I have in any part untruly set down the differences between them and us, this false runagate shall never be able to prove; though, if his credit would reach unto it, he would gladly make men believe so. Secondly, that I have indeed framed and added such an Appendix as he speaketh of to my Third Book, wherein I have produced sundry learned men and school-authors, for proof of that my former position, calling them, as they well deserve, worthy and learned men; but that they are mine enemies, or that I speak honourably of them for mine own advantage, is but the saying of a silly fellow, that careth not much what he saith, so he may be thought to say something. Thirdly, that this good fellow, that complaineth so much of falsehood and bad dealing, hath in his third observation wholly mistaken the matter, and shamefully belied me; for I make not that construction of the sayings of Lombard and others which he speaketh of, but it is the construction of Alexander of Ales, the irrefragable doctor, and first of all the schoolmen. But that the reader may the better perceive how he perverteth all that cometh in his way, I will lay down the matter at large. In the twentieth chapter of that Appendix he speaketh of, I produce the judgment and resolution of Scotus, Durandus, and Alexander of Ales, that all sinfulness is utterly abolished in the very moment of dissolution, and that there is no remission of any sin, in respect of the fault and stain after death. The words of these authors I set down at large. The words of Alexander of Ales are these²: "Final grace

¹ Ibid.

² Summ. Lib. iv. Quæst. 15. Memb. 3. Art. 3. [Tom. iv. p. 494.]

taketh away all sinfulness out of the soul, because when the soul parteth from the body, all proneness to ill, and all perturbations which were found in it, by reason of the conjunction with the flesh, do cease, the powers thereof are quieted, and perfectly subjected to grace, and by that means all venial sins removed; so that no venial sin is remitted after this life; but in that instant wherein grace may be said to be final grace, it hath full dominion, and absolute command, and expelleth all sin." Whereunto he addeth, that "Whereas the Master of Sentences, and some other do say, that some venial sins are remitted after this life; some answer that they speak of a full remission, both in respect of the fault and stain, and the punishment also; but that others, more narrowly and piercingly looking into the thing, do say, that they are to be understood to say, sins are remitted after this life, because (it being the same moment or instant that doth continue the time of life, and that after life, so that the last instant of life is the first after life) they are remitted in the very moment of dissolution, grace more fully infusing and pouring itself into the soul at that time than before, to the utter abolishing of all sin; all impediment formerly hindering her working now ceasing." So that these are the words of Alexander of Ales, delivering the opinion of many worthy men in the Church, and not mine: and therefore whether he and they do aptly expound the sayings of the Master of Sentences and others, or not, it is nothing to me; for I do not so interpret the sayings of these men, nor cite him to prove they are to be so interpreted, but cite him only to shew, that many learned men, in former times, did think all sinfulness to be purged out of the souls of men departing hence in the state of grace, even in the very moment of dissolution: which he clearly sheweth, and besides telleth us how they sought to construe the sayings of them that seemed to be of another judgment, that they might not be thought to be contrary hereunto. The same may be confirmed out of Bonaventura¹, who saith, it was the opinion of certain doctors, who were of good understanding, that no sin is remitted after death, because the force of freewill, in respect of merit or demerit, doth altogether cease. These, as he saith, thought that venial sins are wholly remitted and taken

¹ In 2. Sent. dist. 42. Quæst. 1. [Art. 3. Tom. iv. p. 573.]

away, either by repentance, or by final grace, if there be no time and place for repentance: as when a just and good man is suddenly seized upon by death. The author of the book called *Regimen Animarum*¹, a manuscript copy whereof I have, who lived about the year 1343, hath these words: *Delet gratia finalis veniale peccatum, in ipsa dissolutione corporis, et animæ, ex virtute completionis sui status, quamvis motus contritionis non sit ad illud directus, et hoc ab antiquis dictum est; sed modo communiter tenetur, quod peccatum veniale hinc deferatur a multis, etiam quoad culpam.* That is, “Final grace doth abolish and utterly take away venial sin in the very dissolution and parting of the soul and body, in that she groweth to be in a full and perfect estate, though no motion of contrition be directed to the putting of it away: and this was said by the ancient, but now it is commonly holden, that many carry venial sins with them out of this world, even in respect of the stain and fault.” Cajetan agreeth with those ancient divines, that this author speaketh of: his words are these²: *Patet quod nec pro fomite purgando, qui etiam in baptizatis remanet, nec pro reliquis quibuscunque, nisi satisfactione debita pro commissis vel omissis, pœnæ sunt purgatoriæ... Sicut nihil acquirit grave ex remotione prohibentis, sed juxta pristinam gravitatem tendit ad proprium locum: ita anima ex remotione prohibentis, juxta sortitam prius charitatem, in cœlestis patriæ mansionem sibi paratam intrat.* That is: “It is evident that purgatory pains serve neither for the purging out of the remains of concupiscence, which still abideth even in the baptized; nor for the taking away of any other thing whatsoever, but only for the satisfying for the sins of omission and commission that are past: and therefore if that be once performed, as a heavy thing, when that is taken away which hindered, getteth no new quality or virtue, but by force of that weight and heaviness it formerly had, goeth to the proper place where nature hath appointed it to rest; so the soul, so soon as that is taken away which hindered, by force and virtue of that charity it formerly had, entereth into the mansion of the heavenly country provided for it.” Further he addeth, that as after death, charity is *extra statum merendi*, that is, “in a state

¹ Part. III. de Effectu Peccati Venialis.

² Cajet. Opusc. Tom. I. Tract. 23. q. 1. [fol. 60. c.]

wherein there is no farther meriting," so likewise it is in a state wherein it is capable of no increase, the increase of charity being the bound of the merit of it: whence it followeth, that there is no purging out of any sin after death; for if after death there be no new increasing of that grace and charity which during life stood together with venial sin, there is no purging out of any such sin after death; seeing it is charity stirred up and enkindled that consumeth sin, as the burning furnace doth a drop of water, and nothing else. This is the resolution, not of a few or mean men, but of many, and those the greatest and best esteemed of in the Churches, wherein our fathers lived and died. To these, I say, Gregory seemeth to agree, saying, "that the very fear that is found in men dying purgeth out the lesser sins." But here Master Higgons hath noted "three points of fraudulency," as he saith¹, committed by me in a few words: first, by an omission; in that, whereas St Gregory saith *plerumque*, for the most part it is so, I omit and leave out this particle: secondly, by a reddition, in that whereas Gregory saith the "smallest," I say the "lesser:" thirdly, by an extension, in that whereas Gregory saith the "souls of the just are purged," I say, in a more general sort, "the souls of men dying are purged." For answer hereunto, I say, I have no way misalleged Gregory, nor derived any conclusion out of any words of his, contrary to his purpose and doctrine in other places; for Gregory² seemeth to be of opinion, that the fear that is found in the souls of good men dying, doth always purge out the lesser sins, so often as it is found in them: but, that it is not always found in them, but for the most part; whereas I have only said, it doth purge out such sins, without adding "always," or "for the most part." And that he addeth the particle "for the most part," to shew that this fear is not always found in good men when they are to die, and not to deny the effect of purging out the smaller sins unto it, wheresoever it is found, appeareth, in that immediately after, by way of opposition, he saith, that *nonnunquam*, that is, "sometimes," God strengtheneth and confirmeth the minds of men ready to die, that otherwise would fear, so that they do not fear at all: but if we take the words as Higgons would have us, yet am I

¹ Pag. 103.

² Dialog. Lib. iv. cap. 46. [Tom. II. col. 453.]

no whit disadvantaged: for if the fear of God's judgments alone do for the most part purge out the lesser sins, it is likely that other good motions, and the strengthening of grace, and putting of it into a state of perfection, by the subtraction of impediments, should take away the rest; which is all that I have said. For I do not say, that he doth agree with those that think all sinfulness is purged out in the very moment of dissolution; but, that he seemeth to agree with them, or that in consequence of reason he should agree with them. Neither is his next exception, of "least," and "lesser," any better than this; for Gregory himself, in the thirty-ninth chapter of the same book, speaking of those sins that are compared to timber, hay, and stubble, and are to be purged out by the fire the apostle speaketh of to the Corinthians, calleth them indifferently *peccata parva et minima, levia et levissima, minuta atque levissima*, that is, small and smallest, light and lightest sins: so that small or light sins in the positive degree, are the same with him that least or lightest; and therefore it was no fraudulency in me, not translating any sentence of Gregory, but reporting his opinion touching venial sins, indifferently and freely to name them, "small, lesser, or smallest," and lightest sins; seeing in his meaning and phrase of speech, and truth of the thing itself, they are all one. The last exception is more frivolous than the two former; for speaking only of the souls of the just, and the purging out of such sins as are found in them till death, in my whole discourse, what need was there that I should add "just," seeing no man could possibly understand me to speak of any other? But it seemeth the poor man knoweth not well what he saith, for he will have Gregory to mean by "just men," "men of singular sanctity," and not generally all that are in the state of grace: and yet denieth that all the sins of these are purged out in death; so casting into purgatory, not only those of the middle sort, but the best and perfitest also, contrary to the opinions of his own divines. So that we see here is much ado about nothing: and as the poor man said when he shorn his sow, Here is a great cry and a little wool. For I do not absolutely say, that Gregory fully agreeth with these worthy divines before mentioned, who think all sinfulness to be utterly abolished and removed out of the soul, in the very moment of dissolution; but that he seemeth to agree unto them; or that in

consequence of reason he should agree unto them, in that he maketh the very fear, that is found in men dying, to purge out their lesser sins, when it is found in them, though always it be not found in them: which is not my private conceit, but the Grecians, in their Apology touching purgatory, long before delivered the very same more peremptorily; namely, that "Gregory by this saying, and some other found in him, doth utterly overthrow that purgatory which he is thought to teach." And if he will be pleased to peruse the schoolmen, he shall find in Alexander of Ales¹, that the best of them thought Gregory to be of opinion, as they also were, that all sin in respect of the stain, or fault, is purged out in death: some interpreting his words, where he speaketh of remission of sins after this life, of that remission which is in the last instant of this life, and the first of the next, and other otherwise. And therefore Master Higgon might well have spared his taxation of me, and omitted his marginal note², that "many such tricks were found by the bishop of Evreux in the writings of the lord Plessis Mornay." For in all that which I have written touching this point, there is not so much as the least shadow of any ill dealing: and for that worthy gentleman, against whom that bishop sought advantage, by cavilling against some parts of his allegations, it will be found that he hath more sincerely handled the controversies of religion than ever any Romanist did. That if any mistaking be found in him, there are many more and more material in far less compass, in the writings of cardinal Bellarmine himself: and that in his "Anatomy of the Mass," the book excepted against by the bishop of Evreux, he hath in such sort cut in sunder the sinews, not only of the mass, but of the whole mass of Romish religion, that all the rabble of Romanists will never be able orderly to answer that whole book, howsoever it is easy to cavil against some parts of any thing never so well written.

But to return to the matter in hand. Whatsoever we think of Gregory, of whom I say only that he seemeth to agree unto the opinion of those divines, who think all sinfulness to be purged out of the souls of men dying in the state of grace in the moment of dissolution; it is certain that exceeding many of best esteem in the Roman Church in former times

¹ Summæ, Lib. iv. q. 15. Memb. 3. Art. 3. [Tom. iv. p. 494.]

² Pag. 103.

were of that opinion; and the same is proved by unanswerable reasons. Whence it will follow inevitably, that there remaineth no punishment to be suffered after death by men dying in the state of grace. For they are propositions of St Bernard that all the world cannot except against¹; that “when all sin shall be wholly taken out of the way, no effect of it shall remain; that the cause being altogether removed, the effect shall be no more;” and, that “all punishment shall be as far from the outward man, as all fault shall be free from the inward.” Now that all sinfulness is purged out in the very dissolution of soul and body, is confirmed, as I said, by unanswerable reasons; for seeing the remains of natural concupiscence, the proneness to evil, difficulty to do good, and contrariety between the better and meaner faculties of the soul, are wholly taken out of the souls of all them that die in the state of grace in the moment of dissolution, even in the judgment of our adversaries themselves (there being nothing in the fault or stain of sin but the act, desire, and purpose, which cannot remain where concupiscence, the fountain thereof, is dried up; or the habitual liking and affecting of such things as were formerly desired, purposed, or done ill; which cannot be found in a soul out of which all natural concupiscence, inclining to the desiring of things inordinately, is wholly taken away, and itself turned to the entire desiring of God alone, and nothing but in and for him; as is every soul out of which concupiscence, inclining to affect finite things inordinately, is wholly taken away); it is more than evident that all sinfulness is wholly taken out of the soul of each good man in the very moment of his death, dissolution, and departure hence. See then the absurdity of Romish religion! the soul of a good man in the moment of death is wholly freed from all sinfulness: there is nothing found in it that displeaseth God; charity and grace, making those in whom it is acceptable to God, is perfect in it; and yet it must be punished to satisfy

¹ “Sane ubi prorsus de medio factum fuerit omne peccatum, causa quidem omnino sublata nec ipse quoque deinceps manebit effectus: ut quomodo accedere jam ad te malum omnino non poterit, sic nec flagellum quidem valeat appropinquare tabernaculo tuo, quod videlicet tam longe sit ab exteriori homine quælibet pœna, quam longe fuerit culpa ab interiori.”—S. Bernard. in Psalm. ‘Qui habitat.’ Serm. 10. [Tom. i. col. 862. n.]

the justice of God, because it was sometimes sinful ! Truly I ever thought, whereas there are two things in sin, the fault, deformity, or stain, and the punishment ; that Christ, who is the “ Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world,” by the working of his sanctifying grace purgeth out the one ; and by virtue of his satisfactory sufferings, freeth such as he purgeth from the impurity of sin, from the punishment due unto it ; and that in proportionable sort he purgeth out the one, and by virtue of his satisfactory sufferings freeth us from the other. So that when sin is only so purged out that it is no more predominant, there remaineth no condemnation, but yet some punishment, as in the case of David ; and when it is wholly taken away, there remaineth no punishment at all ; which whosoever contradicteth is injurious to the sufferings of Christ and the justice of God, who will not require one debt to be twice paid. For it is most certain that Christ suffered the punishments not only of those sins that men commit in the time of ignorance, infidelity, and the state of nature, before baptism and regeneration, but of all sins ; and that the reason why notwithstanding godless men are subject to all kinds of punishments as before, is because they do not become one with Christ ; nor are made partakers of his sanctifying Spirit, purging out the sinfulness that is in them, that they might enjoy the benefit of his satisfaction ; as likewise the reason why good men, such as David, turning to God by repentance, are still subject to some punishments in this life, notwithstanding their union with Christ, is, because they are not so fully conjoined to Christ, and made partakers of his Spirit, as to be purged from all sin. For if they were they should be freed from all punishment by his sufferings ; he having suffered for all them that become one with him, all that the justice of God requireth. This is that heresy of the papists which I speak of, namely that to satisfy God’s justice the souls of men dying in the state of grace must suffer punishments answerable to the sins they sometimes committed, though now pure from all sin. This conceit never any of the ancient had ; howsoever some of them supposed that sinful men in hell may be eased or delivered thence ; and some other (as Augustine and such as followed him in the Latin Church) were doubtful whether some impurity might not remain to be purged out of the souls of men dying in the

state of grace, by afflictions and chastisements after this life. And therefore it is untrue that M. Higgons saith¹, “This imputation of heresy cleaveth as fast to the fathers, whom we pretend to honour and reverence, as to any papist at this day.” If Gerson, or any other whom I honour, held this heresy, they held it not heretically, as the Romanists now do; even as Cyprian held the heresy of rebaptization, and sundry of the ancient the heresy of the Millenaries, but not heretically: so that Vicentius Lirinensis saith², “The fathers were saved, and the children condemned; the authors of errors acquitted, and the followers of them in the same cast into the pit of hell.” But M. Higgons saith, Bernard (whose sayings touching the not punishing of such as are freed from the impurity of sin I allege, thereby to overthrow the erroneous conceit of papists touching purgatory) admitteth purgatory; and therefore I “traduce the testaments of the dead to establish such doctrines as they impugn³.” For answer whereunto I say, that whether Bernard admit purgatory or not, yet may he have a sentence, which supposing all sinfulness to be purged out in the moment of dissolution, proveth that there is no purgatory; to which purpose I allege him, and therefore traduce not the testaments of the dead to establish any doctrines they impugned, as M. Higgons untruly and unjustly chargeth me. For my “distilling our Church out of the writings of learned men⁴” living under the papacy, I shall have a fitter place to answer him when I come to his Appendix; where I will make it appear that the Israel of God hath not been forced (as he untruly saith it hath) to seek to the Philistines, as the distressed Israelites did for the sharpening of their tools when there was no smith in Israel; but that the Israel in Canaan deriveth itself from that Israel that sometimes was in Egypt in miserable bondage, enjoyeth the jewels and treasures, and fighteth against the enemies of God with the weapons brought from thence. And thus much touching Gregory.

¹ Pag. 108.

² “Et o rerum mira conversio; auctores ejusdem opinionis lici, consecratores vero hæretici judicantur. Absolvuntur auctores, condemnantur discipuli: conscriptores librorum filii reus, assertores vero gehenna suscipiet.”—Vincent. Lirin. Comm. Hæres. cap. 11. [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. Tom. vii. p. 252.]

³ Pag. 105.

⁴ Pag. 107.

(HIGGONS, Book II. Part I. § 2.)

In the next place he cometh to Augustine, whom he saith I have likewise abused. The words wherein the supposed abuse is offered unto him are these¹: “The Romish manner of praying for the dead hath no certain testimony of antiquity; for no man ever thought of purgatory, till Augustine, to avoid a worse error, did doubtingly run into it: after whom many in the Latin Church embraced the same opinion; but the Greek Church never received it to this day:” in which words he saith², “I note the temerity, irresolution, and folly of Augustine;” the reader, I doubt not, will note his temerity and folly in censuring me thus without a cause: for I note not St Augustine for temerity, nor make him the author of a new fancy, as he falsely chargeth me; but shew, that whereas there were very dangerous opinions in the Church in his time touching the state of the departed, (many of great esteem thinking that men dying in mortal sin, and adjudged to hell, shall at the end come out thence and be saved,) he sought to qualify the matter in the best sort he could with least offence unto them, and to bring them from that error, and therefore saith³, “If they would acknowledge the punishments of such to be eternal, and think only that they may be mitigated or suspended for a time, or that men dying in the state of grace, yet in some lesser sins are afflicted for a time in the other world (though he know not whether these things be so or not), yet he would not strive with them.” This is not to be the author of a new fancy; but in hope to reclaim men from a great extremity, to leave something less dangerous in the same kind doubtful: and this is all that I say of St Augustine, neither is this my private fancy; but the Grecians, in that learned Apology before mentioned, have the same observation, to wit, that he wrote not those things which he hath touching purgatory, out of a certain persuasion, and as undoubtedly holding them to be true; but as it were in a sort inforced, and for the avoiding of a greater evil, which was this, that there is a purging of all sins after death, as some then thought. So that as it seemeth, thinking it

¹ [Field, Book III. chap. xvii. Vol. i. p. 209.]

² Pag. 108.

³ Enchirid. ad Laurentium, cap. 67. [Tom. vi. col. 221. Confer cap. 112. col. 238.]

something a violent course directly to go against the opinion of many, and fearing his words would not seem probable, if whereas others thought all sins may be purged out after death, he, on the contrary side, should say none may be purged, he choose rather to go in a middle way, not contradicting that which is less absurd and inconvenient (that so he might more easily bring them he had to deal with from that which was far more inconvenient), than too much to exasperate them. This was the apprehension the Grecians had of Augustine's writings touching this point; which whosoever shall without any sinister affection peruse, will find to be right and true. Touching irresolution, it was far from Augustine in matters pertaining to the rule of faith; but in other things, wherein men may be ignorant and doubtful, and dissent from one another, without danger of eternal damnation, no man was more slow to resolve, no man more inclined to leave things doubtful. But howsoever, that he was doubtful and unresolved in the points concerning the state of the dead, it is evident in that he saith¹; If they, whose merciful error he refuteth, would only think the pains of them that are in hell to be mitigated or suspended, he would not greatly strive about it; though I am well assured he would not willingly have resolved that these things are so. The like may be said touching the temporal affliction of good men dying in the state of grace, but yet with some lesser sins; for he was ever doubtful concerning the same, and never resolved that they are undoubtedly in a state of temporal afflictions, as Master Higgon's untruly reporteth², and thence inferreth many things childishly against me; but that they are in a state wherein prayers may avail them; which two things are very different. For the Grecians, in their Apology before cited, admit remission of sins after this life, and yet deny that there is any estate of temporal affliction. And I have shewed before how sins may be said to be remitted after this life in the entrance into the other world, without admitting purgatory punishments. But it cannot be excused that I say, Augustine fearfully opposed himself against the error of them who thought all right-believing Christians, how wickedly soever they lived, shall in the end be saved. Surely the Grecians said as much before, and are in good hope to be excused; and therefore I am in some hope that I may

¹ Ubi supra.

² Pag. 113.

be also; for I do not say that he so feared anything as to conceal any truth he was thoroughly resolved of, and which he held necessary to be known of all; but that he feared to offend them he dealt with farther than of necessity he must, and therefore resolved to yield to them as far as possible he might, without impugning known and resolved truths; they being many and of great esteem that were otherwise minded than he was. Thus have I no way wronged St Augustine, but done him the greatest right I could; for I have shewed that he impugned not only the error of Origen, touching the salvation of all, even the devil and his angels, and of such as thought that all men, or at least all Christian men, though heretics and schismatics, shall in the end be saved; but of them also that thought only that all right-believing Christians shall be saved, how wickedly soever they live; affirming that no such thing may be yielded, and yet professing himself doubtful touching the mitigation and suspension of their pains for a time; as also whether men dying in the state of grace, and yet with some lesser sins, be afflicted for a time, and after delivered. So that he brought the conceit concerning the salvation by fire and punishment of men departing hence in the state of sin, from that exceeding large extent to this strait; assuring himself more might not be yielded, and professing he knew not whether so much might or not. And therefore he was the author of this limitation, that the error should not be so dangerous; but not of the error itself, touching the salvation of men dying in the state of sin; which no way tendeth to his disgrace, but to his commendation.

But Master Higgon will prove¹ that he was not the first that fell into the opinion of this purgatory of men dying in the state of grace; first, out of the Magdeburgians, and secondly, out of the testimonies of sundry fathers, teaching the same purgatory before Augustine, as he pretendeth. To the Magdeburgians it may be answered in a word, that they speak of the purgatory of such as depart hence in mortal sin, when they attribute the error of purgatory to Origen and others before Augustine's time. For Origen made all punishments, even those of the devil and damned ones, to be but purgatory punishments; and therefore that they say is nothing to our purpose. Wherefore let us see what testimonies of fathers

¹ Pag. 110.

before Augustine M. Higgons can produce for confirmation of his supposed purgatory. The first he bringeth is St Basil¹, who writing upon those words of Esay, “Iniquity shall be burned as fire, and devoured of the fire as any grass, and burned up in the thickness of the wood;” and again, “All the earth shall be set on fire in the furious and fierce wrath of the Lord, and all the people shall be as it were burned by fire;” first sheweth that iniquity may fitly be compared unto grass, the generation whereof is infinite, in that sin begetteth and succeedeth itself; fornication, fornication; lying, lying; and so in the rest. Secondly, that if we reveal and make bare our sin by confessing and acknowledging it, we make it like dry grass, fit to be devoured and consumed by the purging fire; but that if it become not like dry grass, it shall not be devoured by the fire. Thirdly, he interpreteth the thickness of the wood to be men darkened in their cogitations, and keeping many evils in the secret of their hearts. Fourthly, whereas it is said the earth is set on fire by the fierce wrath of the Lord, he saith the prophet meaneth that earthly things are delivered to the punishing fire for the good of the soul, according to that of the Lord: “I come to send fire into the earth; and my desire is that it be kindled as soon as may be.” Fifthly, he sheweth that whereas the prophet saith, “The people shall be burned as with fire,” he threateneth not destruction, but promiseth purgation, according to that of the apostle, “If any man’s work burn,” &c. Here indeed mention is made of purging fire; but it is the fire of tribulation in this world, and of divine affections which it kindleth for the consuming and burning up of the sins of them that acknowledge them, and make them bare by feeling and confessing how displeasing they are to God; whereas otherwise it worketh no such effect. But here is no word nor circumstance whence it may be collected that Basil speaketh of any purgatory after this life; nay, it is plain he speaketh of that fire which Christ came to bring into the world, and to cast out upon the earth, and which he desired to be kindled as soon as might be; which things I think are not appliable to popish purgatory. “The scripture,” saith Gregory Nazianzen², “men-

¹ Basil. in Esaiæ ix. [Tom. i. p. 553.]

² Οἶδα γὰρ πῦρ καθαρτήριον, ὃ Χριστὸς ἦλθε βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, πῦρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναγωγῆς λόγοις καλούμενος. Ἀναλωτικὸν τοῦτο τῆς ὑλῆς

tioneth a purging fire which Christ came to send into the earth, and himself anagogically is called fire: the nature of this fire is to waste and consume away the grosser matter and vicious disposition of the mind; and therefore Christ desireth to have it kindled as soon as may be, that we may have the benefit of it: which I think can hardly be understood of purgatory, unless we suppose Christ wisheth us all to be in those torments with speed. Nicetas, writing upon Nazianzen, expoundeth the purging fire he speaketh of to be love and faith towards God, which purge our souls from sin and ignorance, and divide the godly from the ungodly and unbelievers. Another fire Nazianzen saith there is, which is not a purging but a revenging fire; whether it be that Sodomitical fire, which, mixed with brimstone and tempest, God poureth on the heads of sinners; or that which goeth before the face of the Lord, and burneth up his enemies on every side; or lastly, that which is more horrible than all these, which is joined with the restless worm, and which never goeth out. So that we see neither Gregory, nor Nicetas, knew any thing of the papists' purgatory fire after this life, mentioning all the kinds of fire that are spoken of in scripture, and omitting it clean. To Basil Master Higgon's addeth Eusebius Emissenus¹, who was more ancient than he. But his own friends² will tell him, these homilies which he citeth, that go under his name, are none of his; but that they were collected out of the Latin fathers by Beda or some other: the sentence doubtless which he citeth is found word for word in Augustine's homily upon the Epiphany. But howsoever, the author of these homilies seemeth to speak of a trying fire, through which all must pass, and not of the papists' imagined purgatory. The next testimony he bringeth is out of Gregory Nyssen³; but as the Grecians in their Apology note, they are not well advised that allege Gregory Nyssen to this purpose;

καὶ τῆς πονηρᾶς ἐστὶν ἔξω, ὁ καὶ ἀναφθῆναι τάχιστα βούλεται· ποθεῖ γὰρ τῆς εὐεργεσίας τὸ τάχος· ἐπεὶ καὶ πυρὸς ἄνθρακας δίδωσιν ἡμῖν εἰς βοήθειαν.—Greg. Naz. Orat. xl. in Sanctum Baptisma. [§ 36. Tom. i. p. 720. c.]

¹ Hom. iii. de Epiph. [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. Tom. vi. p. 625.]

² Sixtus Senensis, Bibl. Sanct. Lib. iv. [p. 229.] Baron. Tom. iv. A.D. CCCXLI. 11. [p. 365.]

³ Serm. de Defunctis. [Tom. iii. p. 639.]

seeing he speaketh not of a particular purging of some, but of a general restoring of all: of which opinion also Didymus and Evagrius were. This his gross error they excuse: first, for that happily these things might be foisted into his works by heretics; and secondly, for that he wrote before the time of the fifth general council, wherein the error of Origen was condemned. From these Greek fathers, Master Higgon¹ proceedeth to the Latin: and first produceth Ruffinus upon the Psalms, and then Ambrose. That Ruffinus wrote upon the Psalms was never heard of, before that of late one Antonius de Albone, archbishop of Lyons, found out an unknown work, in a certain ruined abbey, and put it out under the name of Ruffinus, though, as himself confesseth, it seemed strange to many that such a work had lain hid so long; and more strange, that so often the same sentences and periods should be found in Augustine that are in this supposed Ruffinus; seeing he could not take them from Augustine, and Augustine in all likelihood would not borrow them from him, never using to be beholding to any man in this kind: so that it may be thought this work had a later author than either of these: and surely the words Master Higgon citeth are the words of Augustine, and therefore ill alleged to shew that others before him thought as he did touching the purging of men dying in an imperfect state of grace. Wherefore let us come to Ambrose, out of whom he citeth two places: the first is upon the hundred and eighteenth Psalm, the second upon the thirty-sixth Psalm. Touching the first of these places, cardinal Bellarmine² will tell him, that it is not to be understood of the fire of purgatory, but of the fire of God's judgment: which is not a purging or an afflicting fire, but a trying and examining fire. I will set down the words at large, that the reader may judge of them³: "All must be proved by fire that desire to return to paradise; for it is not idly written, that when Adam and Eve were cast out of paradise, God set in the entrance into it a fiery two-edged, or turning sword: for all must pass by flaming fire, whether it be John the Evangelist, whom the Lord so loved that he said of him to Peter, 'If I will have him to abide,

¹ Pag. 112.

² De Purgat. Lib. i. cap. iv. [Tom. i. col. 580. ed. fol. Col. Agr. 1619.]

³ [In Psalm cxviii. al. cxix. Serm. xx. Tom. i. col. 1225.]

what is that to thee? follow thou me' (of his death some have doubted, of his passage through the fire we may not doubt because he is in paradise, and is not separated from Christ) or Peter, that received the keys of the kingdom of heaven and walked upon the sea; he must be forced to say, 'We have passed by fire and water, and thou hast brought us into a place of refreshing:' but when John cometh, the fiery sword shall soon be turned away, because iniquity is not found in him, whom equity loved. If there were any fault found in him as a man, the love of God wasted it away. For the wings thereof are as the wings of fire: he that here hath the fire of charity, shall not there fear the fire of the sword. Christ shall say unto Peter, that so often offered to die for him, Pass, and be at rest: but he shall say, He hath tried us in the fire, as silver is tried, &c. He shall be tried as silver but I shall be tried as lead. I shall burn till the lead melt away: if no silver be found in me, woe is me, I shall be cast into the lowest hell, or wholly burnt up as stubble: if any gold or silver be found in me, not by mine own works, but by the mercy and grace of Christ, and by the ministry of my priesthood, happily I shall say, They that trust in thee shall not be confounded. Therefore iniquity shall be burned out by the fiery sword, that sitteth upon the talent of lead. He alone could not feel that fire, who is the justice of God, even Christ, who did no sin: for the fire found nothing in him that it could burn. But concerning others, even he that thinketh himself gold, hath lead: and he that thinketh himself to be a grain of corn, hath chaff, that may be burned. Many here seem to themselves to be gold; I do not envy them; but even the gold shall be tried: it shall burn in fire, that it may be proved: for so it is written, I will prove them as gold in the fire. Therefore, seeing we are to be tried, let us so behave ourselves, that we may deserve to be approved by the judgment of God; let us, while we are here, hold humility, that when every of us shall come to the judgment of God, he may say, See my humility, and deliver me." And upon the thirty-sixth Psalm he hath these words¹: "We shall all be tried by fire: and Ezechiel saith, Behold, the Lord Almighty cometh and who shall abide the day of his coming? or who shall endure it, when he shall appear unto us? for he shall come a

¹ [Tom. i. col. 789.]

purging fire, and as fullers' soap; and he shall sit down to try and fine the gold and the silver: he shall fine the sons of Levi, and pour them out like gold and silver; and they shall offer sacrifice to the Lord in righteousness. Therefore the sons of Levi shall be fined by fire; Ezechiel shall be fined by the fire; and Daniel shall be fined by the fire: but these, though they shall be tried by the fire, yet they shall say, We have passed by fire and water: others shall abide in the fire. To them the fire shall be as a moist dew, as it was to the Hebrew children, that were cast into the hot burning furnace; but the revenging fire shall burn up the ministers of iniquity. Woe is me, if my work shall burn, and I suffer loss of my labour! and if the Lord do save his servants, we shall be saved by faith, yet as by fire; and though we be not burned up, yet we shall be burned: but how some remain in the fire, and other pass through it, let the scripture in another place teach us. The people of Egypt were drowned in the Red Sea; the people of the Hebrews passed through it: Moses passed; Pharaoh was overwhelmed, because his grievous sins did drown him: in like sort sacrilegious persons shall be cast headlong into the lake of burning fire, &c." Here we see Ambrose speaketh of the trial of God's severe and righteous judgment, expressing the same by the name of fire: because "even our God is a consuming fire;" and a fire shall go before him, when he cometh to judge the world: but of the papists' purgatory fire he hath no word. The fire he speaketh of is the fiery trial of God's judgment, through which he thinketh all must pass, though never so holy, and be burned in it, though not burned up, as the wicked shall. Of the same fire, not of purgatory, but of the judgment of God, doth Hilary speak upon the same words of the hundred and eighteenth Psalm, and upon the second of Matthew, where expounding these words, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire," he saith, "it remaineth that they that have been baptized with the Holy Ghost should be consummate and made perfit in the fire of judgment." And before these Lactantius¹; his words are these: "Therefore the divine fire by one and the same virtue and power shall burn the wicked, &c. And also when the Lord shall judge the righteous, he shall try them by fire: then they, whose sins shall

¹ Lib. vii. cap. xxi. Inst. Chr. [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. Tom. iii. p. 635.]

prevail either in weight or number, shall be burned up in the fire: but they whom full and perfect righteousness and the maturity of virtue shall have thoroughly seasoned, shall not feel that fire, because they have something of God in them to repel and reject the force of the flame; and so great is the force of innocency, that that harmless fire doth fly from it, having received power from God to burn the ungodly, and to do service to the righteous. Many things are found in Basil upon Esay, which (as Sixtus Senensis saith¹) may seem to tend to the same purpose, as when upon those words², “He shall purge Hierusalem in the spirit of judgment and in the spirit of burning,” he saith: “This is to be referred to the trial and examination which shall be in fire in the world to come.” Thus do none of those fathers, that Master Higgons allegeth, say any thing for the imagined purgatory of papists, but the same is clearly refuted by that which they say; and therefore the reader may be well assured, that it is most true that I have said, that Augustine was the first that ever spake any thing of that purgatory, wherein men dying in an imperfect state of grace are supposed to be purged after this life by fire. These things being so, I doubt not but all men of any indifferency will easily see that this idle prater, which ran away upon discontentment, had little reason to say³ that he grew to a detestation of his religion, because he found my “dealing to be corrupt, and incapable of defence.” His vain and childish retorting⁴ of that I say of Bellarmine’s impudency in another case and upon another occasion⁵, I little regard: seeing he gave me just cause to say that I said, and I had good advantage against him; whereas this prating fugitive hath none against me.

¹ Biblioth. Sanct. Lib. v. Annot. 171. [p. 385.]

² Τὸ δὲ πνεύματι κρίσεως, καὶ πνεύματι καύσεως, πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς δοκιμασίαν.—Basil. in Isai. iv. [Tom. i. p. 475. B.]

³ Pag. 109.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ [Book III. Chap. xli. Vol. i. p. 338.]

(HIGGONS, Book II. Part I. § 3.)

The next father which he saith I have abused is St Hierome. The supposed abuse offered to him is, that I say, he was of opinion, that howsoever devils and impious ones shall never be saved, yet all right-believing Christians, how wickedly soever they live, shall, after punishments suffered and endured, be saved in the end. It was my hard hap to fall into the hands of this severe censurer, that brandeth all that come in his way with the note of ill dealing and abuse of fathers; and therefore I think I must be forced to appeal from him. And because Bellarmine is by him pronounced worthy of immortal honour, let us hear what he will pronounce: "There are," saith he¹, "who think that blessed Hierome was in this error: yet it seemeth he was not." Here is a more advised and temperate censure than that of hotspur Higgons. Some think he was in this error, but it seemeth he was not. So that it is not certain that he erred not in this point, but doubtful: and my dealing is not so bad as Master Higgons would make it to be. But let us appeal yet farther, and make Hierome himself, even good St Hierome, as this smatterer is pleased to style him, judge between us. If I make it not as clear as the sun at noon-day that he was in this error, out of his own indubitate writing, let Higgons insult upon me at his pleasure; but if I do, I would intreat his superiors to teach him better manners.

In his first book against the Pelagians, he distinguisheth unrighteous men and sinners, from ungodly or impious; defining them to be ungodly or impious, that either never knew God, or, after they had the knowledge of God, corrupted and changed it, and then pronounceth, that the unrighteous and sinners, that have the right knowledge of God, shall not perish everlastingly. His words are these: "Who can endure that you have in the chapter following, that the unrighteous and sinners shall not be spared in the day of judgment, but be burned up in those eternal fires? that you go about to stop the course of God's mercy, and to judge of the sentence of the judge before the day of judgment? so that although he would, he may not spare the unrighteous and sinners, because you prescribe the contrary;

¹ De Purgatorio, Lib. ii. cap. i. [Tom. ii. col. 632.]

for you say it is written in the Psalms ‘Let the sinners fall from the earth, and the unrighteous, that they be no more.’ And again, in Esay, ‘The unrighteous and sinners shall be burned together, and they that forsake God shall be destroyed;’ and do you not understand that the threats of God have sometimes a sound of mercy? For he doth not say they shall be burned up in everlasting fire; but that they shall fall from the earth, and that the unrighteous shall cease: for it is one thing for them to cease from sin and iniquity, and another thing for them to perish for ever, and to be burned up in everlasting fire. To conclude, Esaias, whose testimony you bring, saith, the sinners and unrighteous shall be burned together; and addeth not, for ever; and they that forsake God shall be utterly destroyed. This he speaketh properly of heretics, who, unless they convert from their errors, shall perish: but what rashness is it to match and join together unrighteous men and sinners, with such as are impious and ungodly, who are thus defined by us? Every impious and ungodly man is an unrighteous man, and a sinner; but there is no reciprocation: neither may we say every sinner and unrighteous man is also an impious and ungodly man; for impiety properly pertaineth to them that have not the knowledge of God; or, having had the knowledge of God, have corrupted and changed the same, &c. The apostle to the Romans saith, ‘Whosoever have sinned without the law, shall perish without the law; and whosoever have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law.’ He that is without the law, is the godless or impious man, who shall perish everlastingly; but he that is in the law, the sinner that believeth in God, who shall be judged by the law, and not perish.” And afterwards he addeth these words: “If Origen do say, that no reasonable creature shall perish, and attribute repentance to the devil, what is that to us, who say that the devil and his angels, and all impious men and prevaricators, shall perish for ever, and that Christians if they shall be prevented and taken in sin, shall be saved after punishment.” Here we see the difference made not between one degree of sinners and another, but between sinners that profess rightly, and impious and ungodly men that have not the knowledge of God, or by heresy have perverted the same: between men sinning without the law

and so perishing, and men sinning in the law ; that is, having the true knowledge of the law, and so judged by it, and yet not perishing everlastingly. Whence it followeth necessarily, that he thinketh all right believers shall be saved. Which is farther confirmed, in that, having excluded impious men, he speaketh generally of Christians as in a state of salvation, notwithstanding sin, though after grievous punishments to be endured.

In his Commentaries upon Esay, having spoken of their conceit who think that all that have sinned and offended God shall in the end find mercy, and that no torments shall be eternal, he concludeth in this sort¹: “As we believe that the torments of the devil, of such as deny God, and of impious men, which have said in their hearts, ‘There is no God,’ are eternal; so we think that the sentence of the Judge that shall be pronounced upon sinners and ungodly men, who yet are Christians, whose works are to be tried and purged in the fire, shall be moderate, and mixed with clemency.” Where we see again he maketh not the difference between the degrees of sin, as the Romanists do, but between impious men, that say in their hearts “there is no God,” that deny God and his truth, and Christians that are unrighteous and sinners. Neither are those words “whoso works are to be tried and purged in the fire,” to be taken distinctively, to note forth unto us one certain degree of Christians, who shall suffer a temporal punishment in fire, as Master Higgon would have them, but explicatively, to signify the condition of all Christians. Which appeareth, because otherwise he would not have said of sinners, and yet Christians; but of sinners, and yet such Christians whose works are to be tried in the fire. This explication is added to put a difference between Christians and such as are no Christians; because the works of Christians only, and of all Christians, shall come to be tried in the fire of God’s judgment, others being judged already, as Hierome speaketh, and

¹ “Sicut diaboli et omnium negatorum atque impiorum, qui dixerunt in corde suo, Non est Deus, credimus æterna tormenta; sic peccatorum atque impiorum et tamen Christianorum, quorum opera in igne probanda sunt atque purganda, moderatam arbitramur et mixtam clementiæ sententiam judicis.”—Hieron. in ultima verba Esaiæ. [Tom. III. col. 516. fol. Par. 1693—1706.]

adjudged to eternal perdition. These circumstances of the words of Hierome considered, I think there is no indifferent reader but will conceive his opinion to have been as I have delivered it; and that I have no way wronged him; but that Higgon hath causelessly wronged me.

Some places there are in Hierome that are brought to prove that he was of another opinion; but they prove nothing. The first is out of his Commentaries upon Hosea, where he saith¹, "When heretics see men offend against God, they say, God seeketh nothing of them but the verity of faith: for this cause the people are not humbled, but they rejoice in their sins, and go forward with a stiff neck: wherefore the people and priest, master and scholars, are bound up in the same judgment." This place is alleged to no purpose; for here Hierome sheweth only that heretics teaching falsely that God requireth not good works, and such as believing them shall rejoice in evil doing, shall perish; which is no way contrary to the other conceit, that right-believing Christians, living ill, shall in the end be saved. The next place they bring is out of his Commentaries upon Matthew: the words are these²: "Mark, prudent reader, that both punishments are eternal, and that everlasting life hath no more fear of any fallings away;" which no way contrarieth the opinion of Hierome, before mentioned. For he is resolved that the punishments of the devil, his angels, and all impious ones, are eternal; but thinketh right believers, though living wickedly, shall be punished for a time. That out of his Commentaries upon the Galatians³, that "enmity, contention, wrath, brawling, dissension, drunkenness, and other-like, which we esteem to be but small evils, exclude us from the kingdom of God;" if it be understood of right believers,

¹ "Quum viderint aliquos delinquentes, aiunt, Nihil aliud quærit Deus nisi fidei veritatem, quam si custodieritis, non curat quid agatis. Hoc enim dicentes, in iniquitatibus eorum sublevant animas eorum: ut non solum non agant pœnitentiam, nec humilientur, sed gaudeant in sceleribus suis, et erecta cervice gradientur. Unde et populus et sacerdos, et hi qui docti sunt, et hi qui docuerunt, pari iudicio constringentur."—Id. in Hos. iv. [Tom. iii. col. 1260.]

² "Prudens lector, attende, quod et supplicia æterna sint, et vitæ perpetua metum deinceps non habet ruinarum."—Id. in Matt. xxv. [Tom. iv. part. 1. col. 124.]

³ In v. ad Gal. [Tom. iv. part. 1. col. 300.]

according to Hierome's opinion, sheweth only what these deserve, namely, exclusion from the kingdom of God, but prejudice not the riches of his mercy towards them that do such things. Here, by the way, I would have the reader to observe a gross oversight in Master Higgons; who saith¹, it may as well be inferred out of the writings of Hierome, that he thought all "Christians shall in the end be saved, how damnably so ever erring in matters of faith," as right believers. Whereas, distinguishing the godless or impious man that never knew God, or corrupteth the knowledge he had of God, as heretics, from a sinner or unrighteous man, he expressly pronounceth the one to perish everlastingly, and not the other. Having thus cleared myself from the suspicion of wrong offered to Hierome, which Master Higgons would willingly fasten on me, I will persuade myself to condemn the wrongs he doth me; as, namely, that I use the testimonies of this saint at my pleasure, that I vainly elude the truth, and unconscionably entreat the fathers², that I "craftily convey words into St Augustine:" that I "sort my terms wisely for my advantage, and that I seek to dazzle the understanding of my readers." If Master Higgons were a man of any worth, and should entreat me thus ill without all cause as he doth, I would let him know more of my mind; but I have resolved not to turn back to every cur that barketh at me.

(HIGGONS, Book II. Part I. § 4.)

Wherefore from Hierome I will pass to Ambrose, whom this profane Esau (who hath sold his birthright for a mess of pottage; for more I think he will not have for it) bringeth in as he saith "to make up the mess³." In this idle discourse touching Ambrose, the poor fellow is to be pitied or laughed at, accordingly as men are disposed, so ridiculously doth he behave himself. The circumstances of the matter are these. In the place cited by him, first, I shew⁴ in what sort men prayed lawfully for the dead without any conceit of purgatory, namely, respectively to their passage hence and entrance into the other world; and for their resurrection, public acquittal in

¹ Pag. 123.

² Pag. 121—123.

³ Pag. 125.

⁴ Third Book Of the Church, Chap. xvii. [Vol. i. p. 206.]

adjudged to eternal perdition. These words of Hierome considered, I think the reader but will conceive his opinion delivered it; and that I have no reason to think Higgon hath carelessly wrong.

Some places there are in the text which prove that he was of another opinion. The first is where he saith¹, "God, they say, do not receive the souls of faith: for they are asleep in the sleep of death, since Abel the just till this present day, and that he would place them in the land of the living;" as also many other like. Of this opinion I report Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clemens Romanus, Lactantius, Victorinus Martyr, Pope John the Two-and-twentieth, and Ambrose, to have been, besides sundry other.

All that which I have said touching the lawful and unlawful forms of praying for the dead used among the ancient, no way importing any conceit in them of purgatory, he passeth over in silence, as no way able to refute any part of it; and likewise, by his silence, yieldeth that Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clement bishop of Rome, Lactantius, Victorinus Martyr, and pope John the Two-and-twentieth, were of the opinion I speak of, to whom I might have added Irenæus, Bernard, Theophylact, and many more. That all these should be charged with this opinion, or with this folly, as he will have it, it never troubleth him; only he is much moved that Ambrose should be charged with any such thing. It seemeth he is not of the Gregorian, but of the Ambrosian Church, in that he is careless what becometh of his popes, Clement and John, so all be well with Ambrose. He was "tormented," he saith¹, "with a necessary suspicion rather of my unfaithfulness in this report, than of St Ambrose his folly in this matter." Surely, if he were as wise as he is wilful, he would not pass his censures as he doth; for it is no such folly, but that as wise a man as St Ambrose might fall into it, to think as so many learned, worthy, and

¹ Pag. 128.

wened divines did; and therefore Alfonsus à Castro¹,
 g charged the Grecians and Armenians with this error,
 that after these John the Two-and-twentieth rose up,
 nbraced the same opinion: and, lest any man might
 ss credit to his words, he saith he will report the
 f pope Adrian, who writeth thus: "Last of all, it is
 of John the Twenty-second, that he publicly taught,
 and commanded all to hold, that souls, though
 om sin, have not that stole, which is the clear vision
 e to face, before the last judgment; and it is said,
 ough the university of Paris to that point, that
 ld take any degree in divinity there, unless first
 r to defend this error, and to adhere to it for
 is far pope Adrian. Besides these, there are
 many patrons of this error, men of renown, and famous both
 for sanctity and science; to wit, the most blessed martyr of
 Christ, Irenæus, Theophylact bishop of Bulgaria, and blessed
 Bernard. Neither should any man marvel that so great men
 fell into so pestilent an error; seeing, as blessed James the
 apostle saith, "He that offendeth not in words is a perfect
 man." Notwithstanding, the reader is here to be admo-
 nished, that he think not that this error detracteth anything
 from the holiness or learning of so great men (so that it is
 no such imputation of folly to attribute this opinion to Am-
 brose, as wise Master Higgon maketh it); for whereas at
 that time the Church had defined nothing touching that
 matter, neither had it ever been called in question, and the
 testimonies of scripture for that which is now defined, were
 not so express, but that they might be wrested into another
 sense; they might teach the one, or the other, without note
 of heresy: especially seeing there wanted not testimonies
 of scripture that seemed in some sort to favour them. Thus
 far Alfonso à Castro. But let us see how Master Higgon
 will convince me that I have wronged Ambrose, which in
 so clamorous manner he undertaketh to do. Surely this is
 the ground of his quarrel against me: that having imputed
 this opinion to Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clemens Romanus,
 Lactantius, Victorinus, and Ambrose, in the margent I refer
 the reader to Sixtus Senensis, who yet excused Ambrose from
 this error. But the silly novice should know, that I do not

¹ Lib. iii. Advers. Hæres. [p. 222. fol. Par. 1571.]

say Sixtus Senensis attributeth that opinion to Ambrose, and that I put not his name in the margent, as if I grounded my imputation upon his authority : for if I would have done so, I could have mustered together a far greater number than I have done. But because it had been tedious to have set down the words of all those I mention, wherein they express their opinion in the margent, I refer the reader to Sixtus Senensis, who reporteth their words at large, according to the course of times wherein they flourished, that the reader, within the compass of one page, may see what they say, without turning over their large volumes ; and, among other, the words of Ambrose, which, I think, will strongly persuade him he was of that opinion which I impute unto him, howsoever Sixtus Senensis, by a favourable construction, labours to excuse him. Let us see therefore if Ambrose will not witness for me, that I have done him no wrong, but truly reported his opinion.

The first thing I imputed unto him is, that he thinketh, as many other did before and after him, that there is no judgment to pass upon men till the last day. If this be not clearly proved out of Ambrose's own words, let the reader think I have wronged him. In his Second Book of Cain and Abel, he hath these words¹ : "The master of a ship, when he hath brought his ship into the haven, scarce thinketh he hath ended his labour, before he begin to seek the beginning of a new : the soul is loosed from the body, and after the end of this life it is still holden in suspense, upon the uncertainty and doubtfulness of the future judgment ; so is there no end, where there is thought to be an end."

The second thing I attribute to Ambrose is, that he thinketh the souls of men are kept in some place appointed for that purpose, so that they come not into heaven till the general judgment. Let us hear him speak himself, and then let the reader judge, whether he say not all that I impute unto him. In his book *De Bono Mortis* he hath these words² : "In the books of Esdras we read that, 'When the

¹ "Gubernator cum in portus navim subduxerit, vix finem impositum labori putat, et statim quærit laboris exordium. Solvitur corpore anima et post finem vitæ hujus, adhuc tamen futuri judicii ambiguo suspenditur."—[Lib. II. cap. 2. Tom. I. col. 209.]

² [Cap. 10. Tom. I. col. 407.]

day of judgment shall come, the earth shall restore the bodies of the dead, and the dust shall restore those reliques and remains of the dead which rest in the graves, and the secret habitations shall restore the souls which have been committed to them, and the Most High shall be revealed upon the seat of judgment.’” From hence, he saith, the Gentiles took those things which they admire in the books of philosophers; and (blaming them that they mingled superfluous and unprofitable things with those that are true, as the demigration of souls into bees, birds, and the like fancies,) saith, it had been sufficient for them to have said, that souls delivered out of mortal bodies *petunt Haden*, that is, go into an invisible place; which place in Latin is called *Infernus*; and farther addeth, that the scripture calleth these secret habitations of souls, “storehouses.” Here we see, Ambrose saith, there are certain secret habitations of souls, which, though they be higher than the receptacles of dead bodies, yet are rightly called *ᾠδης* in the Greek, and *Infernus* in Latin; and that these are “storehouses,” keeping those souls that are committed to them till the resurrection, and then restoring them. If Master Higgon do think that *infernus* is heaven, then I have no more to say to him: otherwise I think the evidence of this place cannot be avoided.

The third thing I impute to Ambrose, is, that the souls of the just receive not the reward of their labours till the general judgment. Touching which point he hath these words¹: “The Scripture meeting with the complaints of men which they do or may make, for that the just which went before seem to be defrauded of the reward due unto them for a long time, even till the day of judgment, wonderfully saith, that the day of judgment is like unto a ring or crown, wherein, as there is no slackness of the last, so there is no swiftness of the

¹ “Denique et scriptura habitacula illa animarum promptuaria nuncupavit, quæ occurrens querelæ humanæ, eo quod justi qui præcesserunt videantur usque ad judicii diem, per plurimum scilicet temporis, debita sibi remuneratione fraudari, mirabiliter ait coronæ esse similem illam judicii diem, in quo sicut non novissimorum tarditas, sic non priorum velocitas. Coronæ enim dies expectatur ab omnibus; ut intra eum diem et victi erubescant, et victores palmam adipiscantur victoriæ. . . . Ergo dum expectatur plenitudo temporis, expectant animæ remunerationem debitam.”—Id. de Bono Mortis, cap. 10. [Tom. I. col. 408.]

first: for the day of crowning is expected by all; that within it they that are overcome may be ashamed, and they that are conquerors may obtain the palm of victory;" and after some other things inserted he addeth, that "so long as the fulness of time is expected, the souls expect their due reward; though neither the one sort be without all sense of evil, nor the other of good." Thus if it had pleased Master Higgon to look into Ambrose himself, and not to the opinion of Senensis (to which I refer not the reader, as he untruly saith I do; but to the words of Ambrose cited by him,) he might have found that I dealt faithfully and sincerely in this matter, and so have spared a great number of reproachful terms he now bestoweth very liberally on me.

Some man happily will say, that elsewhere Ambrose seemeth to place the souls of just men in heaven before the resurrection, and that this place *de bono mortis*, is to be interpreted by them. Whereunto I answer, that places where things are but spoken of in passage, and not purposely, are rather to be interpreted by those wherein they are purposely handled, than otherwise; and therefore this place *de bono mortis*, wherein he goeth about to describe at large the state of the dead, must be a rule to interpret other places by. The most pregnant proof that is brought to the contrary out of his indubitate works, is out of his Epistle to the Thessalonians, where, speaking of Acholius, of whose death he had lately heard, he saith¹, "He is now an inhabitant of the higher world, a possessor of the eternal city of Hierusalem that is in heaven; that he seeth there the unmeasurable measure of that city, the pure gold, the precious stone, perpetual light without any sun; and these things truly were well known to him before; but now seeing face to face, he saith 'As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of Hosts, in the city of our God;'" and out of the last of his Epistles, where, speaking of certain martyrs, he saith², "their

¹ "Est igitur jam superiorum incola, possessor civitatis æternæ illius Hierusalem, quæ in cælo est. Videt illic urbis ejus mensuram immensam, purum aurum, lapidem pretiosum, lumen sine sole perpetuum: et hæc omnia jamdudum quidem sibi comperta, sed nunc facie ad faciem manifesta videns ait, Sicut audivimus, ita et videmus in civitate Domini virtutum, in civitate Dei nostri."—Id. Lib. vii. Epist. 59. [al. Epist. 15. Tom. ii. col. 819.]

² Lib. x. Epist. ult. [al. Epist. 22. col. 875.]

souls are in heaven, their bodies on earth;" but the answer hereunto for the reconciling of the seeming contradictions of Ambrose is easy; for in the former place *de bono mortis*, he sheweth, that he thinketh that the souls of the just by seven several degrees, as it were by the space of seven days, are led along to take a view of the things they shall enjoy after the judgment; and that afterwards they are gathered into their habitations, there to enjoy the benefit of their quiet congregating, or gathering together: seven days' liberty they have to see the former things, and then they are gathered into their habitations. The seven degrees by which they are led those seven days are, 1. The consideration of their victory which they have obtained over the flesh, and other like enemies. 2. The quiet they find in themselves from these perturbations and tormentings of conscience, which the wicked are subject unto. 3. The Divine testimony which they have in themselves, that they have kept the law, making them not to fear the uncertain event of the future judgment. 4. Their beginning to discern their rest and future glory. 5. Triumphant joy, in that they are come out of the prison of a corruptible body into light and liberty, and to possess the inheritance promised to them. 6. The brightness of their countenances, beginning to shine as the sun. 7. Their confident hastening to see the face and countenance of God. Having been thus led along, they are brought into their habitations, where they comfort themselves in the foresight of that which shall be, and rest peaceably, guarded by the angels, in a place, as he describeth it, above the earth and places of dead bodies, and yet below the highest heaven, the place of perfit happiness. And so Acholius might be said by Ambrose to be "an inhabitant of the higher places, and to see the glory of the Hierusalem that is above," and yet not be in the highest heaven. But, he saith, Acholius is a possessor of that eternal city, and that the martyrs' bodies are on earth, and their souls in heaven; therefore he thought the spirits of the just to be in the highest heaven before the resurrection. This consequence, I fear, will hardly be made good: for Bernard¹ (who is confessed to have holden the opinion which I impute to Ambrose) maketh three estates of souls: the first, in *Tabernaculis*; the second, in *Atriis*; and the third, in *Domo*

¹ In Festo Omnium Sanct. Serm. 3. [Tom. i. col. 1033.]

interiori: that is, the first in “tents or tabernacles;” while they remain in the corruptible bodies of men that are in the warfare of Christ in the world: the second, in the outward “courts” of the Lord’s house: and the third, in the “inner rooms” of the house of God: so sorting these things, that both the latter states of souls of men may be said and thought to be in a sort in heaven, and to have possession of the eternal Jerusalem that is in heaven; and yet but one of them be in the highest heaven, where the perfection of the happy vision of God is: to which purpose it is that St Augustine saith¹: “After this life thou shalt not be there where the saints shall be, to whom it shall be said, ‘Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world;’ but thou mayest be where the proud rich man, in the midst of torments, saw afar off the poor man, sometimes full of ulcers, resting: in that rest thou shalt securely expect the day of judgment.” Here he denieth directly the souls of the just to be in heaven, where they shall be after the resurrection, and general judgment. In his Confessions he saith²: “Now Nebridius liveth in the bosom of Abraham, whatsoever that is that is signified by that bosom; there liveth my Nebridius, my sweet friend.” Here we see he is doubtful what the bosom of Abraham is. Upon Genesis³, he doubteth whether the souls of the just be in the third heaven or not: which peremptorily, in the place before cited, he denied. Neither doth he speak thus doubtfully touching the place only, but touching the state of happiness also: for in his Retractations thus he writeth⁴: “That maketh us most happy whereof the Apostle speaketh, saying, ‘Then shall I see him face to face, and then shall I know as I am known:’ they that have found this, are to be said to be in the possession of blessedness. But who these most blessed ones are who are in that possession, it is a great question: that the holy angels are, there is no question; but concerning holy men departed, whether they may be said to be now already in that possession, it is doubtful, &c.” Surely it is marvel if St Augustine escape the censure of Master Higgons,

¹ In Psal. xxxvi. [vid. Serm. 3. Tom. iv. col. 291.]

² Lib. ix. cap. 3. [Tom. i. col. 159.]

³ Lib. xii. cap. 34. [Tom. iii. col. 321.]

⁴ Retract. Lib. i. cap. 14. [Tom. i. col. 22.]

who pronounceth it folly to doubt of these things. Sixtus Senensis saith¹, we must civilly interpret St Augustine in these his sayings; but Bellarmine² saith directly, he sometimes doubted of the place where the souls of the just are after death; and that upon the thirty-sixth Psalm he denieth them to be there, where after the judgment they shall be. This is that Augustine that Master Higgon, in his scurril and ruffian-like phrase, saith³, was not so easily to be “jaded” by me, as Ambrose; thinking them all jades, as it seemeth, and unfit for such a horseman as he is to ride on, that have been doubtful, or found to err in this point; if he do, I would desire to know of him what he thinketh of Irenæus, who saith⁴, that “the souls of men dying shall go into an invisible place appointed for them by God, and shall abide there till the resurrection, attending and waiting for it; and that after receiving their bodies and perfittly rising again, that is, corporally, as Christ rose, they shall come into the sight of God. Of Justin Martyr⁵, who saith, “No man receiveth the reward of the things he did in this life till the resurrection; that the soul of the good thief that was crucified with Christ entered into Paradise, and is kept there till the day of resurrection and reward; that there the souls of good men do see the humanity of Christ, themselves, the things that are under them, and besides, the angels and devils.” Of Tertullian⁶, who saith: *Nulli patet cœlum, terra adhuc salva, ne dixerim*

¹ Lib. vi. Annotat. 345. [p. 555.]

² De Sanct. Beat. Lib. i. cap. 5. [Tom. ii. col. 709.] ³ Pag. 121.

⁴ “Hujus Hierusalem imago illa, quæ in priori terra Hierusalem, in qua justi præmeditantur incorruptelam, et parantur in salutem. . . . Quomodo enim vere Deus est, qui resuscitat hominem, sic et vere resurgit homo a mortuis, et non allegorice, quemadmodum per tanta ostendimus. Et sicut resurgit, sic et vere præmeditabitur incorruptelam, et ungebitur, et vigebit in regni temporibus, ut fiat capax gloriæ Patris. Deinde omnibus renovatis, vere in civitate habitabit Dei.—Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. v. cap. 35. [p. 336.]

⁵ Ὁφελος γέγονε τῷ ληστῇ εἰς τὸν Παράδεισον εἰσελθόντι, τὸ ἔργοις μαθεῖν τῆς πίστεως τὸ ὠφέλιμον, δι’ ἧς ἡξιώθη τοῦ συναθροίσματος τῶν ἁγίων, ἐν ᾧ φυλάττεται ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναστάσεως τε καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως· ἔχει τε τοῦ Παραδείσου τὴν αἴσθησιν κατὰ τὴν ἐννοηματικὴν λεγομένην αἴσθησιν, καθ’ ἣν ὁρῶσιν αἱ ψυχὰι ἑαυτάς τε, καὶ τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτάς· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τε, καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας.—Just. Mart. Quæst. lxxvi. ad Orthodox. [p. 470.]

⁶ Advers. Marcion. Lib. iv. [cap. 39. p. 456.]

clausa ; that is, “heaven is open to none, while the earth remaineth safe and whole, that I say not shut up;” and again¹, “Thou hast our book of Paradise, wherein we determine that every soul is sequestered, *apud inferos*, with them that are in the lower dwellings, till the day of the Lord.” Of Lactantius², who will have no man think that souls are judged presently after death, but that they are all detained and kept in one common custody, till the time come, when the greatest judge shall examine their works. Of Victorinus Martyr, who upon those words of John in the Revelation, “I saw the souls of the slain under the altar of God,” observeth, that in the time of the law there were two altars, one of gold within, another of brass without; that as heaven is understood by that golden altar that was within, to which the priests entered only once in the year; so by the brazen altar the earth is understood, under which is *Infernus*, a region removed from pains and fire, and the resting-place of the saints; in which the just are seen and heard of the ungodly, and yet they cannot pass one to another. Of Bernard, whose opinion³ Alphonsus à Castro confesseth to be, as I have said; and Sixtus Senensis⁴ likewise, but thinketh that he is to be excused with a benign affection, because of the exceeding great number of renowned fathers of the Church which seemed to give authority to this opinion by their testimony, amongst whom he reckoneth Ambrose for one. Lastly, of pope John the Twenty-second, who was violent in the maintenance of this opinion. These premises considered, let the reader judge whether Master Higgons had any cause to complain of “want of faithfulness and exactness” in me, in that I say, that many of the fathers thought there is no judgment to pass upon men till the last day; that all men are holden either in some place under the earth, or else in some other place appointed for that purpose; so that they come not into heaven, nor receive the reward of their labours, till the general judgment; and that many made prayers for the dead out of this conceit, such as that is in James his liturgy⁵, “that God would remember all the

¹ Ibid.

² Divin. Instit. Lib. vii. cap. 21. [Max. bibl. vet. patr. Tom. iii. p. 635.]

³ Lib. iii. Advers. Heres. [col. 222.]

⁴ Ubi supra.

⁵ [“Præstet illos dignos venia delictorum et remissione peccato-

faithful that are fallen asleep in the sleep of death since Abel the just till this present time." For I do not make this the ground of the general practice and intention of the Church in her prayers, as this shameless companion would make men believe.

(HIGGONS, Book II. Part I. § 5.)

From the four doctors of the Church, and the supposed wrongs offered to them, he proceedeth to shew¹ that I "calumniate a worthy person, to defend the inexcusable folly of our Genevan apostle;" his meaning is, that I wrong Bellarmine to justify Calvin. But what is the wrong done to the cardinal? "Doctor Field," saith he², "accuseth Bellarmine unjustly of trifling and senseless foolery in the question of prayer for the dead." Let the reader take the pains to peruse the place cited by Master Higgons out of my book³, and he shall find him to be a very false, dishonest, and trifling fellow in so saying. For first, I do not accuse Bellarmine of senseless foolery in the matter of prayer for the dead, (as he untruly reporteth against his own knowledge,) but in that he seeketh to calumniate Master Calvin, worthy of eternal honor, in very childish sort, about the name of merit. Calvin saith, "the fathers were far from the popish error touching merit, and yet they used the word, whence men have since taken occasion of error;" therefore, saith Bellarmine, "he dissenteth from all antiquity, and acknowledgeth the Roman faith to be the ancient faith and religion." This is Bellarmine's form of reasoning against Calvin, if he say anything; which whether it be full of senseless foolery or not, I will refer it to the judgment of any one that hath his senses. Yet notwithstanding, Master Higgons goeth on, and maketh a consolatory conclusion, that Bellarmine⁴ needeth not to be discontented that I have thus wronged him, seeing I have likewise unjustly accused the fathers. But if he may be as justly charged with foolery in

rum; nosque et illos pervenire faciat ad regnum suum in coelis."—
Liturgia Jacobi, apud Renaudot. Liturg. Orient. Tom. II. p. 37.]

¹ Pag. 134.

² Pag. 130.

³ Third Book Of the Church, ch. xvii. [Vol. I. p. 209.]

⁴ Pag. 130.

his manner of reasoning against Calvin, as the fathers are truly reported to have holden the opinion imputed to them by me, as there is no question but he may, I think this comfortable conclusion will not be very cordial unto him. Secondly, I do not say that Bellarmine doth trifle in the question of prayer for the dead; as he likewise, adding one lie to another, saith I do; but in proving the doctrine of the Roman Church that now is, to be the same with that which was of old. And therefore silly Master Higgons knoweth not what he writeth. But that Bellarmine doth indeed (whatsoever this trifler saith to the contrary) egregiously trifle, I will demonstrate to the reader in such sort, that neither Higgons, nor any of his new masters, shall be able to avoid. Thus, therefore, the case standeth. Bellarmine, in his discourse¹ of the Notes of the Church, (not in the particular question of prayer for the dead,) undertaketh to prove the conspiring of the present Roman Church with the true catholic Church that was of old. This he saith may be proved by producing the sayings and sentences of the fathers touching every particular controversy now on foot; but because this would be a tedious course, he saith there is another shorter and certainer way, by demonstrating out of the confession of protestant writers, first, that the points now defended by papists are the doctrines of all the ancient; secondly, that the doctrine of the protestants was condemned by the ancient Church. Touching the first, he goeth about to prove that protestants confess the points of popish doctrine to be the doctrine of the ancient, because Calvin, in his Institutions, when he oppugneth the assertion of papists, confesseth, that in so doing he opposeth himself against all antiquity. Amongst other particulars, he giveth instance of prayer for the dead. So that the thing which the cardinal is to prove is this: that Calvin, impugning the popish manner of prayer for the dead, to deliver men out of purgatory, confesseth himself, in so doing, to be opposite to all antiquity; and consequently, that all antiquity believed purgatory, and admitted a necessity of praying for the deliverance of men out of it. This he doth not, but is forced to confess that Calvin affirmeth, that the doctrine of purgatory, and prayer to deliver men thence, was unknown to all antiquity: whence it followeth unavoidably, that the cardinal

¹ Lib. iv. de Notis Eccles. cap. 9. [Tom. ii. col. 184.]

doth nothing but trifle; for if to talk idly, and not to conclude the thing intended, be to trifle, he is found to do so most grossly. Neither doth it help the matter that Calvin confesseth, that many of the fathers were led into error in the matter of prayer for the dead, as namely, such as thought they might suspend, mitigate, or wholly take away the pains or punishments of men in hell; for these errors the Romanists condemn, and dislike as much as we; but saith Master Higgons, Master Calvin¹ confesseth the action of praying for the dead was performed by the ancient, howsoever he litigate about the intention. It is true he doth so; but his confession maketh neither hot nor cold to anything now in controversy and question between us and the papists. Wherefore, to silence this prattler, that multiplieth vain words, without all sense or reason, first we say, that neither Calvin, or any of us, did ever simply condemn all prayer for the dead; for we all pray for the resurrection, public acquittal in the day of Christ, and perfit consummation of them that are dead in the Lord; and therefore the general practice and intention of the ancient in praying for the dead is not condemned by us. Secondly, we say, that some of the ancient prayed for the dead in such sort as neither we nor the Romanists dare allow, as for the suspension, mitigation, or releasing of the pains of such as are in hell; and so were carried into error, as Calvin rightly noteth. Thirdly, we say, that never any man amongst the ancients knew anything of purgatory, or the popish manner of praying to deliver men thence. So that I trifle not in accusing Bellarmine, and defending Calvin, as he is pleased to tell me I do in the front and title of his next ensuing chapter. But he talketh idly, as his manner is.

(HIGGONS, Book II. Part I. § 6.)

His next challenge is², that I make an "untrue construction of the heresy of Arius," condemning the commendations of the dead used in the Church at that time. For the clearing whereof we must make a difference between the general practice and intention of the Church, and the private opinion and conceit of some particular men in the Church. The general practice of the Church was, first, to name the names of

¹ Pag. 133.

² Pag. 134.

the dead, and to keep a commemoration of them, to signify and express the assurance that resteth in the living, that they are not extinct, but that they are and live with God, that their spirits and souls are immortal, and that their bodies shall rise again. Secondly, to offer the sacrifice of the Eucharist, that is, of praise and thanksgiving for them, to desire of God the destroying of the last enemy, which is death; the raising of them up again in the last day; the public remission of their sins in the judgment of that great day; and their perfit consummation and bliss, which Arius could not condemn without just note of heretical temerity and rashness; and all these things are excellently delivered by Epiphanius¹, and rightly justified by him as right and good. Some there were that extended these prayers farther, supposing that men dying in the state of sin may be relieved by the piety and devotion of the living, whose erroneous conceit Arius having an eye unto, rather than to the general practice and intention of the Church, inferred that if it be so, men may do what evils they will, and be freed from the punishments of them by the means of such friends as they think good to procure and assure to them in the end, to make prayers for them after they are gone. To which objection Epiphanius answereth, that though the prayers of the living cut not off the whole punishment of sin, yet some mercy is obtained for sinners by them, at the least for some mitigation or suspension of their punishments; of which opinion, as I have shewed before, many other were as well as Epiphanius; and St Augustine² seemeth not much to dislike it, saying, If the merciful men of his time would have contented themselves with an opinion of the only mitigation or suspension of the punishment of the damned, he would not have strived much with them about the matter: so that if Arius his reprehension had reached only to this erroneous conceit, he had never been condemned for his censure: but, in that upon the consideration of the error of some particular men, he presumed to condemn a general custom that was lawful and good, he was justly condemned himself, as rash and inconsiderate: which things considered, the contradiction³ which this simple fellow would fain force

¹ Hæres. LXXV. [Tom. I. p. 911.]

² Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 67. [Tom. VI. col. 221.]

³ Pag. 138 and 140.

upon us is easily avoided: for his reprehension of the particular erroneous conceit, and sinister intention of some men, misunderstanding the Church's prayers, is rightly justified by doctor Humfrey and the rest named by him: and his reprehension of the general practice and intention of the Church is rightly condemned by me and others: and the Church of that time defended against his rash and inconsiderate censure. Neither let this foolish fugitive think that he can blow up all with the breath of his mouth, and put away this distinction by the sound of his bare word, and by only saying, I vainly excuse the folly of protestants, which sheweth itself in the diversity of their censures touching the heresy of Arius; nor by sporting himself with the sovereign plaster applied by me; for it will be found to have virtue to heal a greater wound than he can cause.

(HIGGONS, Book II. Part I. § 7.)

But it is time for me to look about me, for I hear a horrible outcry as if Hannibal were at the gates of the city. Theophilus Higgons causeth it to be proclaimed with sound of trumpet¹, that I have "shewed myself a notable trifler in the question of purgatory, and prayer for the dead, to the utter confusion of my book and the protestantical Church¹." When Moses came down from the mount, and heard the noise in the camp², he said, "It was not the noise of them that overcome in battle, nor of them that are overcome, but of singing." So is this hideous clamour but the venting of the boyish vanity of a foolish youth, in sporting sort, calling company to come and play with him; for all that he saith will be found to be less than nothing. The occasion of this strange outcry is this.

In the Appendix to the Third Book I shew that there was nothing constantly resolved on in the Roman Church in the days of our fathers, before Luther began, touching that purgatory that is denied by us, and defended by the papists: which I have demonstrated in such sort, that this fellow hath nothing to oppose against it but flourishes of his youthful

¹ Pag. 153.

² Exod. xxxii. 18.

rhetoric. For the more clear and perfit understanding whereof, the reader must observe, that we all acknowledge a purging out of sin, in the dissolution of soul and body, and in the first entrance of the soul into the state of the other world: but all the question is of the nature, kind, and quality of it. Luther (saith Bellarmine¹) admitteth a kind of purgatory, but of most short continuance: for he supposeth that all sins are purged out by the dolours of death, or by the very separation of soul and body wrought by death. Which opinion of Luther we all follow; and the same was embraced by many in the Roman Church in the days of our fathers, before Luther was born; who taught then, as we do now, that all venial sins are done away and purged out in the moment of dissolution, and in the first entrance into the other world, as I have shewed before². So that concerning purgatory, properly, as it serveth to purge out the impurity of sin, there was nothing resolved on in the days of our fathers but that which we willingly admit. But the papists at this day deny that all venial sins are purged out in the dissolution of soul and body, and the first entrance into the state of the other world. They imagine that they are long in purging out, that they are purged in material fire, and that the place of their purging out is below in the earth, nearly bordering upon the hell of the damned. This is the true difference between protestants and papists, and rightly delivered by me, howsoever it please Master Higgons to say³, I “yield not the true difference in this matter, nor propose the question as in learning and honesty it became me.” It is true that he saith, that “we must distinguish matter of substance from matter of circumstance,” and that “it is sufficient to have fundamental unity in the first, howsoever there may be accidental diversity in the second.” But it is a matter of substance whether all sinfulness be purged out in the moment of dissolution: they deny it; we affirm it; and are well assured they can never prove that all our fathers agreed with them in this matter of substance; and therefore Master Higgons may soon be answered, when he asketh⁴, “where that man is who in the time of our fathers denied purgatory, or shewed any

¹ De Purg. Lib. ii. cap. 9. [Tom. ii. p. 324.]

² In Append. chap. xx. [Vol. ii. p. 371.]

³ Pag. 155.

⁴ Pag. 158.

doubtfulness therein against the essential doctrine in which the true difference betwixt papists and protestants doth stand most eminently at this day ;” seeing there were found very many, as I have shewed before, who not only doubted of the circumstances of material fire, place, and instruments of punishment, but taught as we do against the papists, in the most substantial point of all other, that all sinfulness is purged out of the souls of men departing hence in the state of grace; not by material fire, in a place of purgation, under the earth, or near hell; nor by being afflicted by the ministry of devils, or otherwise; but by the completion of the state of grace getting full dominion in the soul, upon her dividing from the body in the moment of dissolution. Now if all impurity and stain of sin be purged out in the moment of dissolution by the taking away of impediments, and leaving grace to herself, that she may fill all with her divine effects, as many of our forefathers believed and taught, there is no such purgatory as the papists at this day imagine. If it be said, that though all sin be purged out by death, in respect of the stain or sinful impurity, yet the punishment remaineth, and so there is a kind of purgatory, wherein men are to suffer the punishments due to sins past, though now perfectly blotted out; it will easily be answered, that whatsoever is of force to do away all impurity of sin, offending God, is likewise able to reconcile God unto us so perfectly as that no guilt of punishments shall remain. For, seeing it is the nature of grace to expel sin, offending God, and to make men acceptable to God that stood in terms of disfavour before; where grace is so perfect, as that it expelleth all sinfulness, there it must needs work and procure a perfect reconciliation; with which guilt of punishment cannot stand. Besides, charity implieth a dislike of all that which is displeasing to God, whom we love, and a sorrow that we have offended him: therefore charity in such perfection as is able to purge out all impurity of sin, implieth dislike of that which in sinning was ill-affected and desired before, and sorrow for the same, equivalent to the pleasure and delight taken in sinning; and consequently doth satisfy God in such sort, as that no punishment shall come upon him that so sorroweth. Thirdly, the punishments of men, pure and clean from sin, for such sins as they formerly committed, if any such be imagined, cannot be named purgatory punish-

ments, but satisfactory only. So that if all sinfulness be purged out, there remaineth afterwards no purgatory properly so named. Lastly, if it were doubtful in the days of our fathers, as Master Higgon¹ confesseth it was, whether the fire be material or not, in which men are to satisfy God's displeasure; what kind of suffering it is that is to satisfy, whether of sorrow only, or something inflicted from without, and likewise how long it doth continue; it is evident, that notwithstanding any thing resolved on in former times, God may be so satisfied by the first conversion of the soul upon her separation, turning unto him in mislike of her former misdeeds, as that all guilt of punishments may be utterly taken away in the very moment of dissolution. Whence it will follow, that nothing was constantly, certainly, and generally resolved on in the days of our fathers, touching the condition of such as died in an imperfect state of grace, contrary to any thing holden by us at this day. These premises considered, and every of these things being confessed by Master Higgon, or proved abundantly by me, it seemeth the poor man is beside himself, and that his discontentments have made him mad. For otherwise what should move him, like a mad man, to cry out in such sort as he doth², that I "have disabled my book, and overthrown the protestantical Church: that papists may triumph in the victory, which their chiefest enemies have wrought in their behalf, and joyfully applaud the excellency of their cause, which enforceth her greatest adversaries to prostitute themselves to such base and dishonest courses."

Let the base runagate look to himself, and his conscience will tell him that his courses have been base, dishonest, perfidious, and unnatural, (that I say not monstrous,) but our cause is such as shall ever be able to uphold itself against all opposers, without any such shifting devices as they of the adverse faction are forced to use, for the staying of that from falling for a little while, that must fall and come to nothing, in despite of all that devils or devilish men, by lying, slandering, murdering, and all hellish practices, can do to sustain it.

¹ Pag. 154.

² Pag. 158.

(HIGGONS, Book II. Part I. § 8.)

Thus have I briefly run through his two books, and answered whatsoever concerneth myself in the same; and so might pass presently to his Appendix; but that towards the end of the Second Part of his Second Book, he once again wrongeth that renowned divine Dr Humfrey, in such sort as is not to be endured; for he chargeth him with unfaithfulness in his relations¹, digressions from the matter, a general imbecility of his whole discourse, obscurity, uncertainty, notorious depraving of St Augustine, and other unfaithful practices, against the same father; and saith, the detection of his falsehood ministered the first occasion of his change. If Master Higgons were not better known than trusted, some man happily would be moved to think that some very gross and inexcusable oversights are found in Dr Humfrey, against whom he so clamorously inveigheth; but seeing all the world taketh notice what manner of man he is, by that description of him which is found in a letter of a worthy knight, lately written to him, and another of his own father, written to the same knight, I think there is no man of any sense that will regard his words any more than the braying of an ass, or the bellowing of an ox when he lacketh fodder: yet, to make it appear that he hath calumniated and wronged a worthy person, without all cause or shew of cause, I will briefly set down the sum of Dr Humfrey his discourse. Whereas Campian² objecteth to us that we have begged certain fragments of opinions from Arius and others, condemned as heretics; first, he answereth, that we have not received our faith from heretics, but from the apostles and their successors. Secondly, he saith, that we condemn all the heretical positions of Arius, and yet admit whatsoever he held rightly, and agreeable to the holy scripture; in which saying Master Higgons telleth us the papists will concur with him. Thirdly, he alloweth a commemoration of the saints and holy ones departed, and, consequently, disliketh Arius for condemning the same. Fourthly, he condemneth that abuse in

¹ Pag. 167—172.

² “Nisi forte gaudent majoribus illis, quos hæreticos fuisse liquet, ut Aerio, Joviniano,” &c.—Campian. Ratione iii. [p. 19. 12mo. In-goldst. 1584.]

praying for the dead which Arius condemned. Fifthly, he saith, the commemoration of the departed is not commanded in scripture, but holden by custom of the Church. Sixthly, that if we die not in a true and lively faith, all the prayers in the world cannot help us, contrary to the error of those men, who thought that not only a suspension or mitigation, but a total release, of the punishments of men dying in mortal sins may be procured; which error Augustine refuteth¹, by the evidence of the words of the apostle, that unless we here sow unto the spirit, we cannot reap immortality. And again, that we must all stand before the tribunal-seat of Christ, that every one may receive according to the things he did in this body, whether good or ill. Whence he saith is inferred, that unless men depart hence in state of grace, all the world cannot relieve them afterwards. These being the principal and most material parts and circumstances of Dr Humfrey his discourse touching Arius, let us see what are the exceptions that Master Higgon taketh against him. The first is, that he saith there is no scripture for that prayer for the dead that was anciently used in the Church, and that Augustine seemeth to confess as much, which he goeth about to improve², because Augustine allegeth the Book of Maccabees for the practice of praying for the dead. But for answer hereunto, 1. We say, that Dr Humfrey denieth that there is any precept requiring us to pray for the dead found in scripture, and speaketh nothing of examples; and therefore the allegation of the Book of Maccabees is impertinent. 2. That the prayer of Judas Maccabeus mentioned in that book was not for the relief of the dead, but for the remission, or not imputing of their sins to the living, lest God should have smitten them for the trespass committed by those wicked ones that displeased God, and perished in their sin, though the author of that book make another construction of it. 3. That the Book of Maccabees is not canonical; and though Augustine seem to incline to an opinion that it is³, yet he is not resolved that it is so: yea, some⁴ are of opinion that he thought it canonical only in respect of the canon of man-

¹ De Cura pro Mortuis. [cap. 1. Tom. vi. col. 516.]

² Pag. 169.

³ Contra Gaudent. Epist. Lib. i. cap. 31. [Tom. ix. col. 655.]

⁴ Cajetan.

ners, and not of faith: but Master Higgon will prove that, in the judgment of Augustine, prayer for the dead is plainly expressed, or sufficiently deduced, from the scriptures of the New Testament, in that St Augustine, having alleged the books of Maccabees, to prove that prayer was made for the dead, saith, if this were nowhere read in the old scriptures, the authority of the Church were greatly to be regarded, which shineth in this custom; which is a very silly inference. For neither doth it follow that if it be not in the Old it must be in the New; neither would Augustine have presently urged the authority of the Church, upon the supposition of not finding it in the old scriptures, but the books of the New Testament, if he had thought it to be found in the New; seeing he seeketh first and principally to prove it by scripture. His second exception is, that Augustine urgeth the custom of the universal Church for the commendation of the dead, and pronounceth that, without intolerable insolency and madness, this authority cannot be rejected: whence he inferreth that both these must inevitably fall upon Dr Humfrey and his Church: but the poor fellow that chargeth other men with madness, if he were in his right wits, might easily have found that Dr Humfrey doth not condemn the commemoration and commendation of the dead; for he saith expressly: "We retain it in our colleges." I observed before that we must carefully distinguish the general practice and intention of the whole Church from private conceits; the whole Church commemorated the dead, offered the sacrifice of praise for them, prayed for them in the passage, and for their resurrection and consummation: all which things we allow: so that neither Dr Humfrey nor we condemn the universal Church, but think it were madness so to do: but the private fancies of such as extended their prayers farther, thinking they might ease, mitigate, suspend, or wholly take away the pains of men damned in hell (for of purgatory no man thought in the primitive Church) we reject. This erroneous conceit and practice Arius rightly condemned, and Dr Humfrey and we all agree with him in the same dislike: but he did ill to impute this error to the whole Church, and to condemn that which was good and laudable upon so weak a ground. Of the difference which Master Higgon would fain make between our commendation of the dead used

in colleges, and that used anciently, whereof St Augustine speaketh, I have spoken before; wherefore let us come to the last exception against Dr Humfrey, which is, that he "handleth the matter artificially, to make a credulous reader believe that St Augustine himself doth convel the use of prayer for the dead by those sentences of the apostle¹, that 'we cannot reap if we sow not here,' and that² 'we must stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive according to the things he hath done in the body, whether good or evil.'" This imputation is nothing else but a malicious and impudent charging of him with that he never thought of. For the only thing he saith Augustine he proved by these sentences, is, that unless we depart hence with a true faith, we cannot be relieved by any devotion of other men after we are gone. Which is so undoubtedly true, that I think Higgon himself dareth not deny it. But that Augustine thought that men dying in the state of grace and faith might be holpen by the prayers of the living, he never made question himself, nor ever sought to make the reader believe otherwise. Neither do we dissent from Augustine in this point, if the prayers he speaketh of be made respectively to the passage hence and entrance into the other world, as I have shewed before. The only thing that is questionable between us and our adversaries being, whether prayers may relieve men in a state of temporal affliction after this life, whereof Augustine never resolved anything, what ever this prattling apostate say to the contrary. These things being so, let the reader judge whether the detection of falsehood and ill-dealing in Dr Humfrey could possibly occasion Master Higgon his change, as he would make the world believe; there being nothing found in his whole discourse that is not most true and justifiable by all course of learning. But because he is sufficiently chastised by others, and knoweth too well the true cause of his running away to be thin of a far other nature than those he pretendeth, I will prosecute this matter no farther against him.

¹ Gal. vi. 8.

² 2 Cor. v. 10.

(HIGGONS, Appendix, Part I.)

Now it remaineth that I come to the Appendix, which he addeth to his book¹, which he divideth into two parts, whereof the first concerneth me, the second D. Morton, which he hath answered already. In that part which concerneth me, he undertaketh to prove², that I “notoriously abuse the name and authority of Gerson, Grosthead, &c. to defend the reformation” made by princes and prelates in our Churches. Wherefore that the reader may perceive I have not abused these reverend and worthy men, but that he wrongeth both them and me, I will take the pains to examine his whole discourse; though it will be very tedious so to do, by reason of the confused and perplexed manner of handling of things in the same, without all order and method. In the first chapter he doth but lay the foundation of his intended building; and therefore gathereth together a great number of positions and sayings out of my book, miserably mangled, and torn one from another; all which shall be defended when he cometh to say anything against them, in such sort as that it shall evidently appear that there is no falsehood or collusion in any part of my discourse, as this false and treacherous fugitive is pleased to say there is. Only one thing there is here that may not be passed over, because it hath no farther prosecution in that which followeth. His words are these³: Whereas Bellarmine doth object the intestine divisions and conflicts of the pretended gospellers, the Doctor turneth him off with this answer⁴: “We say that these diversities are to be imputed wholly to our adversaries; for when there was a reformation to be made of abuses and disorders in matters of practice and manifold corruption in many points of Christian doctrine, and in a council by a general consent it could not be hoped for, as Gerson long before out of his experience saw and professed, by reason of the prevailing faction of popes’ flatterers, it was not possible

¹ [“Try before you trust, or an Admonition unto the credulous and seduced Protestants, to examine the fidelity of their writers; and particularly of two principall Doctours; viz. D. Field, and D. Morton, by T. H., Maister of Arts, and lately Minister. Added by way of Appendix unto his ‘First Motive.’”]

² [Pag. 1.]

³ Pag. 2.

⁴ [Field, Book III. chap. XLII. Vol. I. p. 339.]

but that some diversity should grow, while one knew not, nor expected to know what another did." This he saith is "a very admirable device."

For answer hereunto we must observe, that the divisions of this part of Christendom are of two sorts: the first is from the faction of the pope; the second, among them that have abandoned the usurped authority of the pope. That the pope and his adherents were the cause of the former of these divisions, and the consequence of it, is affirmed by better men than Master Higgon. "I will not deny," saith Cassander¹, a man highly esteemed for piety and learning by the emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian, "that many in the beginning were moved out of a godly affection more sharply to reprehend certain manifest abuses; and that the chief cause of this calamity and distraction, or rent of the Church, is to be attributed to them, who, puffed up with the swelling conceits of their ecclesiastical power, proudly and disdainfully contemned and repelled them that admonished them rightly of things amiss. And therefore I do not think that any firm peace is ever to be hoped for, unless the beginning thereof be from them that gave the cause of this division; that is, unless they that have the government of the Church remit something of that their too great rigour, and, listening to the desires of many godly ones, correct manifest abuses according to the rule of sacred Scripture and the ancient Church, from which they are departed, &c." "Touching that," saith Contarenus², "which the Lutherans say, in the first and last place, of manifold and great abuses brought into the Church of Christ, against which they so exclaim, and concerning which they have made so many complaints to express their grievances, I have nothing to say; but first of all, to pray unto Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his only-begotten Son, who continually maketh intercession for us, and the Holy Spirit, wherewith we have been anointed to be Christians by the grace of God, and the sacrament of baptism; that he will respect his Church now tottering, and in great danger, and that he will move the hearts of the prelates of the Church, that at last, for a little while putting away this most pernicious self-love, they may

¹ In Consult. Art. 7. [p. 933.]

² In Confut. Art. Lutheri. [p. 580. Opp. fol. Par. 1571.]

be persuaded to correct things manifestly amiss, and to reform themselves. There needeth no counsel, there needeth no syllogisms, there needeth no alleging of places of scripture, for the quieting of these stirs of the Lutherans; but there is need of good minds, of charity towards God and our neighbour, and of humility, &c.” Touching the divisions of them that have abandoned the tyrannical government of the bishop of Rome, and embraced the sincere profession of the heavenly truth, whom this Lucian calleth pretended gospellers, they are neither such nor so many as our adversaries would make the world believe, as I have shewed at large in the place¹ cited by Master Higgons. But be they what they may be, I have truly said that the Romanists are the causes of them, in that their obstinate resistance against all peaceable public proceeding in the work of reformation in a general council, forced men to take another course, and to take this work in hand severally, in the several kingdoms of the world. That there was no hope of reformation by a general council, and that several kingdoms were to take care for the redressing of things amiss within their own compass, I have shewed out of Gerson: his words are these²: “I see that the reformation of the Church will never be brought to pass by a council, without the presidency of a well-affected guide, wise, and constant: let the members therefore provide for themselves through all kingdoms and provinces, when they shall be able, and know how to compass this work.” Now that this kind of proceeding³ must needs be accompanied with differences, though not of moment, nor real, yet in show greater than were to be wished, every man, I think, will confess that hath the sense of a man. Against all this Master Higgons hath nothing to say; but, as if he had gone out of his country, and passed the seas of purpose to become a jester amongst our melancholy countrymen that are abroad, to make them merry, maketh a jest of it, as he doth of all other things, and so passeth from it.

¹ Third Book Of the Church, chap. XLII. [Vol. I. p. 341.]

² Gers. Part. 3. Apolog. de Conc. Const. [Tom. II. col. 392.]

³ Idem de Concilio unius obedientiæ. [Tom. II. col. 24.]

(HIGGONS, Appendix, Part II.)

But let us give him leave to sport himself a little: we shall have him in earnest by and by. For, in the next part of this chapter, he undertaketh to prove¹ that Gerson (whom I bring in as a worthy guide of God's Church in the time wherein he lived, and one that wished the reformation of things amiss) "utterly detested the reformation that hath been transacted by Luther, Zuinglius, and the rest." But his proofs will be found too weak; for though it were granted that he erred in the matter of transubstantiation, invocation of saints, and some such-like things, yet will it never be proved that he erred heretically, or that he was not willing to yield to the truth in these or any other things wherein he was deceived, when it should be made to appear unto him. Cyprian erred in the matter of rebaptization; Lactantius and sundry other were carried into the error of the Millenaries: many catholics, in Augustine's time, thought that all orthodox and right-believing Christians shall be saved in the end, how wickedly soever they live here: yet were they of one communion with them that thought otherwise.

If Master Higgons think that I produce Gerson as a man fully professing in every point of doctrine as we do, he wholly mistaketh me; for I was not so simple either to think so, or to go about to persuade others so; but this is that which I said, and still constantly affirm, that God preserved his true Church in the midst of all the errors and confusions of the papacy; that the errors condemned by us never found general and constant allowance in the days of our fathers; and that there were many who held the foundation, and, according to the light of knowledge which God vouchsafed them, wished the reformation of such things as were amiss, some of them discerning more of the errors and abuses that were then found in the Church, and other fewer; of which number I reckon Gerson to be one of eminent sort and rank. For this worthy divine believed as we do, that all our inherent righteousness is imperfect²; yea, that it is like the polluted rags of a menstruous woman; that it cannot endure the

¹ [Pag. 4.]

² De Consolat. Theolog. Lib. iv. prosa 1. [Tom. i. col. 169.]

trial of God's severe judgment; that we must trust in the only mercy and goodness of God, if we desire to be surely established against all assaults¹; that all sins are by nature mortal²; that indulgences reach not to the dead; that they are but remissions of enjoined penance³; that the pope hath no power to dispose of the kingdoms of the world⁴; that he is like the duke of Venice amongst the great senators of that state, greater than each one, but inferior to the whole company of bishops; that he is subject to error⁵; and that in case of error, or other scandalous misdemeanour, he may be judicially deposed; that Christian perfection consisteth neither in poverty nor riches, but in a mind resolved to regard these things no farther than they stand with the love of God, and serve for the advancement of his glory, and the good of men⁶. So that sometimes it is a matter of more perfection to have and possess riches, than to cast them from us; contrary to the false conceit of the Mendicants, who made extreme poverty to be the height of all perfection, and thought that Christ himself did live by begging, which he rejecteth as an absurd error: he teacheth that the precept of Almighty God requireth all the actions of virtue in the best sort they can be performed; and that therefore they do not rightly discern between the matter of precepts and counsels, who imagine that the precept requireth the inferior degrees of virtue, and the counsel the more high and excellent: whereas counsels urge us not to a higher degree of virtue, or moral goodness, but only shew us the means whereby most easily, if all things be answerable in the parties, we may attain to the height of virtue the precept prescribeth; so overthrowing the opinion of works of supererogation: he teacheth⁷ that there is no more merit of single life than of marriage, unless the parties living in these different estates otherwise excel one another in the works of virtue; that virginity, in that which it addeth above conjugal chastity, is no virtue, nor higher degree of virtue,

¹ Ibid. Lib. i. prosa 3. [col. 138.]

² Part. 3. Tract. de Vita Spirit. Anim. Lect. 1. [Tom. iii. col. 9.]

³ Tract. de Indulgent. [Tom. ii. col. 516.]

⁴ De Potest. Eccles. Consid. 12. [Tom. ii. col. 246.]

⁵ De Auferibilitate Pap. [Consid. 16. Tom. ii. col. 219.]

⁶ De Consil. et Stat. Perfect. [Tom. ii. col. 673.]

⁷ Ibid.

but a splendour of virtue only; that the laws of men bind not the conscience¹; that they that whip themselves, as some sectaries amongst the papists do, are to be condemned²; and that the patient enduring of those crosses which God layeth upon us is more acceptable to God than these voluntary chastisements. He condemneth monks intermeddling with secular or ecclesiastical businesses³; the superfluous pomp and princely state of cardinals and bishops, making them forget that they are men; that one man holdeth two or three hundred ecclesiastical livings; that the sword of excommunication is so easily drawn out for trifles, and the lords of the clergy use it for the maintenance of their own state: he disliketh the popes appointing of strangers to take cure of souls; the variety of pictures and images in churches, occasioning idolatry in the simple; the number and variety of religious orders; the canonizing of new saints, there being too many canonized already; the apocryphal scriptures, hymns and prayers, in process of time brought into the Church, of purpose or ignorance, to the great hurt of the Christian faith; the diversity of opinions in the Church, as about the conception of the blessed Virgin, and the like; the intolerable superstition in the worshipping of saints; innumerable observations, without all ground of reason; vain credulity, in believing things concerning the saints, reported in the uncertain legends of their lives; superstitious opinions of obtaining pardon and remission of sins, by saying a number of paternosters in such a church, before such an image; the urging of human devices more than the laws of God, and punishing more severely the breach of their own laws than the laws of God; the contempt of the holy scripture, which is sufficient for the government of the Church, and the following of human inventions, which made the state of the Church to be merely brutish; the ambition, pride, and covetousness of popes, subjecting all unto themselves, and suffering no man to say unto them, Why do you so? though they overturn the course of nature; their getting all into their own hands by many crafty and ill means, to the overthrow of that order that should be in the Church; and

¹ De Vita Spirit. Anim. Lect. 4. [Tom. iii. col. 38.]

² Part. 1. Tract. Contra Sectam Flagellantium se. [Tom. ii. col. 660.]

³ See the places cited in the Third Book Of the Church, chaps. x. xi. [Vol. i. p. 181.]

thereupon sheweth that it was the opinion of men, right wise and godly in his time, that there being a schism in the Church, and three several pretenders challenging the papal chair, it were good to take the advantage of that difference, and never to restore again to any pope the universal administration of the temporalities of the Church, and the swaying of the jurisdiction of the same; but that it were best that all things were brought back to that state they were in in the times of the apostles, or at least in the times of Sylvester and Gregory, when each prelate, within his own jurisdiction, was permitted to govern such as were committed to him, without so many reservations and exactions as have been since brought in.

These things considered, I suppose it will not seem so strange, as Master Higgon would make it, that I bring in John Gerson as a "worthy guide of the Church in his time," and a man wishing the reformation of the same, as far as it pleased God to enlighten him, though he saw not all which other did in the same times, or before, or since. Neither will it ever be proved that he would have disliked any part of the present reformation, though he condemned the inconsiderate positions of Wickliffe, and though he held some opinions contrary to that which we now teach. For as Augustine¹ said of Cyprian and his colleagues, erring in the matter of rebaptization, that if they had been in his time, when upon full and exact discussion of things it was resolved otherwise, they would have been of another mind: so surely, if Gerson had lived in latter times, when learning revived, and all sorts of ancient authors were brought out of the coverts of darkness into the light and view of the world, he would have condemned many things which he did not, as many other did both before Luther began to preach, and since, whom yet our adversaries dare not traduce as heretics. Which we are induced to think, because himself professeth² that the rent of the Church, by reason of the three pretenders challenging the papal chair, and the calamity that followed the same, brought many things to light that were not known before, and was the occasion of much good, and the finding out of many truths fit and necessary to be known; and in his book *De Aufe-*

¹ Lib. i. de Bapt. cap. 18. [Tom. ix. col. 93.]

² De Potest. Eccl. Consid. 10. [Tom. ii. col. 239.]

³ Consid. 15. et 19. [Tom. ii. coll. 218, 22.]

ribilitate Papæ, in which he sheweth many cases wherein the pope may be deposed, limited, restrained, or have obedience denied unto him, he professeth he hath laid down sundry considerations touching this matter, to open the way to others to enter farther and to find out more than he did, as indeed we see Cusanus¹, a cardinal, did; who resolveth wholly with us, that the pope is but only prime bishop amongst the bishops of the world, and that he is but only in order and honour above others.

Yet let us hear what Master Higgon's can say to the contrary. "Gerson," saith he², "believed transubstantiation, approved the mass, admitted purgatory, invocation of saints, indulgences, and communion under one kind," therefore he could not wish the reformation that is now wrought by Luther, and the rest. Of transubstantiation I have spoken already, and shewed that many admitted the word, that yet never believed the thing which our adversaries now profess; as also what is to be thought of Gerson's opinion touching this point, being the scholar of Cameracensis; who professeth, that for any thing he can see, transubstantiation, properly so named, can neither be proved out of scripture, nor any determination of the universal Church. Touching the mass, we must know that the holy Eucharist, and blessed sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, is named *missa*, miss, or mass³, *a missis, id est, dimissis publica diaconi voce catechumenis, iisque qui sacramentorum participationi idonei non erant*: that is, "for that after the prayers and readings of the scripture, before the consecration, the catechumens, and all such as were not to communicate, were dismissed, and sent away, the deacon crying aloud, *Ite missa est*: that is, Depart, you are dismissed." And even in Gregory's time the custom was, that the deacon after the reading of the Gospel, pronounced these solemn words, *Si quis non communicat, exeat*: that is, "If there be any that communicateth not, let him go out⁴." So that the papists have no miss, or mass, if we speak properly; for with them none are dismissed, but all permitted to be present, and yet none communicate but the

¹ Conc. Cath. Lib. II. cap. 13.

² Pag. 4. [Lib. III. Append. cap. 17. Vol. II. p. 364.]

³ Cassand. in Præf. Ord. Rom. [p. 93.]

⁴ [Compare Bingham, Book XIII. chap. I. § 4.]

priest: whereas the name of mass was given to this holy sacrament, for that none were permitted to be present but such as would communicate. But to let go this advantage, there is no question but that Gerson allowed of the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood; but I think it will hardly be proved that he approved the alteration of the ancient custom of the people's communicating with the priest in the sacrament into a private mass; which indeed, if we will speak properly, is no mass; or that he held it to be a new real sacrificing of Christ, as the Jesuited papists do at this day. A sacrifice we confess it to be, of praise and thanksgiving, and a commemoration of the bloody sacrifice of Christ upon the altar of the cross: and say, that therefore it may be named a sacrifice, because signs have the names of the things whereof they are signs: as also for that there is in this sacrament an offering or presenting of Christ and his passion to God by the faith of the Church, that by it we may obtain grace and remission of sins: but a new real sacrificing of Christ we deny, and think with Luther, that it is a hellish abomination so to do. That Gerson thought that there is a purgatory, doth no more prejudice his being a worthy guide of God's Church, than the error of Cyprian and other before mentioned. Touching invocation of saints, though he did not absolutely condemn it, yet he reprehended the abuses and superstitious observations then prevailing in the worshipping of saints¹, very bitterly, as I shewed before, and sought to bring men to a truer sense of piety in that point, than was ordinarily found amongst men in those times. The like he did for indulgences², restraining them more than was pleasing to the pope's faction; and for the communion under one kind, howsoever he thought the Church might lawfully prescribe the communicating in one kind alone, which we cannot excuse; yet he acknowledgeth³ that the communion in both kinds was anciently used, and that when it may be had with the peace of the Church, it is to be allowed. But to what purpose doth Master Higgon's allege these things? shall it be lawful for him and his to repute John Gerson a worthy and godly man, notwithstanding that he held that the

¹ Gers. de Direc. Cordis, Consid. 16, seqq. [Tom. iii. col. 471.]

² In Tract. de Indulgent. [Tom. ii. col. 514.]

³ Tract. de Communionem sub utraque specie. [Tom. i. col. 457.]

pope may err, that he is subject to general councils, that he meddleth with things no way pertaining to him when he taketh upon him to dispose of the kingdoms of the world, that all our inherent righteousness is imperfit, and as the polluted rags of a menstruous woman, that all sins are by nature mortal, and the like: and may not we take him to have been a member of the true Church, a good man, and one that desired the reformation of things amiss, notwithstanding his error in some things, and his not discerning all that was amiss?

The insufficiency of this allegation, it seemeth, Master Higgon himself perceived, and therefore saith¹, he will “come to the supreme difference, to which all other points (as he conceiveth) are subordinate and inferior; that is to say, the sovereign primacy of the Roman bishop;” and bringeth two very effectual testimonies, as he thinketh, of Gerson, to prove the pope’s sovereign primacy. The first is out of his book, *De Auferibilitate Papæ*²: his words are these: “The forms of civil government are subject to mutability and alteration; but it is otherwise in the Church, for her government is monarchical, and is so appointed by the institution of our Lord: if any man will violate this sacred ordinance, and persist obstinately in his contempt, he is to be judged an heretic, as Marsilius of Padua, and some other consorting with his fancy.” The second is out of his tract, *De Unitate Græcorum*³, where, prescribing many directions for the composing of the differences between the Greek and Latin Churches, he layeth it down as a foundation, “that there must be one head on earth, unto which all men must be united.” In these sayings⁴, master Higgon saith, Gerson shewed himself a “worthy guide of God’s Church, and a singular enemy of the protestantical reformation,” which violently impugneth the supremacy of the pope, insomuch that Luther affirmeth, that a man cannot be saved unless from his heart he hate the pope and papacy. These things truly carry a very fair show, and may deceive such as cannot or will not look thoroughly into them. But whosoever knoweth what Gerson’s opinion of the pope is, and what Luther hath written against the papacy, will soon perceive there is no contradiction between them, or at least not in any essential and material point.

¹ Pag. 4.² Consid. 8. [Tom. ii. col. 213.]³ Consid. 3. [Tom. ii. col. 146.]⁴ Pag. 5.

For Gerson was of opinion that the pope is subject to a general council, and that he is not free from danger of erring; and this he thought to be a matter of faith defined in the Council of Constance; and therefore would have detested all claims of infallible judgment, and uncontrollable power of popes, as much as Luther did: and would have accursed his words of blasphemy, if once he should have heard him say, as we do, and as before the holding of the Council of Constance he did: "All the world cannot judge me: though I overturn the whole course of nature, no man may say unto me, Why do you so? I only have power to make laws, and to void them again: I have authority to dispense with the canons of all councils, as seemeth good unto me, and, which is more, to dispose of all the kingdoms of the world: the assurance of finding out the truth and not erring, is not partly in me, and partly in the council, but wholly in me: whatsoever all the world shall consent on, is of no force, if I allow it not." He would have said doubtless, as I have done, if he had heard him thus speak, that we are not bound to take the foam of his impure mouth, and froth of his words of blasphemy, as infallible oracles. This is that pope, and this is that papacy, which Luther saith, "every one that will be saved must hate from his heart:" for otherwise if he would only claim to be a bishop in his precinct, a metropolitan in a province, a patriarch of the West, and of patriarchs the first and most honourable, to whom the rest are to resort in cases of greatest moment, as to the head and chief of their company, to whom it specially pertaineth to have an eye to the preservation of the Church in the unity of faith and religion, and the acts and exercises of the same, and with the assistance and concurrence of the other by all due courses to effect that which pertaineth thereunto, without claiming absolute and uncontrollable power, infallibility of judgment, and right to dispose the kingdoms of the world, and to intermeddle in the administration of the temporalities of particular Churches, and the immediate swaying of the jurisdiction thereof, Luther¹ himself professeth he would never open his mouth against him. This kind of primacy the Grecians² likewise professed

¹ In Libro contra Papatum. de Potest. Papæ. [Tom. i. p. 262, fol. Jen. 1612.]

² Concil. Florent. Sess. ult. [Labbe, Tom. xviii. col. 504.]

they would be content to yield unto him, if other differences between them might be composed. Cassander¹ saith, he is persuaded "there had never been any controversies about the pope's power, if the popes had not abused their authority in a lordly and overruling manner, and through covetousness and ambition stretched it beyond the bounds and limits set and prescribed by Christ and the Church: and professeth that the abuse of the papal power, which the flatterers of the pope amplified, enlarged, and magnified beyond all measure, gave men occasion to think ill of the pope, and in the end to depart from him." With whom Gerson agreeth, saying², that "the pope's intermeddling in some kinds and assuming more than was fit, gave occasion to the Grecians to depart from the Church of Rome, writing to the pope at their parting in this sort, We know thy power; thy covetousness we cannot satisfy; live by thyself." So that I have truly said (whatsoever Master Higgon's blattereth out to the contrary), that it was the pride of antichrist that made all the breaches in the Christian world.

But, saith Master Higgon's, Gerson maketh the form of the Church's government to be monarchical; which thing is mainly opposite to the opinions of protestants, who will not admit the pope to be a monarch in the Church. It is true that Gerson maketh the government of the Church to be monarchical, but no otherwise but as the government of the state of Venice is monarchical, wherein the duke is greater than any one senator, but subject to the senate, and hath neither absolute negative nor affirmative; and therefore it is in truth and indeed, according to his opinion, rather aristocratical than monarchical; though he make it to be so, in that amongst all the bishops of the world one is first, and in order and honour before all other. A head he maketh the pope to be, as a president of a company, not as an absolute commander. "Whereas," saith John Bachon³, "the denying the pope to have an illimited power was condemned as heretical in Marsilius of Padua, and Jo. de Ganduno, some say they were condemned because they denied him to have an illimited power, as head or chief of all bishops, and with the college of them;

¹ Consult. de Pont. Rom. [Art. 7. p. 931.]

² De Unit. Græcor. Consid. 6. [Tom. II. col. 147.]

³ In 4 Sent. Prolog. Quæst. 10. Art. 2. [fol. 23. ed. fol. Med. 1570.]

and that it is not there defined that absolutely in and of himself he hath illimited power of making laws, and governing according to the same, without the concurrence of his brethren." But Gerson saith¹, it is schismatical not to acknowledge with all due respect the true pope undoubtedly known to be so; therefore he must needs be an enemy to the protestantical reformation. We say no; for let the pope, as Gerson teacheth him to do, disclaim the claim of absolute and uncontrollable power, infallibility of judgment, right to dispose the kingdoms of the world; let him, without particular intermeddling, suffer other bishops to govern their own dioceses, as they did in the primitive Church, without so many reservations, preventions, and appeals, received from all parts of the world; and we will think, as Gerson doth, that, as it is schismatical to impugn the government of bishops within their own dioceses, the superiorities of metropolitans in their provinces, and of patriarchs in their larger circuits, so it is schismatical to deny the bishop of Rome, contenting himself therewith, a primacy of order and honour, and a special interest in swaying the government of the whole Church, and managing the affairs thereof, as first amongst the bishops of the world. Wherefore let us hearken to Master Higgon's his suit: he beseecheth us², "to consider the resemblance and similitude of these things: he that rejecteth the pope shall not be saved, and he that doth not hate him and the popedom from his heart shall not be saved: the one of these sayings is Gerson's, and the other Luther's; and thus," saith Higgon, "they damn themselves mutually in a capital point, and exclude each other from possibility of salvation." We have, according to Master Higgon's his request, diligently considered these things, and do find that between these sayings, in show so opposite, there is in truth and indeed no contradictions; and that Luther and Gerson are far from damning one another in this point, as he falsely saith they do: for it is true, as Luther saith, that men are bound to hate the papacy; that is, the claim of uncontrollable and absolute power, of infallible judgment, and interest to dispose of the kingdoms of the world, even in the judgment of Gerson himself; and they both agree, that, for the preservation of order and peace, men are bound to acknowledge

¹ De Unit. Græcor. Consid. 3. [Tom. II. col. 146.] ² Pag. 8.

the papacy; that is, to yield to the bishop of Rome a primacy of order and honour, if there be no other matter of difference, nor no farther claim made by him. Neither is it communion with the pope as prime bishop that maketh a man a formal papist, as this formalist speaketh, but with the unjust claims of the pope. So that Gerson's communion with the pope proveth him not a formal papist; and therefore, though Master Powel's judgment be of value, Master Higgons may not undoubtedly pronounce, that "Gerson is damned to the nethermost hell," as he fondly saith he may¹: neither can he shew any good reason why we may not truly say that, "Luther hath accomplished that reformation which Gerson desired;" and therefore he might well have spared his *Risum teneatis amici?* and, instead thereof, intreated men to weep for his pitiful oversight and folly, which he bewrayeth in the words immediately following: "I will knit up," saith he², "this matter with the counsel of Gerson, which he giveth to the spouse of Christ, saying, The Church must entreat the pope, the vicegerent of Christ, with all honour, and call him father, for he is her lord and head: that she must not expose him to detractions, &c."

Master Higgons is wont to compare them to the devil³ who allege any sayings of the fathers, or scriptures, in show making for them, and leave out that which followeth, making against them: if this course be right and good, as no doubt it is, I will soon make the reader know to whom Master Higgons is like, in citing Gerson's testimony against us. For Gerson, speaking of the respect that is due to Christ, the husband of the Church, and his vicegerent, from her, as his spouse and wife, hath these words⁴: "I deliver this first unto thee, that for the honour of Christ her husband, the Church synodally assembled, or not so assembled, ought to carry herself towards the chief bishop with reverence and due respect in all loving sort, if he behave himself towards her laudably; nay, if his entreating of her be tolerable; because in many things we offend all; and the judicial sentence of divorce is to be expected before he be cast off, as hitherto the discretion of our forefathers hath observed towards infe-

¹ Pag. 8.

² Ibid.

³ [Book I. Part 1. p. 33.]

⁴ De Nuptiis Christi et Eccl. [Consid. 3. Tom. II. col. 369.]

rior bishops. In the next place, I deliver unto thee that the Church, for the reverence of Christ her husband, ought to name his vicegerent, and him whom he hath appointed her keeper, father; and both in herself and her children to be most ready to give all honour, and to yield all obedience to him, as to her lord and head; and likewise to shew all due respect to the Roman Church, as joined to her in a special degree of fellowship. Neither is it fit to expose such a father to detractions and wrongs, but to hide his turpitude as much as may be. Notwithstanding, in the third place, I deliver unto thee, that if this vicegerent, through frigidity, or other impediment, become unfit for the spiritual generation of children, he may not be esteemed a fit husband for the Church, nor vicegerent for her husband. Now the seed of this generation is the holy word of God, and not the variable traditions of the sons of this world. Again, I deliver that the Church, if this vicegerent of her husband become a fornicator, or adulterer, marrying a widow, a woman put away from her husband, a woman of vile and base condition, and a harlot, contrary to the commandment of Almighty God in Leviticus; if he hardly entreat the Church, if he spoil and rob her of her robes by dilapidation, or go about to abuse her by simony; if he smother her children either in the womb, or after they are come out of the womb, by ill example; if he slay them with the sword of scandalous doctrine, and such as killeth the soul, or pestiferous wicked courses of life, or hurtful dissembling and winking at faults and heresies, that should be suppressed: that the Church, I say, in these cases may give him a bill of divorce, especially if he add incorrigibility to his fault, lest the keeping of him still turn to the disgrace and dishonour of her husband, and the hurt of her children."

If it had pleased Master Higgon to suffer John Gerson thus fully to utter his mind, his superiors, I think, would never have permitted him to produce a witness to depose so directly against them in print; for what could Luther say more than Gerson doth? If the pope, who is the chief bishop of the world, will do his duty, he is to be honoured, as chief of all bishops; but if he become scandalous, if he be unable to perform the duty of teaching the people of God, if he teach false doctrine, or wilfully neglect to reform things

amiss, and shew himself incorrigible, he may, nay, he must, be rejected by the Church, and a bill of divorce must be given unto him. This, I think, will be censured as heretical by our Romanists. But, howsoever, Master Higgon had no cause to exclaim as he doth, that Luther¹, whom he calleth the "Cham of Saxony," did not demean himself towards the pope as he ought to have done, and thereupon to compare him to furious Arius, and to say, that I likewise "approximate to them both, when I say², 'We have not received the mark of the antichrist, and child of perdition in our foreheads, nor sworn to take the foam of his impure mouth, and the froth of his words of blasphemy, for infallible oracles of heavenly truth.'" For Luther did hide the turpitude and shame of this holy father, as long as it was lawful so to do: but when the turpitude of this Noah neither could nor would be hid any longer, when he became unfit to beget sons unto God, when he became a fornicator, and an adulterer, when he married a woman refused by her husband, a base woman, nay, a harlot; when he choked and smothered the children of the Church, before and after they came out of her womb; when he slew them with the sword of scandalous doctrine, and such as killeth the soul; when he spoiled the Church, and stripped her out of all her robes; when he abused and wronged her, in most shameful and vile manner, to the dishonour of Christ her husband; what remained for Luther, and such other sons of the Church as had any care of their mother's welfare, to do, but to cast him off with disgrace, that in so shameful manner dishonoured the Son of God their father, and wronged the Church their mother?

But if this testimony of Gerson serve not the turn, Master Higgon produceth another³, that will better satisfy us touching the opinion he held of the pope: his words are these: *Nolo de sanctissimo domino nostro, et christo Domini, velut os in cælum ponendo, loqui*: that is, "I will not speak of our most holy lord, and the Lord's anointed, as it were setting my face against heaven." These words follow not in the same place where the other are found. And Master Higgon directeth us to no other place, as if they were found

¹ Pag. 8.

² [Field, Book III. chap. II. Vol. I. p. 153.]

³ [Pag. 8.]

there; who yet is wont to complain against me for that I cite in the same page things found in divers parts of Gerson's works, and not all together: the reader may find them in the third part of his works, in his Apologetical Dialogue. The occasion of these his words is this: he complaineth in that Apology of the partialities and sinister courses he saw to be holden in the Council of Constance, by reason whereof the French king, and other Christian princes, with their bishops and divines, could not obtain nor procure the condemning of certain wicked and scandalous assertions of Johannes Parvus, and some other prejudicial to the state of princes, and more pestilent and dangerous, as he saith, whether we respect the prosperity of the kingdoms of the world, or the good manners and honest conversation of men, than those of Wickliffe and the Bohemians, that were condemned in that council. After this complaint, one of the speakers in that Apologetical Dialogue asketh if things were not better in that council, after a pope was chosen, and the schism ended, than before? whereunto the other speaker answereth in this sort: "I will not speak of our most holy lord, and the Lord's anointed, as it were setting my face against heaven, notwithstanding he had some sitting by his side, who, some say, proceeded not with that due care and diligence which they should have used, in the matter concerning the state of princes, and the things concerning the lords of Polonia: and these men fear not to say, that they were so backward, that they could not be stirred up sufficiently to the zeal and favouring of catholic verity, nor be moved either by words of exhortation or writing, to determine such things as were proposed unto them." Thus doth he, in mannerly sort, decline the direct taxing of the pope, which might have been something offensive to some at that time, and yet spareth him not, but condemneth his negligence and want of zeal, in suppressing heresy, and defending and maintaining catholic verity; and addeth, that he would have them that are zealous of Christian religion, the honour of the pope, and the holy council, to consider whether, if care be not had for the extirpation of heresies, especially in matters solemnly denounced, prosecuted, and handled, some will not impute it to negligence, other to ignorance, other to a direct refusal to do right, other to the covetousness of prelates, seeking their

own things, and not those of Christ, other to the contempt of the princes and universities, that sought the condemnation of such errors, other to the weakness of the ecclesiastical power, in rooting out heresies, and the notorious negligence of the court of Rome, in omitting to do that which is fit, other to base corruption? and thereupon sheweth, that an appeal was put in on the behalf of the lords of Polonia to the next general council, against which exception was taken, that it was not lawful to appeal from the pope in any case, or to decline his judgment in matters of faith, contrary to the laws of God, and the decrees of the same council, and to the utter overthrowing of all those things that were done in the Council of Pisa, and Constance, in rejecting the pretenders, and electing a new pope; professing that he is well assured there will never be any reformation of the Church by a council, without the presidency of a guide well affected and prudent, stout and constant; of which sort he insinuateth the pope then being was not. Thus we see Gerson thought it no impiety, in modest sort, to tax the pope's negligence, and, in most resolute manner, to condemn as impious, and against the laws of God and man, his pride in denying appeals from himself, as if no man might decline his judgment in matters of faith: which things being so, let the reader judge whether that one poor sentence of Gerson, mangled, and rent from that which went before and followeth after, do bring more advantage to Master Higgons his cause, than it doth prejudice the same, when it is joined with the other parts of his discourse in the same place. But thus do these Madianites¹ slay themselves with their own swords, and turn their weapons upon themselves, to the utter overthrow of their bad cause.

From this particular of the pope's supremacy, wherein Master Higgons hath foiled himself, and hurt his cause, he proceedeth to some general evidences², whence, as he saith, it may be proved that Gerson never favoured the protestantical reformation. The first is, for that speaking of the Romish Church, he saith³, "We must receive the certainty

¹ Judg. vii. 22.

² Pag. 9.

³ "Facile in eis fidei sinceritas corrumpitur, cum ecclesiæ Romanæ non cohæreant, a qua fidei certitudo petenda est."—Part. 1. Serm. coram Alex. Papa V. [Tom. ii. col. 136.]

of our faith from it." The second, for that he preached¹ zealously at Constance against the Articles of Wickliffe and the Bohemians.

For answer to the first of these allegations, the reader must remember that Gerson doth clearly resolve that the pope may err, not only personally, but episcopally and judicially also; and, consequently, that we must not ground our faith upon his resolutions, as certain and undoubted. The like may be said of the Roman Church, that is, the Roman diocess, province, or patriarchship: for if it have any more infallibility of judgment than other particular Churches, it hath it from the bishop, which it cannot have, seeing he is not free from error himself; the meaning therefore of Gerson is not, that we may or must take whatsoever the Roman diocess, province, or patriarchship delivereth unto us, to be undoubtedly true; but speaking of the Indians, who are Christians, and yet doubting whether they hold the faith of Christians sincerely or not, he saith, it may be feared lest they do not, seeing they are divided from the Roman Church, from which the certainty of faith is to be sought; to shew that the truth and certainty of faith is to be sought in the unity of the universal or catholic Church, the beginning being taken from that which of all others is the first and chiefest, and hath hitherto been most free from damnable heresies. For, otherwise, that he is no way resolved that the determinations of the particular Roman Church, diocesan, provincial, or patriarchal, do absolutely bind all to receive them, it is most clear and evident, in that in his discourse of the means of procuring unity between the Greeks and Latins, (one special cause of the breach between them being the determination passed by the Latins touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, without the consent of the Greeks), he² wished men to consider whether, as we are wont to say of the Articles of Paris, that they bind none but such as are within the diocess of Paris, so it may not be said that the determinations of the Latin Church bind none but those that are within the compass of the same? which he could not, nor would not do, if he thought the infallible direction of all the rest to be in the Roman Church alone; and that all everywhere were

¹ Part. 3. Dialog. Apolog. de Concil. Const. [Tom. ii. col. 386.]

² De Unitate Græcorum, Consid. 6. [Tom. ii. col. 147.]

bound to receive as undoubtedly true, whatsoever it delivereth, as the Romanists at this day do think. Besides this, it is to be observed, that by the name of the Roman Church, the person of the pope, whom the Romanists name the "Virtual Church," is not meant, nor the diocese or province of Rome alone, but the whole Latin or West Church, subject to the bishop of Rome, as patriarch of the West, which we are persuaded never yet erred from the faith, but had always in it many worthy men, professing and maintaining the truth of religion, howsoever some erred damnablely in the midst of it, and a separation be now grown between the true members of that Church and such as were but a faction in the same. So that that which Gerson hath of fetching the certainty of our faith from the Church of Rome, proveth not that he would have been an enemy to the protestantical reformation; for he speaketh not of our fetching the certainty of our faith from the pope, or court, or diocese of Rome, but of the Indians fetching the certainty of their faith from the Roman, that is, the Western Church. But that he never thought that all Christians, and Churches of the West, are to fetch the certainty of their faith from the pope, or court of Rome, it is evident, in that he¹ commendeth the French king, that condemned the heresy of John the Two-and-twentieth, touching the souls not seeing God till the resurrection, with sound of trumpets, (the nobles and prelates of France being present), and believed rather the university of Paris than the court of Rome.

Neither is the next proof of Gerson's preaching against the articles of Wickliffe, and the Bohemians, any better than this: for he preached against such articles as were brought to the council of Constance by the English and Bohemians. Now those articles were many of them impious and heretical, nay hellish and blasphemous, in such sort as they were proposed by them that brought them; as that "God must obey the devil," that "kings or bishops, if they be reprobates, or if they fall into mortal sin, cease to be kings or bishops any longer, and all that they do is merely void²:" whereas Wickliffe never delivered any such thing, nor had any such impious conceit, as they sought to fasten on him: neither is it to be marvelled

¹ Serm. in Paschate, Part. 4. [Tom. iii. col. 1205.]

² Concil. Constant. Sess. 8. [Labbe, Tom. xvi. col. 120.]

at, that impious things were falsely and slanderously imputed to him; seeing we are wronged in like sort at this day. For there are who shame not to write¹, that we “affirm God to be the author of sin, that we teach that God doth sin, that man sinneth not, that God only sinneth, and that God is worse than the devil,” with many other like hellish blasphemies, which we accurse to the pit of hell. Many things, no doubt, were written by Wickliffe in a good and godly sense, which, as they were wrested by his adversaries, were heretical and damnable. For example, it is a damnable heresy to think that kings and bishops cease to be that they were, if they fall into mortal sin; or that reprobates cannot be truly kings or bishops: neither did Wickliffe ever hold any such opinion; but, as John Huss shewed, he thought that godless persons, howsoever *officio*, “in office” and place, they be kings and bishops, yet *merito*, that is “in merit,” they are neither; because they are unworthy to be either: and are of such quality, as that if God would take the forfeiture, they might justly be deprived, not of dignity alone, but of life and being also. Now then this is the goodly argument which Master Higgon frameth: Gerson condemned such heretical and impious articles as were presented to him and other assembled in the Council of Constance, as taken out of the writings of Wickliffe, and disliked some other that were indeed his, and might have a good sense, because they were delivered in a dangerous form of speech, as likewise such as rather bewrayed his too passionate dislike of things amiss, carrying him too far into contrary extremities, than an advised and wise consideration of the means whereby they might be amended; therefore he would never have allowed that reformation of religion that now is. This argument, I think, will not hold, because we also condemn many of the articles attributed to Wickliffe, no less than Gerson, and yet are no enemies to the protestantical reformation, as Master Higgon calleth it. But Master Higgon saith², I must needs be found contrary to myself, in that I acknowledge Wickliffe, Huss, Hierome of Prague, and the like, to have been the worthy servants of Christ, and holy martyrs and confessors; and yet praise Gerson as a

¹ A Letter of a Catholic to his Protestant Friend; or certain articles or forcible reasons, printed at Antwerp.

² Pag. 19.

worthy guide of God's Church, and one that desired the present reformation, who consented to the condemnation of Wickliffe's articles. We are wont to say, "Distinguish times, and the scriptures will soon be accorded:" so let Master Higgon distinguish aright things that differ one from another, and this seeming contrariety will be found to be none at all. For Wickliffe and Huss might be worthy servants of God, in that they reprov'd the intolerable abuses of those times which Gerson never approv'd; and yet Gerson, though as zealous and religious as either of them, might condemn as impious some positions falsely imputed to Wickliffe, not knowing but that they were his, and dislike other that indeed were his, as not delivered in such sort and such forms of words as was fit, or savouring of too much passion and violence; and therefore, like a right wise and moderate man, he interposed himself between Wickliffe and such as he was opposite to¹; disliking the one sort, as attributing too much to the clergy, and the other, as detracting too much from it. Touching John Huss and Hierome of Prague, I could never yet find in what point of faith they dissented from the doctrine of the Church then constantly resolv'd on; but they bitterly inveighed against the ambition, pride, covetousness, and negligence of the clergy; they urg'd the necessity of oftener preaching than was usual in those times, and desired to have the communion in both kinds, according to the ancient custom of the primitive Church; and could not be induced simply and absolutely to condemn the articles of Wickliffe, but thought many of them might carry a good sense; and that the author of them was a man that carried a good mind, howsoever he might fail in some things: neither was there any matter worthy of death prov'd against them; but they were unjustly charg'd with things they never thought of: so that Luther² said truly, that they were murderers and seven times heretics that condemn'd the innocent men, John Huss and Hierome of Prague. For it is most evident to any one that will consider the acts of that council, that things were carried in it in a most violent and tumultuous manner, with clamours and outcries against those poor men standing in their just defence,

¹ De Potestate Ecclesiast. Consid. 12. [Tom. ii. col. 246.]

² In an Epistle to the Earl of Passun, [Sebastian Schlick] prefixed before his book against Henry the Eighth. [Tom. ii. p. 517. fol. Jen. 1600.]

and clearing themselves from anything their adversaries themselves accounted to be heretical. And particularly concerning Hierome of Prague, it appeareth the cardinals that were chief presidents of that council sought all possible means to let him go free, as Pilate did to acquit Christ; but the cry of the multitude prevailed: and therefore I think it will not be easily proved by Master Higgons that Gerson had any hand in the turbulent and furious proceeding against the persons of these men, howsoever he might mislike some things which they were charged with. So that he is neither pronounced to be an heretic, nor a murderer, by Luther, as Master Higgons untruly saith he is. What manner of proceeding there was in the council, Gerson¹ himself reporteth, shewing his dislike of the courses holden in it, and confessing that many intolerable things were done there, which neither could nor would have been endured, if men had not been content to endure anything in hope of unity and peace, after so many calamities of the Church, most pitifully torn and rent in sunder by the former schisms.

There is only one thing more remaining in this chapter that toucheth me; and that is, that speaking of the tyranny of the see of Rome, and such as withheld the truth of God in unrighteousness, and being named Christians served antichrist, I add, "as Bernard complained of some in his time;" in which addition Master Higgons² chargeth me with fraudulency; saying, that I go about to make the world believe, that they, against whom John Huss, Hierome of Prague, and the rest, opposed themselves, served antichrist even by the verdict of St Bernard himself. If Bernard say not expressly, that many, even exceeding many, so that they were without number, of the pretended friends and lovers of the Church of Rome, and such as possessed high places of rule and government in the same, served antichrist, let him charge me with ill dealing at his pleasure; but if he do, let Master Higgons know he hath wronged me in a very high degree. Let us hear therefore what Bernard will say³, "Woe," saith he, "to this generation, because of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy: if yet it may be named hypocrisy, which in

¹ In Dialog. Apologet. de Concilio Constant. [Tom. II. col. 386.]

² Pag. 11.

³ Serm. xxxiii. in Cantica. [Tom. I. col. 1396.]

respect of the greatness of it, cannot, and in respect of the impudency it is grown unto, seeketh not to be hid. A filthy, rotten, running sore, secretly passeth along through all parts of the body of the Church; the more largely, the more desperately it spreadeth itself; and the more inwardly, the more dangerously: for if an open enemy by professed heresy opposing himself should rise up, he would be cast out; and if a violent enemy should seek to oppress the Church, men would hide themselves from him; but now whom should the Church cast out? or from whom should she fly? All are friends, and all are enemies: all are tied unto her in a bond of amity, and yet all are her adversaries: all are of her household, and yet none are at peace with her: all are neighbours, and yet all seek their own: they are the ministers of Christ, and they serve antichrist: so that nothing remaineth but that the devil, that feareth not to walk at noonday, should be revealed to seduce such as remain in Christ, still abiding in their simplicity; for he hath already swallowed up the rivers of the wise, and the floods of the mighty, and hath hope to draw in Jordan into his mouth, that is, the simple and lowly in heart that are in the Church.” What is therefore the fraudulency Master Higgons so much complaineth of? Surely he saith, it was only wickedness of life Bernard complaineth of, and I seem to extend his complaint farther. For answer whereunto, first I say, that I no way extend the words of Bernard to any particular kind of evil of life, doctrine, or violation of discipline: but cite them in such general sort as they are found in him. Secondly, I say it is untrue that Higgons saith, that Bernard complained only of the evil lives of men in his time: for in his books of Consideration to Eugenius the pope, he blameth him for meddling with things more properly pertaining to men of another rank and sort, asking of him¹, *Quid fines alienos invaditis? quid falcem vestram ad alienam messem extenditis?* that is, “Why do you encroach upon the bounds of other men? and why do you reach forth your sickle and thrust it into the harvest of other men?” adding, that “if the days were not evil, he would speak many other things.” Likewise he complaineth of the confusion and abuse of appeals to Rome in this sort: *Præter fas et jus, præter morem et ordinem fiunt: non locus, non*

¹ Lib. de Consideratione ad Eugenium.

modus, non tempus, non causa discernitur, aut persona. That is, "Appeals are made and admitted, besides law and right, besides custom and order: no difference is made of place, manner, time, or cause." So that the bishops in all parts of the world are hindered that they cannot do their duties. As also of the spoiling of the guides and governors of the Church of their authority, by exemptions and privileges freeing such as are under them from their subjection, *Murmur loquor, saith he¹, et querimoniam ecclesiarum: truncari se clament, et demembrari; vel nullæ, vel paucæ admodum sunt quæ plagam istam aut non doleant, aut non timeant. Quæris quam? Subtrahuntur abbates episcopis, episcopi archiepiscopis, archiepiscopi patriarchis sive primatibus.* That is: "I utter the murmuring and complaint of the Churches: they cry out that they are mangled and dismembered; there are either none, or very few, which either feel not or fear not this plague: if you ask, what plague? abbots are exempted from the jurisdiction of their bishops, bishops of their archbishops, they of their primates." But he dissented not from the papists in matter of doctrine. Surely this is no truer than the rest: for it will be found that Bernard hath written that which will not please our adversaries very well, touching special faith, imperfection and impurity of inherent righteousness, merits, power of freewill, the conception of the blessed virgin, and the keeping of the feast of her Conception. For I would willingly learn of them whether they will grant, that "all our righteousness is as the polluted rags of a menstruous woman²?" that we "must believe particularly that our sins are remitted to us³?" that "our works are *via regni*, not *causa regnandi*⁴;" that is, the way that leadeth to the kingdom, but not the cause why we reign? that "the blessed virgin was conceived in sin, and that the feast of her Conception ought not to be kept⁵?" In all these things doubtless Bernard dissented from the papists at this day: neither did he know or understand any thing of their transubstantiation, local presence, private masses, half communions, indulgences,

¹ Lib. iii. de Consideratione. [cap. 4. col. 437.]

² Bern. Serm. v. de Verb. Esaiæ. [Tom. i. col. 959.]

³ Serm. i. de Annunc. Dom. [col. 978.]

⁴ Trac. de Gratia et Lib. Arb. in fine. [col. 630.]

⁵ Epist. 174. ad Canon. Lugd. [col. 170.]

and the like ; which are matters of difference between us and our adversaries at this day : so that there might be good conformity in substance between Bernard and Wickliffe and his followers, though many articles falsely attributed to him are damned and heretical, and some things were uttered unadvisedly by him : and therefore that which followeth of “ falsehood, inflexions, pretences and subtleties,” is but the bewraying the distemper of Higgons his idle brain ; who having confounded himself in his own intricate conceits, would make men believe other are like unto him, how orderly, plainly, and sincerely soever they handle things.

(HIGGONS, Appendix, Part III. § 1.)

In the third part of this chapter he “reflecteth” (to use his own words¹) “upon four passages of mine ;” and professeth that he will “detect sundry untruths and vanities wilfully committed in the same.” Wherein the reader shall find him as false and as vain a man as ever he met with. The four passages he speaketh of are these : the first, “that Gerson reporteth, that sundry lewd assertions, prejudicial to the states of kings and princes, were brought into the Council of Constance, and that the council could not be induced to condemn them.” Secondly, “that they made no stay to condemn the positions of Wickliffe and Huss.” Thirdly, “that they condemned the positions of Wickliffe and Huss, seeming to derogate from the state of the clergy.” Fourthly, “that they condemned the said positions, though many of them might carry a good and catholic sense, if they might have found a favourable construction.” In which of these passages is my falsehood and untruth ? Doth not Gerson report², that sundry lewd positions, prejudicial to the state of princes, were brought to the Council of Constance to be condemned ; and that by no exhortations or entreaties, by word or writing, the fathers assembled in it could be brought to condemn them ? Doth he not say, that they condemned the positions of Wickliffe and Huss, that they imprisoned some for those

¹ Pag. 12.

² Dial. Apolog. [Tom. II. col. 387.]

errors in the beginning of the council, and burnt them afterwards? Doth he not say, the positions prejudicial to the states of princes, which he speaketh of, were more pestiferous in the life and conversation of men, and in the state of commonweals, than those they condemned? Doth he not complain of partiality and respect of persons, and the clergy's seeking their own, rather than that which is Christ Jesus'? Doth he not say¹, many of the positions of Wickliffe might have had a good sense, if they might have been favourably construed? Doth he not protest that he hath no hope of reformation by a general council, things standing as he found them to do? If there be any untruth in any of these passages, let the reader censure me as he pleaseth. But if all these things be most undoubtedly true, let him account of Higgon as of an impudent young man, that hath strangely hardened his forehead, as if he had been a scholar in the school of impudency a far longer time than yet he hath been. But happily he may find vanity in these passages of mine, though no untruth.

Let us see therefore what he saith: "What advantage," saith he², "can Doctor Field gain from Gerson's improbation of the aforesaid lewd assertions, prejudicial to the states of kings and princes? Why doth he press the authority of Gerson, whose medicine he knoweth to be very sharp against the disease of all such princes as by the infection of heretics are seduced from the integrity of the catholic faith;" to wit, persecution by fire and sword. Surely here Theomismus Higgon bewrayeth more than vanity; for, as if he meant presently to become a traitor against his sovereign, whom he and his consorts suppose to be seduced from the catholic verity, he beginneth at the very first to talk of sharp medicines against such princes, and those prescribed by Gerson, as he telleth us; but he will be found a lying and cogging mate; for Gerson, in the place cited by him³, hath nothing for the pope's deposing princes for heresy, or anything else, which yet is that medicine he meaneth: nay,

¹ Part. 1. Serm. pro Viagio Regis Roman. ii. part. principali Direct. 3. [Tom. ii. col. 277.]

² Pag. 13.

³ Part. 4. Decem Considerat. contra Adulatores Principum. [Tom. iv. col. 622.]

we are assured he never held any such traitorous position; but, writing against the flatterers of princes, he wisheth princes to take heed they listen not to such men as will instil into them many false opinions touching their power and absoluteness, contrary to the faith and truth of God; whereby, in the end, they may make themselves so odious as to be pursued by fire and sword by their subjects. So that whereas Gerson speaketh of errors in faith, concerning the state of princes, bringing them to do things so odious as to be persecuted with fire and sword, this good fellow turneth his words to another sense; as if he had meant that for error in faith the pope were to depose princes; and whereas, to meet with certain false and foolish suggestions, made to some princes, contrary to the doctrine of faith, he setteth down certain propositions, whereof the first is, that "Princes must not justify themselves, and think they offend not, whatsoever they do; and that the laws, ecclesiastical and civil, will avail for the furtherance of this consideration," he turneth the words into this sense, that these laws are available for the deposing of kings; so treacherous and traitorous is this fugitive become already.

From this first observation he proceedeth to a second, saying¹, that "if the reformation wished for by Gerson consisted only, or principally, or at all, in the redress of lewd assertions, prejudicial to the states of kings, the protestants have not effected that which he desired, their positions being dangerous likewise;" and thereupon breaketh out into a long and large discourse concerning the positions of protestants touching the state and power of princes. But surely he is like a spaniel not acquainted with his game, that runneth after every bird that riseth before him, and is to be taught better, before there will be any great use of him. For I bring not the report of Gerson touching these assertions, so much to shew what he would have reformed, as to make it appear how strangely things were carried in former times, and how little hope he and other good men had of any reformation by a council, seeing these positions, so dangerous and apparently false, could not be condemned in the Council of Constance, by reason of a mighty faction prevailing in the same; and so all that he saith upon this false

¹ Pag. 14.

ground is nothing to the purpose. Notwithstanding, if the man were worth the meddling with, or the matter required it, it were easy to shew that protestants are far from holding any such traitorous opinions as papists defend. But I have resolved to confine myself to the defence of myself against his childish exceptions, and no way to follow him into any other of his idle discourses.

Touching Gerson's condemning certain positions attributed to Wickliffe and Huss, and Huss's suffering in the cause of Christ against antichrist, and the idleness of Higgon, in charging me with contradiction, in that I grant the one, and affirm the other, I have spoken already. But so plentiful he is in objection, that nine things more remain in this chapter, not objected before, which he objecteth to me. The first is, the extenuation of the turbulent and impious positions of Wickliffe, in that I say, "they seemed to derogate from the clergy." Secondly, that I "conceal the impiety of Wickliffe in other things." Thirdly, that I cite in one place things found in divers places. Fourthly, that I exaggerate the severity of the Council of Constance against Wickliffe, &c., and make as if Gerson had disliked it, whereas he did not. Fifthly, that I say Gerson desired a reformation, and thought that it was to be assayed severally in the particular kingdoms of the world, there being little or no hope of doing any good by a general council. Sixthly, that the proceeding in this work of reformation severally in divers parts of the world, without a common deliberation, was the cause of those differences that now appear in the reformed Churches, according as Gerson feared it would fall out. Seventhly, that I say Gerson, Grosthead, and others, were of the true Church¹, who yet were members of the Church of Rome. Eighthly, that I misallege a saying of Gerson. And the ninth, that whereas Gerson saith the popes sought to be adored as God, I say they sought to be adored and worshipped as God². To every one of these I will answer in a word.

To the first, that I extenuate not the impious positions falsely and maliciously gathered out of Wickliffe's works, as that "God must obey the devil," and if there be any other like, but accurse them to the pit of hell: but, speaking of

¹ Pag. 25.

² Pag. 28.

those which in Gerson's judgment were not so hurtful, neither to the conversation of men, nor the state of commonweals, as those against princes, which the Council of Constance could not be induced to condemn: I say of them, they seemed to derogate from the clergy; because I know not certainly upon what ground, or in what sense, many of them were uttered by him. To the second I answer, that I concealed not the impiety of any articles wherewith Wickliffe was charged; but having no occasion to speak of any other but such only as were not so bad in Gerson's judgment as some they in the council could not be induced to condemn, I had no reason to censure them any otherwise than I did: for had they been so bad as Master Higgons would make them to be, the pope and council were not very good that could by no means be induced to condemn such as were far worse, as Gerson telleth us. To the third I say, that it is lawful for a man to cite in one place out of one author things found in him in divers places; or else Master Higgons is to blame who doth so¹. To the fourth I say, that I exaggerate not the severity of the council against Wickliffe simply, but in comparison; and so doth Gerson, and liketh it as much as I do, condemning it of partiality. To the fifth and sixth I say, that Gerson affirmed the one, to wit, that no good was to be expected by a general council; that the several parts of the Christian world were to reform themselves; and feared the other, namely, that too great diversity would follow upon such divided reformati-
ons; as it will easily appear, to any one that will take the pains to peruse the places cited by me. Neither was it haste and precipitation, as Master Higgons is pleased to censure it, but necessity, that made our men to do as they did, having no means to meet for common deliberation. To the seventh I answer, that Gerson, Grosthead, and the rest, were members of the Church that was under the papacy; but that they were not of the papal faction, nor vassals of the man of sin, but men of a better spirit. To the eighth I answer, briefly, that I have most sincerely and truly alleged the testimony of Gerson, and no way varied from his intention; which, that the

¹ Pag. 8. He allegeth two sayings of Gerson, found in two several places, as if they were in one: without specifying whence the latter of them is taken.

reader may the better be able to discern, I will first set down what my allegation is, and then what exceptions Higgons taketh to it. My words are these¹: "Touching the second cause of the Church's ruin, which is the ambition, pride, and covetousness of the bishop and court of Rome, Gerson boldly affirmeth, that whereas the bishops of Rome, challenging the greatest place in the Church, should have sought the good of God's people, they contrarily sought only to advance themselves: his words are these: "In imitation of Lucifer, they will be adored and worshipped as gods: neither do they think themselves subject to any, but are as the sons of Belial, that have cast off the yoke, not enduring, whatsoever they do, that a man should ask them why they do so: they neither fear God, nor reverence men." This is my allegation. Now let us see what it is that Master Higgons excepteth against in it. Are not these the words of Gerson? He cannot deny but that they are; but he saith² Gerson uttered them when there was a schism in the Church. It is true he did so; but what then? Did not the true pope, whosoever he was amongst those pretenders, take as much on him as the rest; and is not this note of disgrace fastened upon all? But that Master Higgons may know that Gerson spake as much of the pope simply, as I have cited out of him, without any reference to pretenders, (as he would fain avoid the evidence of his heavy sentence), let him consider what Gerson hath written in his tract *De Potestate Ecclesiæ*; where he goeth about to stop the mouth of flattery, giving too much to the clergy; and vile detraction, taking too much from it; and bringeth in flattery, speaking in this sort to them of the clergy, especially the pope³: "O how great is the height of ecclesiastical power! O sacred clergy! how is secular power nothing, if it be compared unto thine! Seeing as all power both in heaven and earth was given to Christ, so Christ left it all to Peter and his successors: so that Constantine gave nothing to pope Sylvester that was not his before, but restored to him that which had been unjustly withholden: and there is no power, temporal or ecclesiastical, imperial or regal, but from the pope: in

¹ Third Book Of the Church, Chap. xi. [Vol. i. p. 183.]

² Pag. 28 and 29.

³ De Potest. Eccl. Consid. 12. [Tom. ii. col. 246.]

whose thigh Christ did write, ‘King of kings, and Lord of lords:’ of whose power to dispute it is sacrilegious; to whom no man may say, Why do you so? though he overturn, tear in sunder, and overthrow all states, possessions, and dominions, temporal and ecclesiastical. Let me be reputed a liar,” saith he, “if these things be not found written by them that are wise in their own eyes; and if they be not found to have been believed by some popes.” He addeth, *notum est illud satyrici*¹:

Nihil est, quod credere de se,

Non possit, cum laudatur diis æqua potestas.

That is, according to that known saying of the satirical poet: What should not he persuade himself of himself that is magnified as equal to God in power? For that of the comical poet is true of the flatterer, that “he maketh fools to be stark mad.” These are the sayings of Gerson, which I have laid down at large, that the reader may judge whether I have depraved the intention of Gerson, or not, and whether Higgon had any cause to traduce me in such sort as he doth. It seemeth the poor fellow was hired to say something against me, or else he would never have adventured to vent such fooleries: yet the last accusation against me is not to be passed over. Gerson saith, the popes will be adored as God; and I fear not to add, that the English reader may understand me, that they will be adored and worshipped as God. Out of these premises he maketh an excellent conclusion, comparing Gerson to David², that commanded Joab to save the life of Absalom; and Luther to Joab, that had no pity on traitorous Absalom, in that the one would have the pope well dealt withal, though he disliked his faults, and the other sought to tread him under his feet. But let the reader know, that as Gerson, so Luther was willing to give all due honour to the pope, contenting himself with that which of right pertaineth to him; but if he dishonour God, wrong the Church, suffocate and kill her children, and heretically refuse to be subject to the Church and council; if he challenge infallibility of judgment, from which no man may appeal, Gerson will tread him under feet, and reject him as an heretic, as well as Luther.

¹ [Juv. iv. 70.]

² Pag. 30.

(HIGGONS, Appendix, Part IV. § 1.)

In the fourth part of this chapter, Master Higgons undertaketh to prove that I have abused the name and authority of Grosthead, to justify the Lutheran reformation; which he performeth full wisely in this sort: Grosthead¹ was judged a catholic, and a good man, by some cardinals in Rome; therefore he could not desire that reformation of things amiss that now is wrought. If the consequence of this argument be denied, he knoweth not how to prove it; but willeth² his reader to demand of me, whether these cardinals, which judged Grosthead to be a catholic, and of the same religion with themselves, were not “real members of the antichristian synagogue?” “proud Romanists?” “factious papists?” &c.; which question is soon answered. For I have distinguished, as he knoweth right well, the Church in which the pope tyrannized, and the faction of papists that flattered him, and applied themselves to set forward his proud and unjust claims, till they lifted him up into the throne and seat of antichrist; the members of the Church and of the faction; and though both these lived for a time in the same outward communion, as did the right believers and they that denied the resurrection of the dead amongst the Corinthians, yet did they differ as much in judgment as we do from the papists at this day: so that these cardinals that opposed themselves against the furious purposes of the pope, intending to proceed against Grosthead for resisting his tyrannical usurpations, and justified Grosthead as a good man, and the things he stood upon as right and just, and told the pope of a departure from him, which he must look for, and by these ill courses intended by him he might hasten, may be thought not to have been members of the antichristian faction, but of the poor Church oppressed and wronged by the same; as Grosthead also was. Neither is it so strange that cardinals, who are so near the pope, should be averse from his antichristian courses. For Cameracensis, than whom that age had not a worthier man, either for life or learning, and Cusanus no way inferior to him, howsoever they were not free from all errors of papism, yet wholly condemned the papacy, as we do at this day; denying the pope’s universality of jurisdiction, uncontrollable power, infallible judg-

¹ Pag. 32.

² Pag. 33.

ment, and right to meddle with princes' states; making him nothing but the first bishop in order and honour amongst the bishops of the Christian Church. And Contareus¹, as all men know, condemned sundry errors of the papism, and seemed no less to dislike the papists' wilful and obstinate maintaining of gross errors, abuses, and confusions, than the temerity of those that disorderedly, as he thought, sought to have an alteration. Thus is Master Higgons his great demand easily answered: only one great and unexcusable fault I have committed, in that I say, "these cardinals opposed themselves against the pope," when he intended to proceed violently against bishop Grosthead; whereas I "should have said, they interposed themselves²." The poor man, it seemeth, is very weak in his conceit, and therefore saith he knoweth not what: for did not the interposing of themselves, in such sort as they did, imply a contrariety of judgment in them, opposite to that of the pope? and was not their hindering, crossing, and stopping of him by all the means it was fit for them to use, an opposing against his rash purpose and resolution? Surely Master Higgons, in this passage, sheweth himself as very a babe as ever sucked a bottle. For all men know, that one may oppose himself unto another, as well by way of persuasion and entreaty, as of authority or violence.

But to leave these trifling fooleries, and to come to matter of substance, because he saith³, I express not the matters of quarrel and differences between the pope and bishop Grosthead particularly enough, and that I conceal the correspondence he held with the Roman Church in matters of faith, I will relate the whole story at large, of such things as fell out between the pope and this worthy bishop, whereby I doubt not but it will appear, that if Grosthead were now alive he would detest such smattering companions as Higgons is, that labour so carefully to reconcile him to that antichrist, with whom he had war both while he lived, and after he was dead.

The popes, in the time wherein Grosthead lived, not contenting themselves with the pre-eminence of being patriarchs of the West, which stood in confirming metropolitans by imposition of hands, or by mission of the pall, and in calling patriarchal synods, in certain cases, to hear and determine

¹ De Prædestinatione.

² Pag. 34.

³ Pag. 33.

matters of greater consequence than could be ended in provincial synods; but taking upon them as if the fulness of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction had rested in them alone, admitted appeals out of all parts of the West, not of bishops only, but of presbyters, inferior clergymen, and laymen also; reserved a great number of cases to their own cognizance, debarring the bishops and metropolitans from meddling with them; exempted whom they pleased from the ordinary jurisdiction of their bishops, and challenged the right to confer all kind of dignities ecclesiastical, whether presentative or elective, not only when they were void, but before: whence came their expectative graces and provisions; and, which much offended and grieved all good men, bestowed the dignities of the churches abroad, in England, and other places, upon strangers, that never came to those churches they were entitled to; so that at one time, a survey being taken, it was found that strangers carried yearly more than threescore thousand marks out of England; which was more than the bare revenue of the crown at that time. Amongst others, bishop Grosthead received the pope's letters for the placing of certain strangers in his church of Lincoln¹; which he refused to do, and wrote back to the pope to let him know he was opposite to Christ, a murtherer of souls, and an heretic in these his courses. Upon the receipt of which letters the pope was half mad with anger; and calling his cardinals together, sware by Peter and Paul, that, if it were not that he were overcome by the goodness of his nature, he would cast down this bishop into the pit of all confusion; which thing he said he could easily do, for that the king of England was his vassal and slave; and he could command him, under pain of his high displeasure, to cast him into prison, or otherwise to proceed against him; but that howsoever he would make him an example to all such as should dare in like sort to disobey his mandates. Some of the cardinals, more advised than the pope, sought to pacify him what they could, and to stop these his intended violent courses, telling him, bishop Grosthead was in faith a catholic, in life a most holy man, of great learning, and everywhere much respected; that the things he stood upon were just and right; and that therefore it was not safe for him to proceed against him, lest some tumult

¹ Math. Paris. in Henrico III. [A.D. 1253. Tom. II. p. 870.]

should follow: which they besought him the rather to think of, for that there must be a departure from the Church of Rome, which they would not have him to hasten by this means. These persuasions prevailed so far, that Grosthead was not accursed, nor deposed, but died bishop of Lincoln; yet after his death (it being easier to insult upon a dead lion than a living dog) the pope took heart, and was resolved to accurse him, and to command his dead body to be taken up, and to be buried in a dunghill. But the night before this vile act should have been done, bishop Grosthead did appear unto him with his crosier staff in his hand, and so rebuked the wicked pope for favouring the wicked, and persecuting the righteous, and besides struck him in such sort with his crosier staff, that he never enjoyed his papal dignity after it. This apparition happily was nothing else but the apprehension of his guilty conscience, representing to him the person of him whom he intended to wrong, and terrify him even unto the death. Howsoever, it appeareth by Matthew Paris, that this worthy bishop (for so will I call him, notwithstanding anything prating Higgons can say to the contrary) finding that the pope sought to overthrow the order of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, to encroach upon all bishops and guides of the Church, and to usurp such an illimited, universal, and absolute authority, as no way pertained to him, feared not to call him antichrist; to compare him and his courtiers to that Behemoth that putteth his mouth to the river of Jordan, thinking he can drink it up; to pronounce that it is most true, that before his time was said of him, and his execrable court:

Ejus avaritiæ totus non sufficit orbis:

Ejus luxuriæ meretrix non sufficit omnis.

That the Church was holden in Babylonical captivity by this antichrist; and that her deliverance would never be wrought but by the edge of the sword, that must be bathed in blood.

This is the true report concerning Grosthead; in all which there are neither fictions nor exaggerations, as Higgons pretendeth, by which it is evident that there was as little communion between him and the pope, challenging as he did then, and doth now, infallibility of judgment, universality of illimited and uncontrollable power, and right to dispose the kingdoms of the world, as there is between light and darkness, the temple of God and idols, Christ and antichrist. So

that he was no papist, seeing he overthrew the papacy; and if in anything he erred, as living in corrupt times it is not to be marvelled at, neither did his error in some particular thing so much prejudice his piety and sanctity as that he may not be called a worthy and renowned bishop, seeing he held the foundation, and strove for the truth, as far as he knew it, even to death. And therefore the exceptions of the author of the book of the Three Conversions against Master Foxe, touching this bishop, and some other mentioned by him, and recorded in the number of martyrs and confessors, are little to be regarded; for that men might be members of that true Church whereof we are, holding the foundation, and carefully seeking out and maintaining the truth, as far as they knew it, though they were otherwise persuaded in some things than either Master Foxe or we are; which need not to seem strange to Master Higgon, nor any other of that side, seeing they think many to have been members of their Church, and catholics, that dissented from them in all the questions concerning the pope, to which all other, as Master Higgon telleth us¹, are subordinate; and, besides, in the questions of original sin, free-will, justification, merit, satisfaction, the number of the sacraments, and sundry other like things.

Thus we see how zealously Grosthead, the worthy and renowned bishop of Lincoln, opposed himself against the tyrannical usurpations and encroachments of the pope, and feared not to call him antichrist for the same. Neither was he alone in this opposition, but we shall find that the whole state of England, after many complaints against the pope's encroachments, usurpations, and tyrannical intermeddling in things no way pertaining to him, to the overthrow of the hierarchy of the Church, told him in the end, that if these courses were continued, they should be forced to do that which would make his heart to ache. Thus, saith Matthew Paris, at last the poor Church of England, that had been long used as an ass to carry the pope's burthens, in the end grew weary, and opened her mouth, as Balaam's ass did, to reprove the folly of the prophet; and that not without just cause, in the judgment of all the world: for howsoever the Church of Rome challenged to be the mother of all Churches,

¹ Pag. 4.

and the pope to be the father of all Christians, yet the one proved a cruel stepmother, and the other an unkind and unnatural father; so that they both lost the hearts of all men. But what did the pope upon the complaints of so great a Church and nation as this of England? did he ease her burthens, or any way listen to her most reasonable suits? No, verily, but was so unmerciful, as the same Paris testifieth, that having so sore beaten us, he beat us again in more cruel sort than ever before, only because we cried; and therefore let him not be angry with us because we have kept our word with him, that never kept any with us; and have indeed done that which maketh his heart to ache, as our forefathers threatened him long before. These groans of our wronged mother, and her often-renewed bitter complaints, before any was found to work her deliverance, do justify that which we have done to be no more than in duty we stood bound to do: neither is there any better proof of the goodness of our cause than that that which we have done in the reformation of the Church was long before wished for, expected, and foretold, by the best men that lived in former times, in the corrupt state of the Church.

But because Master Higgons is pleased to tell us¹, that "if there be no better proof, the cause is bad, and the patrons worse," because these best men we speak of will not speak for us; I will take a little pains to shew the goodness of this proof, which I doubt not but the reader will find to be better than that Master Higgons or any other of his Romanists shall ever be able to weaken it. All that which we have done in the reformation of the Church consisteth in three things; the first is, the condemning of certain erroneous opinions in matters of doctrine; the second, the shaking off of the yoke of papal tyranny; and the third, the removing of abuses and superstitious observations. Now then if it be proved that the best and best-learned in former times thought as we do in matters doctrinal, that they complained of the heavy yoke which the pope laid on them, and desired the removing of such abuses as we have removed, I think this proof will be found very strong and good. I will therefore first begin with matters of doctrine, and so proceed to the other points, not intending to run through all the contro-

¹ Lib. i. p. 84.

versed points of doctrine, but some only for example: and because the question is only of the judgment of men living in later times, in the corrupt state of the Church, under the papacy, I will pass by the fathers, and speak of such as lived since their time. Touching the Canon of Scripture, which is the rule of our faith, we deny the books of Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Maccabees, the Song of the Three Children, and the Story of Bel and the Dragon, to be canonical scriptures. So did Hugo de Sancto Victore¹, Richardus de Sancto Victore, Petrus Cluniacensis, Lyranus, Dionysius Carthusianus, Hugo Cardinalis, Thomas Aquinas, Waldensis, Richardus Armachanus, Picus Mirandula, Ockam, Cajetan, and Driedo; to say nothing of Melito, bishop of Sardis, Origen, Athanasius, Hilarius, Nazianzen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Ruffinus, Hierome, Gregory, and Damascene. Here we see a cloud of witnesses deposing for us. And what better proof of the goodness of our cause can there be, than that so many worthies of the world, in so diverse places, and at so diverse times, give testimony to our opinion? Touching the creation, fall, and state of original sin, there were some, and they excellently learned, who thought as we do, that man must either be lifted above himself by grace, or fall below himself by sin, that there is no middle estate of pure nature; that original righteousness was required to the integrity of nature, and, consequently, that being lost, nature is corrupted, and deprived of all natural and moral rectitude, so that a man, after the fall of Adam, till grace restore him, can do nothing morally good, or that is not sin. These men defined original sin to be, "a privation of original righteousness;" that is, of that grace without which a man can neither fear, love, nor serve God aright; and consequently do teach, that after Adam's fall, without grace renewing us, we cannot keep the commandments of God, do the works of moral virtue, or any way dispose ourselves to a true conversion and turning unto God. This opinion is learnedly defended by Thomas Bradwardin², in his discourses against the Pelagians of his time, and confirmed by him out of the scriptures and fathers; and likewise by Gregorius

¹ See the places cited in the Fourth Book Of the Church, Chap. xxiii. [Vol. II. p. 476.]

² De Causa Dei contr. Pelagianos.

Ariminensis¹, as it was before them by Augustine and Prosper. Many there were who thought otherwise, whom Cardinal Contaren² blameth, as inclining too much to the Pelagian heresy; but the best men concurred in judgment with these. For proof whereof Cassander³ citeth an excellent saying of Bonaventura: *Hoc, inquit, piarum mentium est, ut nil sibi tribuant, sed totum gratiæ Dei; unde quantumcunque aliquis det gratiæ Dei, a pietate non recedet: etiamsi multa tribuendo gratiæ Dei, aliquid subtrahit potestati naturæ, vel liberi arbitrii: cum vero aliquid gratiæ Dei subtrahitur, et naturæ tribuitur, quod gratiæ est; ibi potest periculum intervenire.* That is, "It is the property of pious and good minds to attribute nothing to themselves, but to ascribe all unto the grace of God; for how much soever a man giveth to the grace of God, he offendeth against no rule of piety, no, though by giving much to the grace of God he subtract something from the power of nature, or freewill; but when anything that pertaineth to grace is denied unto it, and given to nature, there may be some danger."

Concerning justification, there is a very main difference between the papists and us: for though we deny not but that there is a donation and giving of the Spirit to all them that are justified; changing and altering them in such sort as that they begin to do the works of righteousness; yet we teach, that justification consisteth in such sort in the remission of sins, and the imputation of Christ's righteousness, that the faithful soul must trust to no other righteousness but that which is imputed; the other being imperfect, and not enduring the trial of God's severe judgment. Now that this was the faith of the best and worthiest men in the Church in former times, it will easily appear unto us. "The righteousness of another," saith Bernard⁴, "is assigned to man, because he had none of his own:" and upon the Canticles he saith⁵: "I also will sing the mercies of the Lord for ever. Shall I sing of

¹ In 2 Sent. Dist. 26. Quæst. 1. [fol. 84.] et Dist. 30. Quæst. 3. [fol. 104.]

² In Lib. de Prædestinatione. [p. 604.]

³ Consultat. Art. 18. [p. 961.]

⁴ Epist. 190. [al. Tract. de Error. Abelardi, cap. vi. Tom. i. col. 658.]

⁵ Serm. 61. in Cant. [col. 1479.]

mine own righteousness? no, Lord; I will remember thy righteousness only: for that is mine, seeing thou art made unto me of God righteousness. Is there any cause for me to fear lest it should not suffice us both? it is no short cloak, which according to the prophet cannot cover two.” With Bernard all other good men agreed, who in respect of the imperfection of our inherent righteousness pronounced it to be as the polluted rags of a menstruous woman. “Who is there,” saith Gerson¹, “that shall dare to boast that he hath a clean heart? and who shall say, I am innocent, and I am clean? who is he that will not quake for fear, when he shall stand before God to be judged, who is fearful in his counsels? Hence Job in his affliction saith unto God, ‘I feared all my works, knowing that thou sparest not the sinner:’ and again, ‘If he will contend with me, I cannot answer him one of a thousand.’ Whereunto the prayer of the prophet agreeth; ‘Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for no living man shall be justified in thy sight:’ and again, ‘If thou shalt observe iniquities, O Lord, Lord, who shall endure it?’ Furthermore we read, that Esay wrapping up himself with other, and waxing vile in his own eyes, in all humility professed, that all our righteousness is as the polluted rags of a menstruous woman. Who therefore in boasting sort shall dare to shew his righteousness to God, more than a woman dareth shew the rags of her confusion and shame to her husband?” “There are two kinds of justice to which faith leadeth us,” saith Cardinal Contarenus²; “the one inherent, the other imputed: it remaineth that we inquire upon which of them we are to stay ourselves, and by which we are to think that we are justified before God, that is, accounted just and holy, as having that justice that pleaseth God and answereth to that his law requireth: I truly,” saith he, “think that a man very piously and Christianly may say, that we ought to stay, to stay, I say, as upon a firm and stable thing able undoubtedly to sustain us, upon the justice of Christ given and imputed to us, and not upon the holiness and grace that is inherent in us. For this our righteousness is but imperfit, and such as cannot defend us, seeing in many things we offend all, &c. But the justice of Christ, which is given unto us, is true

¹ Lib. iv. de Consolatione Theologiæ, Pros. 1. [Tom. i. col. 169.]

² De Justific. [p. 592.]

and perfect justice, which altogether pleaseth the eyes of God, and in which there is nothing that offendeth God : upon this therefore, as most certain and stable, we must stay ourselves, and believe that we are justified by it, as the cause of our acceptation with God. This is that precious treasure of Christians, which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it." With Contarenus agree the authors of the "Enchiridion of Christian Religion," published in the provincial synod of Colen, in the year of our Lord 1536 : which, as Cassander saith¹, the more learned divines in Italy and France approved: the authors of the book called *Antididagma Coloniense*², Albertus Pighius³, and sundry other ; who if they were now alive, and should thus teach, our Jesuited papists would soon condemn them as heretics.

Touching merits, I have shewed elsewhere⁴ that Scotus, Cameracensis, Ariminensis, and Waldensis, do think there is no merit properly so named. With whom agreeth Adrian the pope⁵, upon the fourth of the Sentences, writing thus, like a protestant, as I think, "Our merits are as a staff of reed, upon which if a man stay himself it will break and pierce the hand of him that stayeth on it : and our righteousness is as the rags of a menstruous woman, &c." Clichthoveus upon the Canon of the Mass⁶, upon these words, "not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences," asketh, what merit we can plead with God, to whom we owe all things ? according to that, "When ye have done all, say that ye are unprofitable servants : " and how we can applaud ourselves in our good works, whereas all our righteousness is as the polluted rags of a menstruous woman before the Lord ? Whereunto Bernard agreeth⁷. There is extant an excellent epistle of Cardinal Contarenus⁸, wherein he sheweth what reasons moved him, and the other of his side, to yield so far to the protestants, as to leave out the name of merit, and to acknowledge that there is no merit of works properly so named.

¹ Consult. Art. 4. [p. 913.]

² De Justificatione.

³ Controv. 2. De Fide et Justificatione.

⁴ In Append. cap. 12. [Vol. II. p. 343, sqq.]

⁵ Citat. a Cassandr. in Consult. Art. 6. [p. 924.]

⁶ Citat. a Cassandr. ibid.

⁷ Serm. 1. in Festo Omnium Sanctorum. [col. 1034.]

⁸ Epist. ad Cardinalem Farnesium, de Actis Ratisbon.

And as these catholic divines thought thus of justification, by imputation of Christ's righteousness, the imperfection of our inherent righteousness, and our not meriting any thing with the merit of condignity; so they taught likewise that Christ's righteousness is to be apprehended by a lively faith, and defined a lively faith to be that motion of the Spirit, whereby men truly repenting of their former life, are raised and lifted up to God, and do truly apprehend the mercy of God promised in Christ; so that they do indeed feel in themselves that they have received remission of sins and reconciliation by God's goodness, and by the merit of Christ, and do cry, Abba, Father. Thus much was expressly delivered in the book¹ exhibited by the Emperor Charles to the divines of both sides, whom he appointed to confer together for the composing of the controversies of religion: and the divines agreed unto it. Likewise in the "Enchiridion of Christian Religion²," so much approved by all the more learned divines of Italy and France, thus we read: "We confess that it is true, that it is altogether required to the justification of a man, that he certainly believe not only in a generality, that for Christ's sake sins are remitted to such as truly repent, but that particularly they are remitted to himself by faith for Christ's sake." With whom Contarenius agreeth in his tract of Justification, the most reverend canons of the metropolitcal church of Colen, authors of the book called *Antididagma*³, and sundry other. And before them all, Bernard delivered the very same: his words are these⁴: "If thou believest that thy sins cannot be done away, but by him against whom only thou hast sinned, and who cannot sin, thou doest well; but add this moreover, to believe that thy sins are remitted thee: this is the testimony which the Holy Spirit giveth in our hearts, saying, 'Thy sins are remitted thee.' For so the apostle supposeth, 'that a man is justified freely by faith.'" That the pope may err not personally only, but judicially also, we have the opinion of Ockam⁵, Michael Cæsenas, Ca-

¹ Citat. a Cassand. Consult. Art. 4. [et apud Goldast. Const. Imper. Tom. I. p. 186.]

² [Fol. 168.]

³ De Duplici Fiducia. [fol. 13.]

⁴ Serm. 1. de Annunc. Dom. [Tom. I. col. 978.]

⁵ Hi omnes citantur a Stapletono, Relect. Controv. 3. Quæst. 4. [Tom. I. p. 712.] et Bell. Lib. IV. de Pont. cap. 2. [Tom. I. p. 803.]

meracensis, Cusanus, Almain, Gerson, Waldensis, Picus Mirandula, Pope Adrian the VIth, almost all the Parisians, all them that think the council to be above the pope, the fathers in the Councils of Constance and Basil, Alphonsus à Castro, and, as some think, Durandus; Cyprian¹, and his colleagues, who resisted against the determination of the Bishop of Rome, and all the Christians of the East at this day. This might seem to be a good proof: yet Stapleton² is so far from yielding to it, that he condemneth them all that thus thought, as ignorant and rash, especially the latter of them. That the pope is only first amongst bishops, equal with him in power, not of order only, but of jurisdiction also, Cusanus³ proveth at large, as Ockam⁴, Michael Cæsenas⁵, and their consorts, did before: and with these in effect (though they express not the same so well,) Cameracensis, Gerson, Almain, and all the rest agree, who think the council to be greater in authority, and in the power of jurisdiction, than the pope; and make him to be amongst bishops as the Duke of Venice is amongst the great senators of that state, greater than each one, but inferior to the whole company of bishops. John Bacon⁶ our countryman noteth, that many in his time were of the same opinion, who thought the pope, as head or president of the college and company of bishops, and with them, to have an illimited authority, reaching to all persons and causes ecclesiastical; but not as in, of, and by himself. This opinion Duarenus⁷ followeth, and sheweth that anciently the pope took no more on him. The same opinion do all the Christians of the East hold; and the practice and resolution of antiquity confirmeth the same. Touching the unlawfulness of the popes meddling with princes and their affairs, we have the testimonies of Sigebertus⁸, Cusanus⁹, and many more, whom I would produce, but that Mr Blackwell the archpriest in his examination hath already produced a world of witnesses

¹ Bell. *ibid.* cap. 7. [p. 816.]

² Ubi supra.

³ De Concord. Cath. Lib. II. cap. 13. [p. 726.]

⁴ Dial. Lib. IV. Primi Tract. Tertia Part. cap. 2. [p. 848.]

⁵ *Ibid.* cap. 3.

⁶ Sup. IV. Sent. Prolog. Quæst. 10. Art. 2. [p. 263.]

⁷ De Sac. Eccl. Minist. et Benef. Lib. III. cap. 2.

⁸ In Chron. An. 1088. [Inter script. rer. German. Pistorii, p. 606.]

⁹ De Concord. Cath. Lib. III. cap. 41. [p. 821.]

deposing against the pope in this behalf, to whom I refer the reader.

The like might be shewed in other points; but because I will not be tedious, I will leave these points of doctrine, and come to shew what complaints were everywhere heard in the Christian world, before we were born, against the pope and court of Rome. Of bishop Grosthead and our English I have spoken already, and have sufficiently shewed how they multiplied complaints against the pope: let us therefore come to other. "The popes," saith Nicholas Clemangis¹, "as they saw themselves to be greater than other prelates, so they lifted up themselves above other in desire of ruling, and overruling all: and finding that Peter's patrimony, though exceeding any one kingdom of the world, would not suffice to maintain their state, which they would have to be greater than that of emperors, kings and princes, they entered into those sheepfolds of other men, which they found to abound with milk and wool: for they took to them the power to confer benefices and church-livings, which should fall void in any part of the Christian world, overthrowing all those elections which the ancient by so many canons carefully sought to uphold; and hereby drew to them an infinite mass of money. Neither did they so stay, but took away from bishops and patrons all right of collation and presentation; forbidding them to place any till such should be provided for as they had given the expectative hope of benefices not void. Of these men there was an infinite number, not coming from the universities and schools of learning, but from the plough or base trades, not knowing *alpha* from *beta*; who lived most wickedly and dissolutely, and brought the holy ministry into so great contempt, that whereas anciently nothing was more honourable, now nothing is more abject and contemptible. Besides these grievances, upon every vacancy they exacted the benefit of a whole year out of every living, according to a taxation set by them, which sometimes three years' profit would not answer: and yet not content herewith, they oftentimes imposed tenths, and such like extraordinary taxes upon the poor clergy: and as if nothing would suffice, overthrew all the jurisdiction of other bishops: brought all matters of

¹ De Corrupto Eccles. Statu. [cap. 5—10. p. 7, sqq., 4to. Lug. Bat. 1613.]

suit to the court of Rome; and thereby also filled their coffers. And, that nothing might be wanting to make the Church most miserable, the proud spirits of cardinals, the pope's assessors, their swelling words, and their insolent gestures were such, that if a man would draw a perfect picture of pride, the best way to express the same were to paint a cardinal. For though these men at the first were but of the inferior clergy, yet in time they so enlarged their phylacteries, that they do not only despise bishops, whom in contempt they call *episcopellos*, but also patriarchs, primates, and archbishops, as their inferiors; and almost suffer themselves to be adored of them; yea, they think themselves to be kings' fellows. Neither did they content themselves thus proudly and insolently to advance themselves above those, under whom they should have been, but to maintain their state, the unmeasurable and inextricable gulf of their covetousness was such that no words can express it. For they got diverse kinds of livings, that do not well stand together: they became monks and canons, regulars and seculars; and under one habit possessed the livings of all religious orders and professions: not two or three, ten or twenty, but a hundred, two hundred, yea sometimes four hundred or more; and those not small and poor, but the best and fattest that could be gotten." Gerson, speaking of the encroaching of the court of Rome, writeth in this sort¹: "In process of time the pope drew many things to himself: so that in the end, upon occasion given and taken (which it is not needful here to rehearse), almost the whole collation of livings and jurisdiction of the Church rested in the pope and his court, in such sort, that scarce was there any prelate found that had power to give any the least benefice. Together with these things concurred manifold exactions, to maintain the state of the pope and cardinals; and whether there were not many frauds, abuses, and simonies committed, I refer to the judgment of such as are of experience. These things I have therefore insisted upon; because happily it may seem to some more expedient for the universal Church, that all things should be brought back to their ancient estate wherein they were in that Church that was in the apostles' times, as much as conveniently might be, the greater part of these jurisdic-

¹ De Concilio Unius Obedientiæ. [Tom. ii. col. 27.]

tions being rejected, which have made the Church merely brutish and carnal, savouring almost nothing of the things that concern the salvation of souls, (not of themselves, but through the fault of such as abuse them,) or at the least that things should be brought to the state they were in in the time of Sylvester or Gregory, when every prelate was left to himself in his own jurisdiction, and that part of the Church that was committed to his charge, and the pope held that which was his own, without so many reservations and so many great exactions, for the maintenance of that court and head, growing happily too great for the other states and parts of the body to bear." So that, as there were worthy men that, conspiring with us in matter of faith, opposed themselves against errors and false opinions, so there wanted not that disliked and reprov'd the pope's encroaching, tending to the dissolving of the whole frame of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the overthrow of the form of government settled by Christ, which is no less hurtful, than the bringing in of heresy and false doctrine. And this is that Babylonical captivity of which Grosthead complained: and in respect of these confusions, and not only in respect of ill life, as Master Higgon untruly telleth us, Bernard and other complained that the servants of Christ served antichrist.

From the tyranny and usurpations of the pope, so much complained of in the days of our fathers, let us come to abuses and superstitious observations removed by us, and see whether they that went before us will not give testimony to that which we have done. And first to begin with the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood. The first abuse in the celebration of that sacrament, disliked by us, is the mangling of it, and giving it to the lay-people only in one kind. Touching the ministration of the holy sacrament of the Eucharist, it is evident, saith Cassander¹, that all other churches of the world even unto this day, and that the Roman or West Church for more than a thousand years, in the solemn, public, and ordinary dispensation of this sacrament, gave both kinds to all the members of the Church. The same doth Rhenanus² prove at large, writing upon Tertullian; and sheweth that, for fear of shedding the chalices, wherein the consecrated wine was, and

¹ Consultat. Art. 22. [p. 981.]

² Ann. in Lib. de Cor. Mil. [Tom. II. p. 860. ed. Pam. fol. Par. 1635.]

out of which the people were to drink the blood of Christ, had certain pipes of silver. Afterwards, in process of time, the consecrated bread was dipped into the wine, and so given to the people, that they might receive the whole sacrament. But this kind of dipping, Micrologus saith¹, *Ordo Romanus* condemneth; and therefore prescribeth that on Good-Friday, when there is no consecrating, but a receiving of the mystical bread that was consecrated the day before, they should by saying the Lord's Prayer, and dipping the body of our Lord into wine not consecrated, consecrate the same, that so the people might be partakers of the whole communion; which thing were superfluous if the body of our Lord, kept from the day before and so dipped, might suffice for a full and entire communion; and he sheweth that Julius the pope, writing to the bishops of Egypt, condemned this kind of dipping, and commanded them to give the bread and wine apart, as Christ did institute; yet in time they proceeded farther, and gave the sacrament only in one kind to the people, which custom, when some condemned, the Councils of Constance and Basil thought good to confirm and allow; yet so that the Bohemians, upon certain agreements, were permitted to have the communion in both kinds; and it is reported of pope Martin², chosen in the Council of Constance, that he went home from the council and ministered the communion in both kinds to divers, not of the clergy only, but of the laity also. Waldensis³ also testifieth that here in England some devout men of the laity were permitted to communicate in both kinds in his time; and Cassander⁴ assureth us, that all the best men that professed themselves to be catholics, especially such as were conversant in reading the ancient writers and monuments of antiquity, upon great reason desired to have the communion in both kinds.

The next abuse was that of private masses. I have shewed already that the name of "mass" was given to the holy sacrament, for that all non-communicants were dismissed, and all that staid were to communicate. And, as Cassander⁵

¹ De Officio Missæ, cap. 19. [apud Cassand. p. 132.]

² Lyndan. Panopliæ Evangelicæ, Lib. iv. cap. 56.

³ Doctrinal. Fidei, Tom. ii. de Sacramento Eucharistiæ. cap. 94.

⁴ Consult. Art. 22. [p. 982.]

⁵ In Præfat. Ord. Romani. [p. 94.]

fitly noteth, the whole composition and form of the sacred prayer, called the Canon, agreeth only to a public ministration: there being often mention made in it of the people standing round about offering and communicating; so that some ancient expositors of the Roman order think the canon ought not to be used but in a public ministration. To which purpose Micrologus¹ observeth that the prayers used after the communion are applicable only to such as have communicated; and therefore willeth them not to neglect to communicate that desire to enjoy the blessing of these prayers. Clichthoveus² upon the Canon of the Mass saith, that which some note, that the priest, so often as he celebrateth, should give the sacrament to all that stand by, is ancient and agreeable to the custom of the primitive Church, when the faithful did every day receive the sacrament according to that sanction of Calixtus the pope³, "After the consecration let all communicate;" and that of Anacletus, who willeth them to be excommunicated, that being present at the consecration, communicate not; which Andradius⁴ will not have to be restrained to the ministers assisting, but extended to all the people; and that by the authority of Dionysius and Justin Martyr. Cochläus⁵ against Musculus *de Sacrificio Missæ* hath these words: "In old time both priest and people, as many as were present at the sacrifice of the mass, after the oblation was ended, communicated with the priest, as it is evident by the Canons of the Apostles, and the epistles of the most ancient doctors," &c. Afterwards the devotion of the people decayed, yet the clergy and ministers communicated still; and when all they did not communicate, yet at least the deacons and subdeacons communicated, as the author of the Roman breviary testifieth. "Whereupon," saith Cassander, "some godly and learned men do wish that this ancient custom were restored, that at least the ministers might communicate with him that celebrateth, as agreeable to the practice of the primitive Church, and making much for the dignity and gravity of this mystery." In the Churches of Ethiopia⁶ all communicate in both

¹ De Officio Missæ, cap. 19. [apud Cassand. p. 133.]

² Citat. a Cass. in Præfat. Ord. Romani. [p. 95.]

³ [Ibid.]

⁴ Defens. Fid. Trid. Lib. II. fol. 239.

⁵ Citat. a Cassand. ubi supra.

⁶ Damian. à Goes, de Morib. Æthiop. [p. 75. 8vo. Par. 1541.]

kinds twice every week to this day. John Hofmeister¹, expounding certain prayers of the mass, hath these words: "The thing itself proclaimeth it, that as well in the Greek as Latin Church, not the priest that celebrateth only, but the rest of the presbyters and deacons and the whole people, or at least some part of the people, was wont to communicate; which custom how it ceased and grew out of use may seem strange; but it were greatly to be wished that it were restored again: which thing might easily be effected, if the pastors of the churches would do their duty; for the priests themselves are in fault, that few or none of the people are found to communicate, in that they do not invite and stir them up to communicate more often; as appeareth by the writing of a certain divine not unlearned in the former age, in which he reprehendeth certain pastors of that age wherein he lived, who took it ill that some of their parishioners, though living very laudably, desired to communicate every Sunday." That the sacrament was ministered in former times in loaf bread, as we minister it at this day, it is evident by the book called *Ordo Romanus*, by Durandus², and sundry other authorities. In ancient times the manner was to give the holy sacrament into the hands of the communicants as we do, and not to put it into their mouths as the papists do. "What shall I speak," saith Andradius³, "of the use of the holy Eucharist, which now no man may lawfully touch but the priest, whereas it was wont to be carried by the deacons to such as were absent, and to be given to laymen into their hands; whence proceeded that exhortation of Cyril of Hierusalem, full of piety and religion, that each communicant should fasten his eyes upon those hands that received the holy Eucharist, and kiss them with the kisses of his mouth, so that he might communicate to the rest of the members the holiness of the Eucharist." "The custom of circumgestion," saith Cassander⁴, "is contrary to the manner of the ancient, and would never had been liked of them, who held this mystery in so great respect, that they admitted none to the sight of it but such as they thought worthy to be partakers of it; whereupon all such as might

¹ Citat. a Cassand. Cons. Art. 24. De Solitariis Missis. [p. 996.]

² In Ration. Divin. Lib. iv. Rubrica de Pacis Osculo, p. 76.

³ Defens. Fid. Trid. Lib. ii. fol. 239.

⁴ Consult. Art. 22. [p. 984.]

not communicate were ejected before the consecration: and therefore it seemeth that this circumgestation might be omitted. Crantzius praiseth Cusanus, who being the pope's legate in Germany, took it away, unless it were within the octaves of the feast of *Corpus Christi*; the sacrament being instituted for use, and not for ostentation. Touching the honour of saints, Gerson¹, Contarenus², and others, reprehend sundry superstitious observations, and wish they were wisely abolished. Whether the saints particularly know our estate, and hear our cries and groans, not only Augustine³ and the author of the Interlineal Gloss⁴, but Hugo de Sancto Victore⁵ also will tell us it is altogether uncertain and cannot be known; whence it followeth, that howsoever being assured they pray for us in a generality, we may safely desire to be respected of God the rather for their sakes, yet it is not safe to pray to them. Neither is this a new conceit of ours, but Guilielmus Altisiodorensis⁶ saith, it was a common opinion in his time, that neither we do properly pray to saints, nor they in particular pray for us, but that improperly we are said to pray to them, in that we pray unto God that the rather for their sakes, and at their suit, we may find favour and acceptation with him. Touching the abuse of images, and how much it was disliked in former times, let the reader see Cas-sander⁷. How great complaints were made long since against the forced single life of the clergy, and how many and great men desired the abrogation of the law that forced men so to live, I have shewed at large elsewhere⁸. That in the Primitive Church they had their prayers in the vulgar tongue, Lyra⁹ confesseth; and Cajetan¹⁰ professeth, that he thinketh it would be more for edification if they were so now; and confirmeth his opinion out of the apostle St Paul. Thus have I given the reader a taste of the judgment of those that lived in former times, both concerning matters of doctrine now con-

¹ De Direct. Cordis, Consid. 16. et seqq. [Tom. III. col. 471.]

² In Confut. art. Lutheri.

³ De Cura pro Mortuis.

⁴ In Esai. lxiii.

⁵ Erud. Theol. de Sacr. Fid. Lib. II. Part. xvi. cap. 11.

⁶ In 4. Sent. Lib. III. Tract. 8. cap. 5. q. 6. [fol. 176.]

⁷ In Consult. Art. 21. de Imaginibus. [p. 974]

⁸ Fifth Book Of the Church, Chap. LVII. [Vol. IV. p. 153. sqq.]

⁹ In 1 ad Cor. xiv. [Tom. VI. fol. 55. ed. fol. Bas. 1502.]

¹⁰ In Respons. ad Artic. Paris. [fol. 123. A. ed. fol. Ven. 1594.]

troversed, the pope's encroachments now by us restrained, and also such abuses as we have removed; by which I think it will appear to be most true, that amongst many good proofs of the equity of our cause, there can no better be desired than that what we have done in the reformation of things amiss, the worthiest men in the Church wished to be done before we were born. And therefore Master Higgons hath little cause to say, "our cause¹ is bad, and the patrons worse." That which he addeth (that it is "to be marvelled at, that I distil the religion and profession of Protestants out of Catholics²"), is to be laughed at as most ridiculous, for out of whom else should I distil it? but if he think they were all papists whom I cite for proof of our cause, because they lived under the papacy, he is deceived; for a great difference is to be put between the Church, and faction in the Church, we deriving ourselves from the one, and they from the other.

(HIGGONS, Part II. Chap. II. § 1.)

Wherefore now let us return to see what Master Higgons hath further to say: he will convince me, he saith³, of "singular vanity," in that I say there is "no material difference between those whom he and his consorts call Lutherans and Zuinglians." That the reader may the better be able to discern how ignorantly Higgons excepteth against me, I will set down at large what I have written touching this matter. Answering the calumnation of papists, traducing us for our divisions, my words are these⁴: "I dare confidently pronounce, that after due and full examination of each other's meaning, there shall be no difference found touching the matter of the sacrament, the ubiquitary presence, or the like, between the Churches reformed by Luther's ministry in Germany, and other places, and those whom some men's malice called Sacramentaries." And in my Third Book, answering the objection of Bellarmine, charging the German divines with the heresy of Eutyches, in that they say the humanity of Christ is everywhere, ubiquity being an incommunicable property of the Deity, that cannot be communi-

¹ Pag. 84.

² Pag. 107.

³ Pag. 36.

⁴ Book Third, Cap. XLII. [Vol. I. p. 341.]

cated to the human nature of Christ without confusion of the divine and human natures, I have these words¹: "He should remember that they whom he thus odiously traduceth, are not so ignorant as to think that the body of Christ, which is a finite and limited nature, is everywhere by actual position, or local extension; but personally only, in respect of the conjunction and union it hath with God, by reason whereof it is nowhere severed from God, who is everywhere." This is it then which they teach, that the body of Christ doth remain in nature and essence finite, limited, and bounded; and is locally but in one place; but that there is no place where it is not united personally to that God, that is everywhere: in which sense they think it may truly be said to be everywhere. This construction of their sayings, who defend the ubiquitary presence, is no private or singular device of mine, as Master Higgons would make men believe; but Master Hooker², a man so far excelling Theophilus Higgons in learning and judgment, that he is not worthy to be named the same day, hath the same precisely, in the very same words, and alloweth it as catholic and good; and, indeed, who but an ignorant novice, that hath not learned the principles of the Catechism, would 'npugn it? Yet Master Higgons saith³, I have "failed exceedingly in two points; the first, in saying there is no place where the body of Christ is not united personally unto that God that is everywhere, and that it doth subsist everywhere:" the second, in saying, "the human nature of Christ may rightly be said to be everywhere, inasmuch as it is united personally to that which is everywhere." This second saying is none of mine; for I

¹ Book Third, Cap. xxxv. [p. 311.]

² "We hold it a most infallible truth, that Christ as man is not everywhere present. There are which think it as infallibly true, that Christ is everywhere present as man, which peradventure in some sense may be well enough granted. His human substance in itself is naturally absent from the earth, his soul and body not on earth, but in heaven only. Yet because this substance is inseparably joined to that personal Word, which by his very divine essence is present with all things, the nature which cannot have in itself universal presence hath it after a sort by being nowhere severed from that which everywhere is present."—Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity, Book v. [chap. 55. § 7. Vol. II. p. 242. 8vo. Oxford, 1841.]

³ Pag. 37.

have no such words, as the reader will soon perceive, if he peruse the place; but my words are these: "The body of Christ is not everywhere by local extension, but personally only in respect of the union it hath with God, by reason whereof it is no way severed from God, who is everywhere: and again, there is no place where it is not united personally to that God that is everywhere; in which sense the German divines think it may be said to be everywhere."

Wherefore let us see what Master Higgon can say against anything delivered by me touching this point. He saith I have failed; for that, though the divine person wherein the human nature subsisteth be everywhere, yet the human nature subsisteth therein finitely and in one determinate place, the union itself being a created thing. For the better clearing of this point, and the understanding of the doctrine of the Church, resolved on by the best-learned in the schools, we must observe, that there is a being of essence, and a being of existence, or subsistence: the being of essence, which the human nature of Christ hath, is finite and limited, as is the essence of all other men; but being of existence it hath none of its own, but that of the Son of God communicated to it, which is infinite and divine. *Deus in incarnatione verbi*, saith Picus Mirandula¹, *fecit essentiam humanitatis sine suo esse, ut dicitur a multis doctoribus*: that is, "Almighty God, in the incarnation of the Eternal Word, produced the essence of the humanity, without that finite and created actual existence, which, left to itself, it would have had, as many doctors do affirm;" and the person of the Son of God², having in it the fulness of all being, drew the nature of man to the unity of that infinite being it had in itself, and communicated the same unto it; so that the humanity of Christ never had any other being of actual existence or subsistence, but that of the Son of God communicated to it. And, farther, the same Picus saith³, *Esse corporis Christi substantiale est increatum, divinum, quod est suppositi divini, cum in Christo non sit nisi unum esse actualis existentiae substantialis*. That is, the substantial actual being of the body of Christ is the increated being of the Son of God; seeing in Christ there is but one

¹ In Apol. Quæst. 9. de Accident. in Sacr. [p. 151. fol. Bas. 1601.]

² Apol. Quæst. 5. [p. 124.]

³ Apol. Quæst. 9. [p. 152.]

being of actual existence. This which Picus Mirandula hath delivered is the resolution of Thomas Aquinas, Cajetan, and all the best-learned in the Roman schools; whence it followeth inevitably, that the humanity of Christ, in the being of actual existence and subsistence, which it hath, is not limited, or contained within any bounds of place, but is everywhere; howsoever in respect of the being of essence, which is created and finite, it be shut up within the straits of one place at one time; and therefore it is no better than heresy, that Higgons hath¹, “that the humanity of Christ subsisteth finitely in the person of the Son of God:” for if it subsist finitely, the subsistence it hath is finite; and if it have a finite subsistence, then are there two subsistences in Christ, the one finite, the other infinite, and, consequently, two persons: which is flat Nestorianism. “But,” saith Higgons, “the union itself in Christ is a created thing;” therefore the being of actual existence, or subsistence, which the humanity hath, is finito. Truly it had been fit the poor novice had been set to school for a time, before he had been permitted to write: for he bewrayeth gross ignorance in those things which every one that hath saluted the schools doth know. “The union of the natures of God and man in Christ,” saith cardinal Cajetan², “is to be considered,” *vel quantum ad relationem quam significat, vel quantum ad conjunctionem in persona, ad quam consequitur: quoniam plus differunt hæc duo quam cælum et terra; unio enim pro relatione est ens reale creatum, unio autem pro conjunctione naturæ humanæ in persona divina, cum consistat in unitate, quæ est inter naturam humanam et personam Filii Dei, est in genere seu ordine substantiæ; et non est aliquid creatum, sed Creator; quod ex eo constat, quod unum non addit supra ens naturam aliquam, et unumquodque per illudmet, per quod est ens, est et unum, &c. Ac per hoc, natura humana in Christo, quia per esse substantiale subsistentia Filii Dei est juncta naturæ divinæ, oportet quod illud unum esse, in quo indivisæ sunt natura divina et humana in Christo, sit esse unum substantiale divinum; et vere sic est, quia esse subsistentiæ Filii Dei, in quo non distinguuntur ambæ naturæ, substantia est; Deus*

¹ Pag. 37.

² In 3 Part. Summæ, Quæst. 2. Art. 7. [fol. 14. A.]

est, quia Verbum Dei est. Una et eadem quippe substantia subsistit Filius Dei in natura divina et in natura humana, et consequenter natura divina et humana in Christo sunt indivisæ in illa substantia utrique communis, quævis inter se valde distinguantur. The sum of that he saith is this: (for I will not stand exactly to English his words :) that the union between the nature of God and man in Christ, in respect of that being, of actual existence, and subsistence, wherein they are conjoined, (which is the same and common to them both, to wit, the subsistence of the Son of God communicated to the nature of man, prevented that it should not have any created or finite subsistence of its own,) is no finite or created thing, but infinite and divine; but in respect of the attaining of the same in time, and the relation of dependence the human nature hath upon the Eternal Word, it is finite; and therefore, whereas there are two kinds of grace in Christ, the one of union, the other habitual, the latter is absolutely a finite and created thing, but the former, in respect of the thing given, which is the personal subsistence of the Son of God bestowed upon the nature of man, is infinite; though the passive mutation of the nature of man, lifted up to the personal being of the Son of God, and the relation of dependence it hath on it be finite, and in the number of created things. From that which hath been said, it may be concluded unavoidably, that the humanity of Christ in respect of personal union, and in that being of actual existence or subsistence which it hath, which is infinite and divine, is everywhere, as God himself is everywhere. But, saith Higgons, there is an union hypostatical between the soul and body, and all the parts of it; yet is not the foot or hand everywhere where the soul is, which is whole and entire in every part, because it is not in the head. The poor fellow, I see, hath yet learned but a little divinity, and that maketh him thus to talk at random. For howsoever the comparison of the soul and body be brought to express the personal union in Christ, yet it is very defective, as Bellarmine¹ himself confesseth. First, because the body and soul are unfit natures. Secondly, because they concur to make one nature. Thirdly, because neither of them draweth the other into the subsistence it hath, but both depend on a third sub-

¹ De Incarn. Lib. III. cap. 8. [Tom. I. col. 399.]

sistence, which is that of the whole; but in the mystery of the incarnation, the Eternal Word subsisting perfitly in itself, draweth unto it the nature of man; so that the humanity of Christ, having the same actual existence that the Eternal Word hath, must needs be, in respect of the same being, wheresoever the Word is: but there is no necessity that each part of the body should be wheresoever the soul is, which is entirely in the whole body, and entirely in every part, because the body, and the parts of it, have neither the same being of essence nor existence that the soul hath. But, saith Higgons¹, “the properties of the divine nature are, by virtue of the personal union, attributed to the person *in concreto*, and not to the human nature *in abstracto*: so that though the man Christ may be said to be everywhere, yet the humanity cannot.” For answer to this objection we must note, that the communication of properties is of two sorts; the first is, the attributing of the properties of either nature to the person, from which nature soever it be denominated. The second is, the real communication of the properties of the Deity to the nature of man, not formally and in itself, but *in supposito*, in the person of the Son of God, bestowed on it; in which sense Bellarmine² confesseth, that the glory of God, and all power, both in heaven and in earth, are given to the human nature of Christ: *Non in ipsa, sed in supposito, id est, per gratiam unionis*. And so the divines of Germany do say, the humanity of Christ is everywhere, in the being of subsistence communicated to it, and the man Christ properly and formally. By this which hath been said, the intelligent reader, I doubt not, will easily perceive the folly of silly Higgons, who, being ignorant of the very principles and rudiments of Christian doctrine, traduceth that as a pseudo-theological determination and heresy, which is the resolved determination of all the principal schoolmen and best divines that ever treated distinctly of the personal union of the two natures in Christ.

Yet, as if all were clear for him and against me, encouraged by his good success in this particular, he proceedeth to the matter of the sacrament, persuading himself he shall be able to find such and so many essential differences therein, as neither I, nor any man else, shall ever be able to recon-

¹ Pag. 38.

² De Incarn. Lib. III. cap. 16. [col. 420.]

cile; whereas, notwithstanding, if he had been so much conversant in the works of Zanchius as he pretendeth, he might have found in him¹ a most godly and learned discourse touching this point, wherein all that he or any of his companions can say, is answered already, and the divines of Germany, and those other in show opposite, in such sort reconciled, that our adversaries, if anything would satisfy them, might lay their hands on their mouths, and be silent. In this discourse, first, he sheweth that there is no question touching the preparation of them that desire to be worthy partakers of this heavenly banquet, neither concerning the use of this blessed sacrament. Secondly, that it is agreed that the very body and blood of Christ are to be received by such as desire to be made partakers of the life of grace, or, being already partakers of it, to be strengthened, confirmed, and continued in the same. Thirdly, that the elements of bread and wine, presenting to our consideration the spiritual nourishing force that is in the body and blood of Christ, are not abolished in their substances, as the patrons of transubstantiation imagine, but only changed in use, in that they do not only signify, but exhibit and communicate unto us the very body and blood of Christ, with all the gracious working of the same. Fourthly, that the meaning of Christ's words, when he said, "This is my body, this is my blood," is, This which outwardly and visibly I give unto you, is in substance bread and wine, and in mystery and exhibitivè signification my body and blood; but this which invisibly, together with the visible element, I give unto you, is my very body that was crucified, and my blood that was shed for the remission of your sins. Fifthly, that the body and blood of Christ, which the sacraments do not signify only, but exhibit also, and whereof the faithful are to be partakers, are truly present in the blessed sacrament; but the one part denieth that they are present, *secundum suum esse naturale*; that is, in the natural being, or being of essence, because the body of Christ being finite, and having finite dimensions, cannot be in many places at one time; the other part on the contrary side answereth, that the body of Christ is finite indeed; but that, because it is personally joined to the Deity, it is wheresoever the Deity is; yet do

¹ Judicium de dissidio Coenæ Domin. in fine Miscell. [Tom. vii. col. 433.]

not they of this part say it is everywhere, *localiter*, but *repletive et personaliter*; that is, not locally, but repletively and personally; which distinction Zanchius professeth he doth not well understand; but saith, if their meaning be that the body of Christ is present *secundum esse personale*, that is, in that being of divine subsistence communicated to it, whereof I have spoken before, they say true, and contradict not the other, who speak of the natural being of Christ's body, or being of essence, and not of existence or subsistence, which is infinite and divine. And though Christ's body be everywhere in that personal being, as well as in the sacrament, yet is it not anywhere else presented unto us in the nature of spiritual food. So that there is no difference between these men, touching the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament; neither will there be any found touching the eating of it; for whereas in eating there is implied a chewing or mastication of that which is eaten, a trajection from the mouth into the stomach, and a turning of the substance of the meat into the substance of the eater, a bodily eating of Christ's body there cannot be, seeing it is impassible, and admitteth no such division as is made in chewing: and, besides, if it should be swallowed whole, it cannot be turned into the substance of our bodies, but rather turneth us into the substance of itself; so that there is only a spiritual eating of Christ, consisting in that chewing; that is, by meditation upon the several and distinct things that are found in his natures, powers, actions, and sufferings; a trajection from the understanding part to the heart, and an incorporation of the believer into him. Yet it is not to be denied but that Luther and some other did teach, that even the wicked do in a sort eat the flesh of Christ, not as if they did corporally touch his sacred body, much less tear, rent, or divide it with their teeth, or turn it into their substance; but for that they may be said, in a sort, to eat the flesh of Christ, though unprofitably and to their condemnation, in that they truly receive the body of Christ; eating that outward substance of bread with which it is truly present, though not locally. And to this purpose the same Zanchius reporteth, that a man of no vulgar note amongst the followers of Luther did not fear to tell him, that he, and his, do not say that we eat the body of Christ corporally, in such sort as that our mouth and body

should touch his sacred body, which is not locally present; but that the body of Christ is eaten bodily only in respect of the sacramental union, attributing that to the body of Christ that properly agreeth to the bread with which the body is present. These things are found in a discourse of Zanchius, entitled, *Judicium Hieronymi Zanchii de dissidio Ccenæ Dominicæ*¹; written by him for the satisfaction of a bishop of Italy, at the request and entreaty of Paulus Vergerius and Sturmius.

By that which hath been said, we see there is no difference in judgment between them, who, out of human frailty, are too much divided in affection. Luther uttered many things very passionately against Zuinglius and others, conceiving that they made the sacraments to be nothing, but only notes distinctive, serving to put difference between Christians and such as are no Christians, as a monk's cowl distinguisheth a monk from him that is no monk, or empty signs, without all presence of grace, and exhibition of the things they signify. But if he had fully understood the meaning of them he was so violently opposite unto, he would not have censured them so hardly as he did. If Master Higgons had ever read this tract of Zanchius, he would not have willed me to excogitate, or scan out any reconciliation betwixt Lutherans and sacramentaries, in the matter of the sacrament.

(HIGGONS, Part II. Chap. II. § 2.)

Wherefore let us come to the next part of this chapter; wherein he² undertaketh to demonstrate, that the things alleged by me, to take away the offence and scandal of the seeming differences amongst protestants, are but "false and empty pretences." The first thing that I allege is³, that "it is not to be marvelled at, that the Tigurines, Gesnerus, and others, disliked the distempered passions of Luther; or that some difference were amongst them, seeing the like were in former times between Epiphanius and Chrysostom, Hierome, Ruffinus, Augustine, and others." The second, that the papists have their differences also; and those far more material and unreconcilable than any are amongst us. The third,

¹ [Tom. vii. col. 433. fol. Heid. 1613.]

² Pag. 43.

³ Book III. Chap. LII. [Vol. I. p. 372.]

that our differences grow not out of the nature and quality of our doctrine; and that we want not a certain rule by the direction whereof all controversies may be ended.

Against the first of these my allegations, first he opposeth a devilish untruth, affirming, that Gesnerus and the Tigurines did not only dislike the distempered passions of Luther, but hate him with mortal hatred, and accurse and execrate him, as possessed of a legion of devils; which neither Higgon, into whom a lying spirit is entered, nor any of those devils he is grown so familiar with, shall ever prove. So that there is no cause of trembling, but at the fearful judgment of God against such as Master Higgon is, that forsake the love of the truth, whom he giveth up into a reprobate sense. Secondly, in opposition to that which I allege, he undertaketh to prove there were no such differences between the ancient, as those between the followers of Luther and Zuinglius, but demeaneth himself like a false gamester: for whereas I place the differences and conflicts between Epiphanius and Chrysostom in the front, as hottest and most violent; the one of them refusing to pray with the other, the one challenging the other for manifold breaches of canons, and the one professing he hoped the other should never die a bishop, the other, that he should never return to his country alive (both which things fell out according to their uncharitable wishes and desires, Epiphanius dying by the way as he was returning home, and Chrysostom being cast out of his bishopric, and dying in banishment,) he scarce taketh any notice hereof, but saith only the differences between Luther and Zuinglius exceeded the conflicts between Chrysostom and Epiphanius: which yet I think he will hardly prove. Touching Ruffinus and Hierome, it is certain the one of them charged the other with heresy, and used most bitter speeches one against another, to the great scandal of the world. The differences between Augustine and Hierome were carried more temperately; neither do I say they exceeded in passion, as Luther and Zuinglius did; yet did Augustine charge Hierome with taking on him the patronage of lying, and affirming that the authors of canonical scriptures lied in some passages of the same, the consequence whereof he thinketh to be most dangerous and damnable. Besides this, they differed about the ceasing of the legal observations; so that their differences were greater than those of Luther and Zuinglius,

if they had rightly understood one another. Yet will Master Higgon shew¹ a great difference between the differences of the ancient and those of Luther and Zuinglius: first, because Chrysostom and Epiphanius, Hierome and Ruffinus, had an ordinary vocation, whereas Luther and Zuinglius are supposed to have been raised up extraordinarily. Secondly, for that they quarrelled only about the books of Origen, and the improbation thereof; but the differences between Luther and Zuinglius were founded originally in matters of faith pertaining to the necessity of salvation. Thirdly, in respect to extent, in that their differences were not the differences of whole Churches as these are; and of duration, in that their divisions were soon extinguished; but these are propagated in succession, and increased with continual addition. To every of these pretended differences I will briefly answer; and first to the first, that we never thought that Luther and Zuinglius had an extraordinary calling as the apostles, and other sent immediately of God had; but that God stirred and moved them extraordinarily with heroical resolution, to use that ordinary ministerial power which they had received in the corrupt state of the Church, for the reprehending and reforming abuses in the same; and therefore they might be subject to errors and infirmity, as Chrysostom and Epiphanius were, notwithstanding anything we say or conceive of them. To the second we say, Master Higgon sheweth himself in it either faithless or ignorant. For we know Epiphanius² was an Anthropomorphite, and that he was willing for that cause to condemn the books of Origen wherein this gross error is condemned; and besides took part with Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who though he were of another mind, yet feigned himself to be an Anthropomorphite, and to condemn the books of Origen, as contrary to that conceit, and deposed Chrysostom; for which his temerity he was anathematized by the Church of Rome, if we may believe Nicephorus. Neither were these the private differences of particular men, but of the greatest Churches of the world, as Chrysostom confesseth in his Epistle to the bishop of Rome, saying, that all the Churches everywhere by reason hereof were brought upon

¹ Pag. 34, 35.

² See these things at large in the Fifth Book Of the Church, Chap. xxxv. [Vol. III. p. 308.]

their knees. Touching Ruffinus, it is evident that he was challenged for favouring the heresies of Origen, whose works he translated: so that it was no matter of circumstance, but of substance in highest degree, about which Hierome and he calumniated one the other; and for proof hereof Anastasius, bishop of Rome, writing to the bishop of Hierusalem touching Ruffinus, saith, he had so translated the books of Origen out of Greek into Latin, as that he approved the errors contained in them; and was like a man that consenteth to the vices and faults of other men. Yea, Hierome¹ feared not directly to pronounce him to be an heretic, and more blind than a mole.

We read, that in the time of the first Council of Ephesus², called for the suppressing of the heresy of Nestorius, there grew most bitter contentions between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch, so that the Churches subject to them were divided one from another in such sort, that they anathematized one the other, imputing heresy each to other; yet were they in truth and indeed of the same judgment, and in the end it was found that these contentions grew out of dislikes, mistakings, and misconstructions of things well meant, but not so taken. The like may be said of Theodoret, who, notwithstanding all the conflicts between him and Cyril, and the condemnation passed upon him, as if he had been an heretic, was in the end found to be an orthodox by Leo, and the bishops of the West; and upon a full and clear declaration and profession of his faith, received as a Catholic bishop into the Council of Chalcedon³. Gregory Nazianzen, in his oration made in the praise of Athanasius, sheweth that there was a main division of the Christians of the East, and the Romans, or those of the West; the one part suspecting the other of heresy upon a mere not understanding one another: the Romans professed to believe that there are three persons in the blessed Trinity, but could not be induced to acknowledge three hypostases; whence the Oriental Christians thought them to be Sabellians, who thought that there is but one person in the Godhead, called by three names; on the other side, the Oriental Christians professed that they believed three hypostases in the Godhead, but would not admit

¹ Vid. Apol. Hier. contra Ruffin. [Tom. ii. col. 463.]

² Vid. Acta Conc. Ephes.

³ Act. 1 et 8. [Labbe, Tom. iv. coll. 873, 1521.]

three persons; whence they of Rome thought them to be Arians, who believed that there are three distinct substances in the Godhead; the word hypostasis in the schools of secular learning importing substance, as Hierome noteth; but Athanasius perceiving that they differed not in judgment, and that the Greeks meant the same by their hypostases that the Latins did by their name of persons, left them free for the manner and form of speech, and made a peace between them, by letting them know they all meant one thing, though they expressed the same differently; whereas otherwise it was to be feared they would have been divided with endless divisions about these few syllables. About this matter Hierome, living in the East parts, wrote to Damasus, bishop of Rome; his words are these¹: "They urge us to acknowledge three hypostases; we ask them what they mean by the hypostases they speak of, and they tell us, three persons subsisting; we answer, that we believe so, but the sense satisfieth them not; they urge us to use the word itself, some poison lying hid in the very syllables, &c. Let it be sufficient for us to say there is one substance in God, and three subsisting Persons, perfet, equal, and coeternal; if it seem good unto you, let us speak no more of three hypostases, but let us acknowledge one only; there is some ill to be suspected when in one sense diversity of words is found; let it suffice us to believe as I have said, or, if you think it right that we admit three hypostases with their interpretation, we will not refuse so to do; but believe me, there lieth some poison hid under their words; the angel of Satan hath transfigured himself into an angel of light."

By this which hath been said, it is evident that there have been as great and hot contentions in former times amongst right believers, as are now between the professors of the reformed religion; and that those divisions were not about matters of circumstance, or personal only, as Higgons falsely pretendeth, but of whole Churches, disliking, condemning, and refusing to communicate one with another upon supposed differences in matters of faith and religion. Wherefore to draw to a conclusion, we deny not but that Luther, and some other adhering to him, upon some misconstruction of the opinion of Zuinglius and the rest, were carried too far with the violence of their ill-guided zeal; but we say also,

¹ Tom. ii. Op. Hieron. [Ed. Ben. Tom. iv. Part. 2. col. 20.]

that there were as fiery conflicts in former times between Cyril and Theodoret, between Cyril and John of Antioch, between Chrysostom and Epiphanius; who yet were Catholic Christians all of them, as I take it, notwithstanding the unkindnesses that passed between them; and as John of Antioch and Theodoret were reconciled to Cyril, and those of that side, upon a more full explication of their positions formerly disliked, so it is reported¹ by Melancthon, that Luther, a little before his death, confessed unto him that he had exceeded and gone too far in the controversies between him and his opposites about the sacrament; and that thereupon being wished to publish some qualification of his former writings that were too violent and bitter, he said he had thought upon that matter and would so do, but that he feared the scandal that might grow upon such his retractation, and that therefore he was resolved to refer all to God, and to leave the matter to Melancthon, who might do something in it after his death. This conference between Luther and him, Melancthon made known to many, and ever constantly shewed himself a most godly, peaceable, and religious man, careful to hold the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; howsoever it pleaseth prattling Higgons to wrong him, and to compare him to the moon in mutability².

Wherefore leaving my first allegation let us come to the second, which is, that there are more and more material differences amongst papists than amongst us: which Higgons saith is a "poor recrimination;" for that "the eye being judge, there is a comfortable harmony in the Roman Church; the same doctrine preached, the same sacraments ministered, and the same government established³;" whereas protestants are divided in judgment touching matters of faith, and have a distinct government in England, Scotland, Helvetia, and Saxony. This exception consisteth of two parts: the first, clearing the papists from the differences and divisions they are charged with; the second, charging protestants with

¹ See, touching this report of Melancthon, the Admonition of the Divines of the County Palatine concerning the book intituled *Liber Concordiæ*. [cap. 6. de Autoritate Lutheri, inter opp. Z. Ursini, Tom. II. col. 591.]

² ["The judgment of Melancthon chandged as the moone."—p. 45.]

³ Pag. 46.

divisions and differences both in matters of faith and government. For answer to the former part of this exception, first I say, if there be no contradiction between these assertions¹, “The pope is above general councils; the pope is not above general councils: the pope hath the universality of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in himself; the pope is but only prime bishop, in order and honour before other, equal in communion with him, and at the most but as the duke of Venice amongst the senators of that state: the pope may err judicially; the pope cannot err judicially: the pope is temporal lord of all the world; the pope is not temporal lord of all the world: the pope, if not as temporal lord of the world, yet, *in ordine ad spiritualia* may dispose the kingdoms of the world; the pope may not meddle with princes’ states in any case: men are justified by imputed righteousness; men are not justified by imputed righteousness: men are justified by special faith; men are not justified by special faith: men may be certain, by the certainty of faith, that they are in state in grace; men cannot be so certain: there is merit of condignity, properly so named; there is no merit of condignity: the blessed virgin was conceived in sin; the blessed virgin was not conceived in sin:”—then doubtless all the pastors and bishops of the Roman Church preach the same doctrine; otherwise let the reader assure himself Master Higgon hath stretched his style, to use his own words, till he forced it to break into a vast and notable untruth. Secondly, I say, the form of ministering the sacraments hath not been always the same in the Roman Church. For (as Cassander noteth in his preface before the book called *Ordo Romanus*, published by him,) the ancient forms of divine service were abolished, and new imposed and prescribed violently, so that all that resisted were sent into banishment; and since that first alteration, as Platina² noteth, a number of tautologies and barbarisms are crept in, making ingenuous men abhor from the celebration of the holy mysteries. Thirdly, I think it will easily appear, there was no such sweet harmony in the Roman Church touching matters of government, as Master Higgon speaketh of, when the pope was not only resisted, but called antichrist, in respect of his infinite reservations, admittances of appeals, his

¹ [See Field, Book III. Chap. XLII. Vol. I. p. 339.]

² In Vit. Greg. Primi. [p. 44.]

provisions, and granting of expectative graces, and the like usurpations, prejudicial to the right of all other bishops, and the liberty of the Church. For answer to the second part of his exception, first, I confidently affirm, and the proudest papist under heaven shall never prove the contrary, that protestants have no real and essential differences in matters of faith and doctrine. Secondly, I say, that their differences in the form of government are not such as our adversaries pretend. For they that admit government by bishops¹, make their authority to be fatherly, not princely, directing the rest, not excluding their advice and assistance; subordinate to provincial synods, wherein no one hath a negative voice, but the major part of the voices of the bishops and presbyters determineth all doubts, questions, and controversies; and they that retain not the name of bishops², yet have a president in each company of presbyters, and think it a part of God's ordinance that there should be such a one to go before the rest, and be in a sort over them; who, though they give not the name of bishops, nor so much authority to these presidents as antiquity did, yet is not their error in this point matchable with the errors that are amongst papists, contradicting one another touching the pope and his government, in things most essentially concerning the power and authority of that supposed ministerial head of the Church.

Wherefore let us come to my last allegation, excepted against by Master Higgons; which is, that we want not a most certain rule to end all controversies by, which is the written word of God, interpreted according to the rule of faith, the practice of the saints from the beginning, the conference of places, and all light of direction that either knowledge of tongues or any parts of good learning can yield. In excepting against this rule, Master Higgons sheweth the weakness of his brain; for what if Luther, Zuinglius, and other, complained against such as they thought to be opposite to them in opinion, touching some particular points, that they had not due regard to this rule, or that they used it not aright? What if all be not presently of one mind and judgment in all things, will that improve the rule of judging which we propose, and not rather argue the imperfec-

¹ D. Bilson, "Of the Perpetual Government of the Church," p. 307.

² Beza de Minist. Evang. gradibus. [p. 3. Gen. 1592.]

tion of such as should judge according to it? But he craveth leave to except against the rule proposed by me, for three respects¹: first, "because the principles of our religion exclude the means of reconciliation; to wit, the gravity of councils, the dignity of fathers, and the authority of the Church." For answer whereunto we say, that we exclude not the gravity of councils; for we absolutely, without all restriction, receive all the lawful general councils that ever were holden touching matters of faith; and though we make God, speaking in his word, to be the only judge authentically defining and prescribing what men shall believe, under pain of condemnation, yet we think councils have a judgment of jurisdiction, and that they may subject all gainsayers to excommunication, and like censures. Neither doth it any way derogate from the authority of bishops assembled in council, that we make them judges to determine according to the word of God, and the resolutions of the Church from the beginning, and not the rule itself; for what man in his right wits will attribute any more unto them, and make them judges at liberty, tied to the following of no rule of direction? or like God that is a rule to himself in all his actions, and hath no law prescribed to him by any other? Yet because Master Higgon's willeth the reader to compare Campian's fourth reason with my assertion, I will likewise entreat him to see a worthy discourse of Clemangis², wherein he proveth at large that bishops assembled in general councils must prove and confirm their determinations by other arguments than by their own authority, and giveth many reasons by which a man may reasonably persuade himself that such councils are not absolutely and generally free from danger of erring; whence it followeth, that they neither are the rule that is to be followed in determining controversies, nor after they are determined. Touching the dignity of fathers, and authority of the Church, we esteem them both as beseemeth us; for whatsoever the fathers generally and with one consent deliver in matters of faith, we admit and receive as true, without farther examination; as, likewise,

¹ Pag. 47.

² Disputatio Nichol. Clemangis habita per scriptum super materia concilii generalis, cum quodam scholastico Parisiensi. [p. 61. Opp. 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1613.]

whatsoever the Church, consisting of all Christians not noted for heresy or singularity, that are and have been since the apostles' times; but of particular fathers, and parts of the Church, we judge according to the rule of God's word, and the general resolution of the fathers, and the whole Church that hath been since the apostles' times.

His next exception against our rule is ¹, because we admit not the pope to be judge of all controversies in Christ's stead, which he must frame in this sort: The pope is supreme judge of controversies in religion; therefore the word of God, interpreted in sort before expressed, is not the rule that is to be followed in determining things doubtful; and then the consequence will be naught, and the antecedent false. For, though we should grant the pope to be appointed judge of controversies in Christ's stead, yet I hope his holiness is bound to follow some rule of direction in judging; and, if any, what other than that mentioned by me, I cannot conceive. But whatsoever become of the consequence, the antecedent is false; for he shall never prove, while his name is Higgons, that the pope is supreme judge of controversies. And the ignorance or impudency of the man deserveth just reproof, in that he feareth not to abuse the authority of Cyprian to that purpose; who was so far from taking the pope for his judge, that he freely dissented from him², and professed that one bishop is not to judge another³, but that they are to be judged of God only, and the whole company of bishops: neither doth the place produced by him out of Cyrian's epistles prove any such thing as he would enforce; for it is most evident that Cyprian speaketh of one bishop in each diocess, and not of one bishop in the whole Christian Church, when he saith⁴, "Heresies arise from no other cause than that the priest of God is not obeyed, and that men think not of one priest and judge in Christ's stead;" as it will easily appear to any one that will take the pains to see the place⁵. But, saith Higgons⁶, the Lutherans seek to predominate, and the Calvinists will not obey; therefore there must be an umpire between them, and, consequently, the pope must end the

¹ Pag. 48.

² Cyprian. Lib. II. Epist. 1.

³ Concil. Carthag. inter Op. Cyprian. [p. 229.]

⁴ Lib. I. Epist. 3. [al. Epist. 59. p. 129.]

⁵ [See Field, Vol. III. p. 213.]

⁶ Pag. 48.

quarrel. Whereunto I answer in a word, that howsoever the violent humours of some men make a rent in the Church, yet there is no difference in judgment amongst those whom he calleth Lutherans and Calvinists in any matter of faith; and therefore the mediation of moderate men interposing themselves, or the authority of princes professing the reformed religion, may, in that good time that God shall think fit, easily make an end of these contentions, without seeking to the Romish Babylonical monarch.

His third exception is a mere begging of that which is in controversy, which shall never be granted him. For I say confidently, as before, that the matters wherein the followers of Luther, and the rest professing the reformed religion, seem to differ, are neither many in number, real in evidence, nor substantial in weight; as he vainly braggeth¹ he can prove out of Luther, Hunnius, and Conradus, on the one part, and Zuinglius, Sturmius, Clebitius, &c. on the other part. And therefore here is no reproof of that I have said of the reconciling of these differences, but a proof of his vanity in bragging of that which he will never be able to perform. That which I have written touching the reconciling of these men, in show so opposite, in the matter of the ubiquitary presence, and the sacrament, which I am well assured this fugitive cannot improve, nor any of his great masters who have the schooling of him, will satisfy the reader, I doubt not, touching the possibility of a general reconciliation. The lies, scoffs, and fooleries of Higgon in these passages, touching my pretending that the sacramentaries subscribe to the Augustan Confession, my art of reconciling, and the like, I pass by, as not worth the thinking of; and conclude this point with this confident asseveration, that the differences between those whom the papists' malice, and other men's passion, calleth Lutherans and Sacramentaries, are either not real, or not so material, but that they may be of one church, faith, and religion.

¹ Pag. 49.

(HIGGONS, Part II. Chap. III. § 1.)

In the next chapter he chargeth me with “falsehood and incivility, in traducing Bellarmine,” and saith I have devised three criminations against him. The first supposed crimination, joined with falsehood, as he saith, is this: Bellarmine saith¹, *Videmus omnes illas Ecclesias, quæ ab isto capite se diviserunt, tanquam ramos præcisos a radice, continuo aruisse*: and I say² he affirmeth, “that all Churches of the world that ever divided themselves from the fellowship of the Roman Church, like boughs broken from a tree, and deprived of the nourishment they formerly received from the root, presently withered away and decayed.” Surely it is a grievous crime that I have committed; yet I hope, if I meet with merciful men, it will be forgiven me; for I think that boughs broken from a tree will wither away. But, saith Master Higgons, cardinal Bellarmine meant nothing but that the divided Churches lost their glory and splendour, and so withered, but withered not away. This, I think, the poor fellow will not stand unto; for these Churches, by the very act of their separation, in his judgment, became heretical and schismatical; and so lost, not only their glory and splendour, but their being also, and the life they formerly had; and, consequently, like boughs broken from a tree, withered away; which yet neither he nor the cardinal can ever prove. For there appeared still all signs of life in them, after their separation, as before; and some of them hold a more sincere profession of Christian verity to this day than the Romanists do: and we would rather join ourselves to the Grecians than to them, as neither erring so dangerously, nor so pertinaciously, as they do. For that which he bringeth out of Justus Calvinus³, concerning Hieremy, the patriarch of Constantinople, his renouncing our society, and alleging the counsel of Saint Paul for his warrant, where he saith, “Reject an heretic after the first or second admonition,” is a lie; as many other sayings of the same author are likewise.

The second crimination he speaketh of, he saith, is con-

¹ Bellarm. de Not. Eccles. Lib. iv. cap. 10. [Tom. ii. col. 195.]

² Book III. Chap. xli. [Vol. i. p. 338.]

³ Pag. 52.

trived in this manner¹: “Bellarmino saith, that none of the Churches divided from Rome had ever any learned men after their separation: but here he sheweth plainly that his impudency is greater than his learning, for what will he say of OEcumenius, Theophylactus, Damascen, Zonaras, Cedrenus, Elias Cretensis, Nilus, Cabasilas, and innumerable more living in the Greek Churches, after their separation from the Church of Rome? Surely these were more than matchable with the greatest rabbins of the Romish synagogue.” M. Higgons should put a difference between a crimination, and a just defence of men wronged by the unjust criminations of Bellarmine, from which I endeavour to clear them. But let it be as he will have it, what hath he to say unto it? much surely, if he could prove what he saith: for he saith², there are three untruths found in it; the first is, that, whereas I charge Bellarmine to affirm, that none of the Churches divided from Rome had any learned men after their separation, he saith only, that none of the Churches of Asia or Africa had any. How great a vexation it is for a man to be matched with such triflers as this is, the reader may easily judge by this particular. For if never any of the Churches of Asia and Africa had any learned men after their separation from Rome, neither the Ethiopian, Armenian, Nestorian, nor Greek Churches had any; the Ethiopian and Nestorian Churches being wholly in those parts, and the greater part of the Greek Church also: now if none of these had any, I think none had. But that these had, I shew by naming sundry particular men of great worth in the Greek Churches. This M. Higgons found to touch his cardinal too near, and therefore he saith, he purposely declined the naming of the Greek Church, by restraining himself to the Churches of Asia and Africa; whereas he should have said he purposely enlarged himself to all the Churches of Asia and Africa, that he might draw into the generality of his speech not the Grecians only, whose greatest number of Churches are in Asia, but the Armenians, Nestorians, and Ethiopians also. Now then see what Mr Higgons hath done: he hath confessed that the Greek Churches, which all men know to be principally in Asia, and reckoned among the Churches of Asia, though some

¹ Book III. Chap. XLI. [Vol. I. p. 338.]

² Pag. 53.

parts of them be in Europe, to have had learned men since their separation; whence it followeth, that the cardinal without shame denied that any of the Churches of Asia had any, so that in reason he should not be angry with me, in that knowing his cardinal's learning to be very great, yet to magnify his impudency in this point, I prefer it before his learning. The second untruth that M. Higgons would fasten upon me, is, that I say, Damascen lived after the separation of the Greeks from the Latins: which thing I still affirm to be most true, and Higgons himself in a sort confesseth as much: for he saith¹ out of Bellarmine that "Damascen lived about the year of our Lord 740," and that "the violent separation of the Greeks from the Latins was occasioned principally about the year 766," 26 years after. Now, as I think, in that he saith the violent separation was then, he insinuateth that there was a separation before: which thing if he deny I will easily prove against him. For it appeareth that the separation between the Greeks and the Latins began not in the year 766 but before, in that in the year 766 a great council was called at Gentiliacum, to compose the differences between them, as we read in Rhegino², Sigebertus³, and others; and the matter came to a public disputation between them, before Pepin the father of Charles the Great; but that Damascen lived after the separation between the Greeks and Latins, it is evident, in that the separation between them, being occasioned specially by the different opinion which they held concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, as Higgons telleth us, Damascen was opposite to the Latins in that point: insomuch that he saith expressly⁴, that "the Spirit is by the Son, but not from the Son." The third imagined untruth is, that I say Damascen, Œcumenius, Theophylact, and the rest, were more than matchable with the greatest rabbins of the Romish synagogue; whereas Bernard and some other were matchable with them. For answer whereunto let the reader observe, that I never call the whole Latin Church by the name of the Romish synagogue, but the faction that pre-

¹ Pag. 54.

² Rhegino, Chron. Lib. II. [In Script. rer. German. J. Pistorii, p. 24.]

³ Sigebert. in Chron. anni 766. [apud eund. p. 551.]

⁴ Damasc. Lib. I. de Fide Orthodox. cap. 11. [p. 290 supra.]

vailed in it; and therefore I mean not all the doctors of the Latin Church, by the name of the "Rabbins of the Romish synagogue," but such only as served as vile instruments to advance papal tyranny, superstition, and error. So that though Bernard, Alexander of Hales, Bonaventura, Scotus, Lyranus, Gerson and some other, should be granted to have been matchable with Damascen, Theophylact, and OEcumenius, yet will it not follow that I have uttered any untruth; for I deny that any of these were of the papal faction.

The next supposed crimination is, a most just reproof of the gross oversight of Bellarmine, where he saith, "none of the Churches separated from Rome," or, "none of the Churches of Asia and Africa," as Higgons restraineth his words, "could ever hold any council after their separation;" which cannot be avoided by Higgons, though it seemeth he would willingly do the cardinal some good service, that he might become fellow-chaplain with Matthew Tortus. For, if the cardinal mean general councils, it is not to be marvelled at, seeing they are but a part: if national, or provincial, it is too childish, and may be refuted by sundry instances. Whereunto Higgons hath nothing to say, but that if Bellarmine's words be extended to the Greek Church, his fault is unexcusable: seeing that Church hath holden provincial councils since her separation, whereof, as Master Higgons thinketh, he speaketh, and not of general: but that his words are restrained to the Churches of Asia and Africa, which could never hold any such after their separation. In this Apology of Master Higgons there are more absurdities than words. For first, he can give no reason why the supposed schismatical Churches of Asia and Africa should be less able to hold national or provincial synods than those of Europe. Secondly, the Greek Church is principally in Asia: so that if the Greek Church had the power of convoking provincial synods, some of the Churches of Asia were not excluded from partaking in it. Thirdly, if this were not the common misery of all divided Churches, this infelicity grew not from their separation, but from some other cause; and then it maketh nothing for proof of the necessity of adhering to the Church of Rome, as to an head, to which purpose Bellarmine bringeth it. Fourthly, that other Churches may hold provincial synods, and namely those of Asia and Africa, it is most evident. For first touch-

ing the Ethiopian Christians, Damianus à Goes¹, out of the report of a learned bishop of those parts, sheweth, that they have councils, and that they make laws in them. Of a synod holden by the Nestorians, we read in Onuphrius, in the life of Julius the Third². In the Council of Florence we read of certain orators sent thither from the Armenians, in the name of the patriarch of Armenia and his clergy; which could not be done without some synodal meeting. Lastly, seeing many councils were holden in ancient times, in show general, by such as were heretics, what reason can Higgons give why these Churches, having a subordination of inferior clergymen, bishops and metropolitans, cannot so much as call a poor provincial synod? If this be not childish trifling, to say no more, let the reader judge, how partial soever he be. And therefore, I say now again, as at first, that if Bellarmine mean general councils when he saith the divided Churches could hold none after their separation, it is not to be marvelled at, seeing they are but a part; if national or provincial, it is childish; seeing it is most evident they might hold such councils: neither can his years, dignity, or other ornaments Master Higgons speaketh of, privilege him so far, but that we may and will tax his wilful oversights as they deserve, notwithstanding the boyish prattling of Theophilus Higgons. The conclusion of this chapter, touching our want of good manners towards Bellarmine's grace, and other such lights of the world as shine in the darkness of Popish blindness and superstition, sorteth so well with the next part of this chapter, which is concerning my incivility towards the cardinal, that one answer may suffice for both. That I have not wronged him by imputation of false crimes, I hope the reader will bear me witness, upon view of that I have answered in my own defence.

(HIGGONS, Chap. III. Part II. § 1.)

Wherefore let us see wherein my incivility consisteth. It is forsooth in aggeration of base, odious, and unworthy names, as "cardinal heretic, heretical Romanist, impious idolater,

¹ De morib. Æthiop. [p. 58.]

² In addit. ad Plat. [p. 382. fol. Colon. 1574.]

shameless Jesuit, shameless companion, with his idle brain and senseless fooleries." This is Master Higgons' proof of my incivility. If I make it not appear to all men that have their senses, that I have reason to phrase the Jesuit, as Higgons speaks, so as I have done, let me be condemned of incivility; but if I had just cause to use him as I did, let the foolish flatterer hold his peace. Wherefore to begin with the first. Shall he charge us with twenty execrable and damnable heresies¹, all which he knows we accurse to the bottomless pit of hell; and may not I call him a cardinal heretic, or heretical Romanist, without note of incivility? Shall he at his pleasure, because he weareth a red hat, charge us with heresy and impiety for impugning the adoration of images², forbidden by Almighty God; and may not I call him an impious idolater? Shall it be lawful for him to say, that Elizabeth, our late queen of blessed memory, took upon her, and was reputed to be chief priest in these her dominions³; and shall it not be lawful for me, in reproof of so impudent a slander, and defence of my late dread sovereign, the Lord's anointed and the wonder of the world, to tell the Jesuitical friar that he is a shameless Jesuit that durst so say? Shall he, without conscience or fear of God, against his own knowledge, charge us with the hellish heresies of the Manichees touching two original causes of things, the one good, of things good; the other evil, of things evil⁴; and shall it not be lawful for me to ask the question, whether he be not a shameless companion in so charging us? Shall a Jesuitical friar be freely permitted in so vile sort to wrong so many mighty monarchs, states, and people of the world, as profess the reformed religion; and may a man say nothing to him without incurring the note of incivility and want of good manners? Shall he charge us with palpable, gross and senseless absurdities⁵; and may not we tell him, the gross absurdities which he untruly imputeth unto us are but the fancies of his own idle brain? Shall he be suffered to utter senseless fooleries in wronging Calvin⁶, and other men as good as himself; and may we not tell him he doth so? Shall it be lawful for Theophilus Hig-

¹ Lib. iv. de Not. Eccles. cap. 9. [Tom. ii. col. 184.]

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ De Not. Eccles. Lib. iv. cap. 11. [col. 199.]

⁶ Ibid. cap. 9. [col. 191.]

gons to use all words of disgrace that he can devise against Luther and Calvin, men of as good worth as the cardinal; and may no man say anything to the cardinal because he is a cardinal? How much soever he forget himself, truly I am not ignorant that these ministers of antichrist take very much upon them. For as Clemangis¹ long since feared not to write, their spirits are so high and lofty, their words so swelling, and their behaviour so insolent, that if a painter would paint pride, he could not do it better than by representing to the beholders the form and figure of a cardinal; which kind of men, though they were originally of the inferior clergy, yet together with the increase of the pomp of the see of Rome, grew so great, and enlarged and spread out their phylacteries in such sort, that they despise as far inferior to them and much below them, not bishops alone, whom in contempt they used to call "petit bishops," but patriarchs, primates, and archbishops also; almost suffering themselves to be adored and worshipped of them; and yet not content therewith, seek to be kings' fellows²; for the maintenance of which their imagined and feigned greatness, like wild boars, they made havoc of the vineyards of the Lord of hosts. Thus wrote he almost 200 years since; but, God's name be blessed for it, these wild boars have been well hunted out of many parts of Christendom since that time. But Master Higgon, as if he meant to make an oration in the praise of his cardinal, (to reprove, as he saith, the temerity of such as steep their pens in gall and wormwood, to vent malicious untruths against this happy man,) commendeth him for his intellectual and moral parts, setting them out at large in the particulars, and (as his manner is to cast in things suddenly without all cause or reason that are no way pertinent) he telleth of a crime which I lay unto him, and though I pardon him, yet so uncourteous he is, that he saith I do it in malice. The crime, as he will have it called, is this. I charge Bellarmine that he forgetteth himself very strangely in his discourse touching the Notes of the Church, in that in the former part of it he denieth truth of profession or doctrine to be a note of the Church³, and in the latter maketh sanctity of doctrine or profession (which

¹ De Corrupt. Eccles. Stat. [cap. 10. p. 11.]

² See that which Bellarmine hath lately written to this purpose.

³ Cap. 2. [col. 161.]

he defineth to be the not containing of any untruth in matter of faith, or unjust thing in matter of manners and conversation,) to be a note of the Church¹. Between which two assertions, as I think, there is a manifest contradiction. For if truth of doctrine and profession, and sanctity of doctrine or profession, be all one, as I think they will be found to be; then to say, truth of doctrine and profession is no note of the Church; and to say, sanctity of doctrine or profession is a note of the Church, as Bellarmine doth, is to utter manifest contradictions. This is the want of memory I find in Bellarmine: for which Master Higgons (who amongst other good natural parts commendeth him highly for "tenaciousness of memory"²) is offended with me. But because he is become so jealous of his cardinal's honour, I will shew him another scape or two in this kind. In the former part of his discourse touching the Notes of the Church, he denieth sanctity or purity of doctrine, free from error, to be a note of the Church³, because it may be found in a false Church; for that schismatics, who are only schismatics, pertain not to the true Church, whose profession notwithstanding is free from all error, as was the profession of the Donatists and Luciferians in the beginning; and yet in this latter part he maketh this purity from error a note of the Church⁴. In the former part he denieth it to be a note, because it agreeth not inseparably to the true Church, as notes should do, seeing the Churches of the Corinthians had it not; and yet in the latter part he make this purity of doctrine to be a note of the Church. In the former part he will have nothing to be a note of the Church, that may be claimed or pretended by any but the true Church, and thereby excludeth purity of profession, which is claimed by all misbelievers; and yet in the latter admitteth it, notwithstanding any challenge heretics or misbelievers make unto it. By this which hath been said, I hope it doth appear that Master Higgons had little reason to charge me with want of conscience in accusing Bellarmine; but for want of civility of manners, and respective demeanour towards his person, whereof he complaineth, let him know, that if he involve himself in infinite contradictions as he doth; if he wrong us and the princes, people, and states of our profession,

¹ Cap. 11. [col. 191.]

³ Cap. 2. [col. 161.]

² Pag. 57.

⁴ Cap. 11. [col. 199.]

by hellish and diabolical slanders as he doth; if he basely abuse Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon, and others, his equals in merit and esteem; if he set his face against heaven, and open his mouth to the dishonour of our late sovereign of famous memory, and his most excellent majesty now regnant as he doth; we will be bold to cast this dirt into his face again, if he were a better man than all Master Higgons his base and slaving commendation of him can make to be.

(HIGGONS, Chap. III. Part II. § 2.)

Here Master Higgons leaveth me, and passeth to D. Morton; yet so good a will he hath to say something against me, though never so idly, that within two or three pages he returneth to me again, and chargeth me full wisely with perplexing and involving myself in manifest contradictions¹. The first contradiction he would force upon me is this²: "The elect, notwithstanding any degree of sin which they run into, retain that grace which can and will procure pardon for all their offences;" and yet "sometimes there is nothing found in the elect that can or doth cry to God for pardon." It is strange, truly, that such as Higgons is should be permitted to play the fools in print as they do. But our adversaries know it is good to keep men busied in any sort; and that the greatest part of their adherents will applaud anything, though never so senselessly written against us: for otherwise I know they cannot but laugh at the serious folly of this their novice in this passage. For I never say, the elect have always in them that grace that can and will procure them pardon for all their sins and offences, as he chargeth me; but that the elect, called according to purpose, have that grace that excludeth sin from reigning; and that this grace, once had by them, is never totally nor finally lost. Now what contradiction is there between these propositions: "The elect at sometimes (to wit, before they be called) have nothing in them that crieth for pardon and remission of their sins; and the elect, after they are once called according to the purpose of God's will, do ever

¹ Pag. 63 and 64.

² [Field, Book III. Chap. xxxii. Vol. I. p. 306.]

retain that grace that can and will procure pardon and remission of all their sins" ? Surely, even as much as there is between these : " Paul sometimes was an enemy to Christ and Christians, and a persecutor ; and Paul, after his calling, was never an enemy to Christ nor Christians, nor never persecuted any of them, but suffered persecution himself together with them." The second supposed contradiction is this : " All sins done with full consent exclude grace. David, who was an elect and chosen servant of God, sinned with full consent after his calling ; and yet David never fell totally from grace." Here truly there is a real and true contradiction, but one of these assertions is none of mine : for I deny that David ever sinned with full consent after his calling, though his sins were very grievous, and highly displeasing to Almighty God. For the better clearing whereof we must observe that there are three degrees of sin. The first is of those motions to evil that arise in men, and solicit them to the doing of that which is displeasing unto God ; yet so, that no consent is yielded to them. The second is, when the violence and importunity of those ill motions is such, that men choose rather to give way unto them than to be any longer disquieted and tormented by them, and yet wish they were free from such solicitations and provocations. In those that thus sin there is a deliberate consent ; but it is not absolute and full, but mixed. Such was the sin of Peter denying his Master, which proceeded from fear ; and whereunto he so consented that he still retained the good opinion he formerly had of him, and love towards him, and wished, no doubt from the depth of his soul, there might never any such thing have fallen out that might draw him to do that he did. And such was the sin of David, who chose rather to commit that vile act with the wife of Uriah, than to be tormented any longer with the importunity of those burning and inflamed desires that violently seized on him, though he wished in his heart that never any such motions might in such violent sort have arisen in him. The third degree of sin is in them that absolutely and fully consent to the motions of evil, as making them their chief delights and contentments. In them who sin only in the first degree, grace not only remaineth, but keepeth her standing, resisting against evil, and entreating for pardon of that which it cannot avoid. In them that sin in the second degree, it remaineth, but carried into

captivity. In the third, it hath no place at all. To the same purpose it is, that some worthy divines of our profession make three kinds of the being of sin in us: for first it is inhabiting only; secondly, it is regnant, yet not as a king who ruleth and reigneth with the love and liking of his subjects, but as a tyrant that they hate, and would depose if they knew how: thirdly, it is regnant as a king, welcomed and joyfully received into all the powers and faculties of the soul. In the first sort, it is in them that give no consent to the motions of evil that arise in them; in the second, in them that give consent, but not free and absolute, but mixed; in the third, in them that give it the whole heart. In the first, it neither excludeth grace, nor driveth it from the standing and command it should have in the soul of a good man; in the second, though it exclude it not, yet it weakeneth and hurteth it sore, scattering the forces of it, leaving it but dissevered desires, and no entire good affections: so that they are never able to recover themselves again without foreign help; but when such succour cometh, these remains of good begin to recollect themselves again, to take heart, and to join with the same; as we see in David, reprov'd by Nathan.

The third contradiction that Master Higgons would fasten on me is, between that saying of mine; "The elect and chosen servants of God do carefully endeavour that no sins may have dominion over them; and therefore, notwithstanding any degree of sin they run into, they retain that grace that can and will procure pardon;" and that in the Articles of Religion, agreed on in the beginning of her late majesty's reign, that "after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and by the grace of God rise again¹." Which is no contradiction in truth and in deed, but in the misconstruction Master Higgons maketh of things well meant. For when the article saith, "we may depart from grace," the meaning of it is, that the elect of God, called according to purpose, may swerve from the directions of grace in some particular things, and fall into grievous sins, out of which they are to be raised by repentance, and not that they may totally fall from it. Neither do I deny but that the elect may commit sin, yea, grievous sins, and such as are in their own nature mortal, though not mortal in that (not obtaining

¹ Art. 16.

full consent) they cannot bring death upon the doors of them. Wherefore to conclude this point into which Master Higgon digresseth after his idle manner, and to send him back to the matter he hath in hand; I say, that there is no contradiction between any assertion of mine and the articles of religion agreed on in the Convocation: and farther add, that there is no papist of judgment and consideration that can possibly dissent from us in this point, touching the constant perseverance of the elect and chosen servants of God called according to purpose, and their never wholly falling from grace. For first, they all agree together with us, that they cannot finally depart away. Secondly, that some good motions and affections will ever remain in them, after they have been once seasoned with the liquor of renewing and sanctifying grace¹. Thirdly, that they lose not their right to the rewards which God, in the covenant of mercy, promised to their former virtuous and good endeavours, nor the benefit of their repenting from dead works formerly repented of when they fall into sin, though they can make no use thereof while they continue in such an estate of sin. For, saith Scotus², as a man that hath much owing unto him upon good assurances, and is possessed of things of good value, being excommunicated or outlawed, still retaineth the interest and right to all things that formerly he had, though he can make no use thereof; nor by course of law force them to do him right that go about to do him wrong, nor recover that which is due unto him, if it be detained from him; but all prosecution of his right is suspended till he procure himself to be freed from the sentence of excommunication or outlawry: so the remission of original sin, the right to eternal life obtained in baptism, the force and virtue of former repentance and conversion from sins past, and the right to the rewards of actions of virtue formerly done, remain still in the elect and chosen, called according to purpose, when they fall into grievous sins tyrannizing over them, though during the time of their being in such grievous sins the actual claim to the benefit of these things, and the enjoying of them, be suspended; which upon their repentance for those particular sins that caused such suspension, is revived and set afoot again in such sort, that the

¹ Hugo de S. Vict. de Sacram. Fid. Lib. II. Part. 13. cap. 12.

² In Quart. Sent. Dist. 22. qu. 1. Art. 2. [Tom. IX. p. 457.]

repentance past sufficeth for remission of former sins, and the good actions past shall have their rewards. So that a man elect and chosen of God, and called according to purpose, that hath done good and virtuous actions, though they be deadened in him for the present by some grievous sin, yet still they remain in divine acceptation, and he still retaineth the right and title he had to the reward of eternal life, promised to those works of virtue done by him, though he can make no actual claim to the same while he remaineth in such an estate of sin; but after that such sin shall cease and be repented of, he recovereth not a new right or title, but a new claim by virtue of the old title. Wherefore if it be demanded, whether David and Peter, when they fell into those grievous sins of uncleanness and abnegation of Christ, continued in a state of justification? we answer, that they did in respect of the remission of their sins, and the title they got to eternal life in their first conversion, which they lost not by those their sins committed afterwards: for the remission of all their former sins, whereof before they had repented, remained still, and God's acceptation of them to eternal life, notwithstanding these sins, upon the condition of leaving them, together with his purpose of rewarding their well-doings; but in respect of the actual claim to eternal good things, they were not as men once justified are, notwithstanding lesser sins, which though they cause a dislike, yet neither extinguish the right, nor suspend the claim to eternal life.

Thus, having run through all those passages of Master Higgon's his book that any way concern me, I leave him to bethink himself, whether he had any reason to traduce me in such sort as he hath done; and remit the wrongs he hath done me without cause to the righteous judgment of God, to whom he must stand or fall.

THE END OF THE FIRST PART.

THE SECOND PART,

CONCERNING THE AUTHOR OF THE "TREATISE OF THE
GROUNDS OF THE OLD AND NEW RELIGION," AND
SUCH EXCEPTIONS AS HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY
HIM AGAINST THE FORMER BOOKS.

HAVING answered the frivolous objections of Master Higons, I will leave him; and pass from him to his friend and colleague, the author of the "Treatise of the Grounds of the Old and New Religion;" who also is pleased, in his idle discourses, to take some exceptions against that which I have written. But because he is a very obscure author, and such a one as the world taketh little notice of, I will not much trouble myself about him, nor take so much pains in discovering his weakness, as I have done in dismasking the new convert, a man, as it seemeth, of more esteem. Yet that the world may see what goodly stuff it is that these nameless and apocryphal book-makers daily vent amongst our seduced countrymen, I will briefly and cursorily take a view of all such passages of his treatise as any way concern me. Amongst which the first that offereth itself to our view is in his preface to the reader¹, where he citeth with great allowance and approbation that which I have in my epistle dedicatory: That all men must carefully seek out which is the true Church, that so they may embrace her communion, follow her directions, and rest in her judgment: but presently chargeth me², that in my Fourth Book following, I "bereave her of almost all such prerogatives" as I formerly yielded unto her; so that men may not safely follow her directions, nor rest in her judgment, in that I say, that "General councils may err in matters of greatest consequence," and "free the Church herself from error only in certain principal points and articles of Christian religion," and not generally in all. This is a bad beginning, being a most shameless untruth.

¹ Pag. 4.

² Pag. 5.

For in the places cited by him, I lay down these propositions: first, that the Church, including in it all faithful ones since Christ appeared in the flesh, is absolutely free from all error and ignorance of divine things. Secondly, that the Church, including all those believers that are and have been since the apostles' times, is simply free from all error, though happily not from all ignorance. Thirdly, that the Church, including only the believers living at one time in the world, is free not only from error in such things as men are precisely bound expressly to know and believe, but from pertinaciously erring in any thing that any way pertaineth to Christian faith and religion. Fourthly, that we must simply and absolutely, without all doubt or question, follow the directions, and rest in the judgment of the Church, in either of the two former senses. Fifthly, that we must listen to the determinations of the present Church, as to the instructions of our elders, and fatherly admonitions and directions: but not so as to the things contained in Scripture, or believed by the whole universal Church that hath been ever since the apostles' times. Because, as Waldensis noteth, the Church whose faith never faileth is not any particular Church, as that of Africa, or Rome, but the universal Church: neither that universal Church which may be gathered together in a general council, which is found sometimes to have erred; but that which dispersed through the world from the baptism of John, continueth to our times. Sixthly, that in the judgment of Waldensis¹, the fathers successively are more certain judges in matters of faith than a general council of bishops, though it be in a sort the highest court of the Church, as the treatiser saith. All these propositions are found in Waldensis, who wrote with good allowance of pope Martin the Fifth and the whole consistory of cardinals; so that the treatiser cannot charge me with any wrong offered to the Church, in bereaving her of her due prerogatives, but he must condemn him also, and blame the pope and his cardinals for commending the writings of such a man to the world as good, profitable, and containing nothing contrary to the catholic verity, that forgot himself so far as to bereave the Church of almost all her prerogatives: which he cannot do, but he must condemn Vincentius Lirinensis, likewise a man beyond all exception,

¹ Doct. Fid. Lib. II. Art. 2. cap. 19. [Tom. I. p. 199.]

who absolutely concurrereth in judgment with Waldensis touching these points : assuring us¹, that the state of the present Church at sometimes may be such as that we must be forced to fly to the judgment of antiquity, if we desire to find any certain direction. “A judgment of right discerning,” saith Ockam², “there is ever found in the Church, seeing there are always some right believers ; but a right judgment of men, by their power of jurisdiction maintaining truth, and suppressing error, may be wanting.” Nay, that sometimes there was no such judgment in the Church, it is most evident : for Vincentius Lirinensis saith, the Arian heresy infected not some part only, but almost the whole Christian world, so that almost all the bishops of the Latin Church were misled by force or fraud. Yea Athanasius and Hierome report³, that Liberius, bishop of Rome, was carried away in that tempestuous whirlwind, and subscribed to heresy : so that there was no set tribunal on earth in those days to the determinations whereto it was safe to stand.

(A TREATISE, &c. Preface, § 2.)

In the next place, the treatiser⁴ chargeth me, that whereas Luther defendeth that infants in baptism actually believe, I “endeavour to wrest his words to habitual faith ;” which sense, he saith, Luther’s discourses will not admit ; and for proof hereof referreth the reader to certain places in Luther, and to the positions of his followers : but as Festus said unto Paul⁵, “Thou hast appealed to Cæsar, to Cæsar shalt thou go ;”

¹ Contra Hær. Novat. cap. 6. [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. Tom. vii. p. 251.]

² “In ecclesia militante est certum judicium, quantum ad ea que necesse est credere explicate ad salutem æternam consequendam ; quia semper usque ad finem mundi erunt aliqui catholici, qui tali modo in vera fide explicate permanebunt. Sed circa illa que non sunt necessaria explicate credere, non est necesse quod semper in ecclesia militante sit tale judicium.”—Ockam. Dialog. Part. i. Lib. v. cap. 28. [p. 497. Goldast. Monarch. Sac. Rom. Imp. Francof. 1614.]

³ Athanas. in Epist. ad Solitar. Vit. Agent. [al. Hist. Arian. Tom. i. p. 368.] Hier. in Catal. Script. Eccles. in Fortunatiano. [al. de Viris Illustr. cap. 97. Tom. ii. col. 917.]

⁴ [p. 13.]

⁵ Act. xxv. 12.

so seeing this treatiser referreth the reader to Luther's discourses, and the doctrine of his disciples, to these I will send him, which will turn greatly to the treatiser's disadvantage. For the reader cannot but find by Luther's discourses, and the doctrine of his scholars, that I have rightly delivered his opinion to be, that infants are filled with habitual faith when they are regenerate, and not that they have any such acts of faith, or knowledge of God, as men of years have. Let us therefore hear what Luther himself will say. "Some men," saith he¹, "will object against that which I have said touching the necessity of faith in such as are to receive the sacraments with profit, that infants have no faith, nor apprehension of God's mercies; and that therefore either faith is not so necessarily required to the due receiving of the sacrament, or that infants are baptized in vain. Here I say, that which all say, that other men's faith, even the faith of such as present them to baptism, steadeth little children. For as the word of God is mighty when the sound thereof is heard, even to the changing of the heart of a wicked man, which is no less unapt to hear the voice of God, and to listen unto it, than any little babe; so by the prayer of the Church, which out of faith (to which all things are possible) presenteth it to baptism, the child is changed, cleansed, and renewed by the infusion of faith, or by faith which is infused and poured into it." Thus doth Luther express his own meaning touching this point. Now let us hear what his followers will say. It was agreed upon, saith Chemnitius², amongst the followers of Luther³, that when we say infants believe or have faith, we must not imagine that they do understand or feel the motions of faith. But their error is rejected, who suppose that infants baptized please God, and are saved, without any operation or working of the Holy Spirit in them; whereas Christ pronounceth, that unless a man be born anew of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. So that this is all that Luther and the rest meant, that children cannot be made partakers of those benefits that God offereth to men in baptism, nor inherit eternal life by virtue of the faith of the Church,

¹ De Captiv. Bab. cap. de Baptis. [Tom. II. fol. 77.]

² Chem. in Exam. Conc. Trident. de Baptis. can. 13. [p. 50.]

³ Form. Concord. inter Theolog. Sax. et sup. German. [A.D. 1536. apud Chemnit. *ibid.*]

without some change wrought in them by the Spirit, fitting them to be joined to God, which change or alteration in them they call faith : not meaning to attribute unto them an actual apprehension of God's mercies, for they constantly deny that they feel any such motions of faith ; but a kind of habitual faith only, there being nothing in faith, but such an act of believing, as they deny ; or the seed, root, and habit, whence actual motions in due time do flow. With whom Calvin agreeth¹ ; for whereas the anabaptists object against him, defending that infants are capable of regeneration, that the scripture mentioneth no regeneration but by the incorruptible seed of the word of God, which infants cannot hear ; he answereth, that God by his divine power may renew and change them by some other means. Secondly, he addeth, that it is not absurd to think that God doth shine into the hearts of those infants, which in infancy he calleth out of this world to himself, and that he doth make himself known unto them in some sort ; seeing they are presently after to be received and admitted to the clear and open view and sight of his glorious face and countenance ; and yet saith, he will not rashly affirm that they are endued with the same faith which we find in ourselves, or that they have knowledge like unto that of faith. And in the next section, speaking more generally, and not restraining himself to such as die in infancy, he saith, that they are baptized into future repentance and faith : which virtues though they be not presently formed in them, yet a seed of either of them lieth hid in them. The papists are distracted into contrary opinions touching this point : for some think that grace, the root of faith and other virtues, is infused into children in baptism, but not faith ; other, that not only grace, but the habit of faith, hope, and charity, is poured into them likewise ; which opinion, as more probable, was admitted in the Council of Vienna, and is embraced by us as true. Wherefore let the reader judge whether I have wrested the words of Luther, or the treatiser wronged me.

¹ Inst. Lib. iv. cap. 16. sect. 17 et 19.

(A TREATISE, &c. Preface, § 3.)

In the third place, he laboureth to demonstrate and prove¹ that there is a contradiction between the reverend Bishop of Lincoln², and Doctor Morton³ and myself⁴, touching the power of ordination, which that learned bishop appropriateth unto bishops, and we communicate in some cases to presbyters. But this silly objection is easily answered, for his meaning is, that none but bishops regularly may ordain, which we confess to be true; as likewise none but they only may confirm the baptized by imposition of hands; and yet think, that in case of necessity presbyters may perform both these things, though of ordinary right belonging to bishops only.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part I. § 1.)

Let us pass therefore from the preface to the book itself. The first thing that he objecteth in the book itself, is, that I give apostolic power to the present Church⁵; whence he thinketh it may be inferred, that the Church cannot err in matters of faith or ceremonies. That I give apostolic power to the present Church, he endeavoureth to prove, because I say⁶, she hath authority to dispense with some constitutions of the apostles, touching order and comeliness; which he thinketh she might not do if she had not the same authority by force whereof they were made: but he could not but know that this proof is too weak, if he were not very weak in understanding. For the apostles made these constitutions not precisely in that they were apostles, as they reported the precepts of Christ, and delivered the doctrine of faith; but by

¹ Pag. 22, 23.

² "One of the foure sermons preached before the King's Majestic at Hampton Court, in September last. This concerning the antiquitie and superioritie of Bishops, Sept. 21. 1606. By the reverend father in God William (Barlow) Lord Bishop of Rochester," (afterwards of Lincoln). [4to. Lond. 1606.]

³ [Apol. Cath. Part. 1. Lib. i. cap. 21.]

⁴ [Field, Book III. Chap. xxxix. Vol. i. p. 316.]

⁵ Pag. 50, 51.

⁶ [Field, Book IV. Chap. xx. Vol. II. p. 466.]

virtue of their pastoral power in general, common to them with other pastors of the Church: though in that they were no ordinary pastors, but apostles, they had absolute infallibility, and could make no laws or constitutions but good and profitable; in which respect no other are equal to them. So that the pastors of the Church now have that power by which the apostles made their ecclesiastical constitutions touching order and comeliness, but not with like assurance of not erring, in making or reversing such laws: and therefore the treatiser cannot from hence infer, that the present Church, and the guides of it, have infallible judgment touching matters of faith or ceremonies.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part I. § 2.)

In the next place, first he¹ produceth my distinction of the Church², considered as it comprehendeth all the faithful that are and have been since Christ appeared in the flesh, or only such as are and have been since the apostles' times, or such alone as are at one time in the world. Secondly, an assertion that the present Church may be said at all times to be the pillar of truth, and not to err, because it ever retaineth a saving profession of heavenly truth; that is, true doctrine concerning all such principal points as are of the substance of faith, and needful to be known and believed expressly by every man. Thirdly, he addeth, that "we deny so much as the virtual belief of other things to be necessary;" which he pronounceth to be an "absurd opinion." For the confutation of my distinction of the Church, considered in those three different sorts, he asketh if there be now presently any Church in the world including in it all the faithful that are and have been since Christ appeared in the flesh, or at least since the apostles' times; which is a most childish and senseless demand. For it will easily be answered, that the Church that includeth in it all these faithful ones is now extant in the world, as he is pleased to speak, in that some of her parts, between which and the rest there is a connexion, are now in the world, though all be not; as time, whereof the parts are present, past, and to come, is now, though all

¹ Pag. 52.

² [Field, Book iv. Chaps. i—xiii.]

parts of it be not now. But his inference upon supposal of our answer is more strange than the question. For if it be granted, that the Church, including in it all these holy ones, hath not all her parts in the world at one time, he inferreth from thence that the promises of Christ cannot be verified of it. As if Christ's promises were verified of the Church, only in respect of those parts that it hath in the world at one time; whereas Bellarmine¹ himself teacheth, that the promise of the Church's being in all parts of the world, is not verified of it at one time, but successively: in that though it be not in all parts and provinces of the world at one time, yet at one time or other it spreadeth itself into every part of it. And Stapleton² defineth the Church, according to the state of the New Testament, to be a collective multitude of men professing the name of Christ, beginning at Hierusalem, and from thence dispersed throughout the world; increasing and spreading itself through all nations; always visible and manifest; mixed of good and bad, elect and reprobate; in respect of faith and sacraments, holy; in respect of origin and succession, apostolic; in extent, catholic; in connexion and order of parts, one; in duration and continuance, perpetual; expressing unto us that Church that includeth all faithful ones since Christ till now, nay, till the end of the world. Which is no doubt a real body, and hath many excellent promises made unto it, though all the parts of it be not in the world at one time. But let us go forward, and we shall see how this silly treatiser forgetteth himself. For first he confesseth³, that "the diverse considerations of the Church proposed by me may be in our understanding," and yet presently addeth, that "we cannot distinguish them really one from another;" which he goeth about to prove, because "the Church in the first consideration includeth in it the same Church as it is taken in the second and third:" but the proof is too weak; for every child will tell him that these considerations may be really distinguished one from another, because though the former includeth the latter, yet the latter includeth not the former. For as every man is a living thing, but every living thing is not a man; so the Church consisting of all faithful ones, that are and have

¹ [Bellarm. de Not. Eccles. Lib. iv. cap. 7. col. 176.]

² Relect. Controv. i. de Eccles. in se q. 4. art. 5. [Tom. i. p. 579.]

³ Pag. 53, 54.

been since Christ appeared in the flesh, includeth in it all those that now presently are in the world; but the Church consisting of those only that are at one time, includeth not the other, but is included in it as a part in the whole, and consequently cannot challenge all the privileges belonging to it, more than the part of a thing may challenge all that pertaineth to the whole; so that the Church in the former consideration may be free from error, though not in the latter. But the treatiser will prove it cannot¹: seeing “if the Church including in it all faithful ones that are or have been since Christ, be free from error, every part of it must be free, and consequently the present Church; as a man cannot be said to be free from sickness, unless every part of him be free.” For answer whereunto we say that the Church being a collective body, may be said to be free from error in another sort than a man is said to be free from sickness: for a man cannot be said to be free from sickness unless every part be free; but the Church may rightly be said to be free from error if all her parts err not, though some do; for otherwise I would ask of this treatiser whether the Church were free from error in the days of Athanasius, when, as Vincentius Lirinensis² saith, almost all the bishops of the Latin Church were misled by force or fraud, and when Liberius, bishop of Rome, subscribed to heresy, as Athanasius³ and Hierome⁴ testify: if the Church were not free from error at that time, where is the privilege of never erring? If it were, it was but in respect of some few parts: whence it will follow, that the Church may be said to be free from error, though many parts be not, if any continue sound; for here the greater and more principal parts did err. But that the Church may be said to be free from error, though all parts be not, it is evident in that they who most stiffly maintain the not erring of the present Church, yet confess that some parts of it do err. For Stapleton⁵ and Bellarmine, who both think the present Roman Church to be free from error, yet deny that she is free in all her parts, and tell us there are some who are parts of this Church and catholics,

¹ Pag. 54, 55.

² Advers. Prophan. Hæres. Novat. ca. 6. [ubi supra.]

³ Epist. ad Solitariam Vitam Agentes. [ubi supra.]

⁴ Catal. Script. Eccles. in Fortunatiano. [ubi supra.]

⁵ Relect. Con. 3. Quæst. iv. [Tom. i. p. 706.]

that think the pope may judicially err, unless a general council concur with him; which in their opinion is an error, and near to heresy. Yea, the same Bellarmine¹ saith, that the particular Roman Church, that is, the clergy and people of Rome, subject to the pope, cannot err, because though some of them may, yet all cannot. It is true therefore which I have delivered, notwithstanding anything the treatiser can say to the contrary, that the Church, including all the faithful that are and have been since the apostles, may be said to be free from error, because in respect of her total universality she is so; it being impossible that any error should be found in all her parts at all times, though in respect of her several parts she be not. For sometimes and in some parts she hath erred, and in this sense can no more be said to be free from error, than a man may be said to be free from sickness, that in some parts is ill affected. But as a man that hath not been always, nor in all parts ill, may be said to be free from perpetual and universal sickness; so the Church is free from perpetual and universal error. This the treatiser saith is "a weak privilege, and not answerable to the great and ample promises made by Christ;" whereas the fathers knew no other, whatsoever this good man imagineth. For Vincentius Lirinensis² confesseth that error may infect some parts of the Church, yea, that it may sometimes infect almost the whole Church; so that he freeth it only from universal and perpetual error. But, saith the treatiser, what are poor Christians the nearer for this privilege? how shall such a Church be the director of their faith? and how shall they know what faith was preached by the apostles, what parts taught true doctrine, and when and which erred in subsequent ages? Surely this question is easily answered. For they may know what the apostles taught by their writings; and they may know what parts of the Church teach true doctrine, by comparing the doctrine each part teacheth with the written word of God, and by observing who they are that bring in private and strange opinions, contrary to the resolution of the rest. But if happily some new contagion endeavour to commaculate the whole Church together, they must look up into antiquity; and if in antiquity they find that some followed private and strange opinions, they must care-

¹ De Roman. Pontif. Lib. iv. cap. 4. [Tom. i. col. 811.]

² Contr. Hæres. cap. 6. [ubi supra.]

fully observe what all, not noted for singularity or heresy in divers places and times, constantly delivered as undoubtedly true, and received from such as went before them. This course Vincentius Lirinensis prescribeth. But the treatiser disclaimeth it¹, not liking that all should be brought to the "letter of holy scripture, and the works of antiquity; which, setting aside the authority of the present Church," he thinketh, "yield no certain and divine argument." So that, according to his conceit, we must rest on the bare censure and judgment of the pope; for he is the present Church, and antiquity is to be contemned as little or nothing worth. Having justified the distinction of the divers considerations of the Church impugned by the treatiser, that which he hath touching the two assertions annexed to it will easily be answered. For the one of them is most true, his addition of not erring being taken away; and the other is but his idle imagination, for we never delivered any such thing.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part I. § 3.)

In the third place, he² excepteth against me because I say³ the words of the apostle in the Epistle to Timothy, touching the house and Church of God, are originally understood of the Church of Ephesus, wherein Paul directeth Timothy how to demean and behave himself; but because I have cleared this exception in my answer to Higgons, I will say nothing to him in this place, but refer him thither.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part I. § 4.)

From the apostle the treatiser passeth to St Augustine, and chargeth me that "I wrest his words⁴," when he saith he would not believe the gospel, if the authority of the Church did not move him to a sense never meant by him. These words of St Augustine are usually alleged by the papists to prove that the authority of the Church is the ground of our faith, and reason of believing: in answer

¹ Part 1, p. 56.

³ [Field, Book iv. Chap. iv. Vol. II. p. 400.]

² Pag. 56.

⁴ Pag. 64.

whereunto I shew that the divines give two explications of them. For Ockam, and some other, understand them not of the multitude of believers that now are in the world, but of the whole number of them that are and have been since Christ appeared in the flesh, so including the apostles; and in this sense they confess that the Church, because it includeth the writers of the books of the New Testament, is of greater authority than the books themselves. Others understand by the name of the Church, only the multitude of believers living in the world at one time; and think the meaning of Augustine is, that the authority of this Church was an introduction unto him, but not the ground of his faith, and principal or sole reason of believing. The former of these explications this grave censurer pronounceth to be frivolous. First, because if we may believe him¹, “St Augustine never used these words, ‘catholic Church,’ after this sort in that sense.” Secondly, because “he speaketh of that Church which commanded him not to believe Manicheus, which undoubtedly was the present Church.” Thirdly, because, as he supposeth, I “can allege no divine that so interpreted the words of Augustine; that which I cite out of Ockam being impertinent.” To every of these reasons I will briefly answer. And, first, that Augustine doth use the words “catholic Church” in the sense specified by me, it is evident; for, writing against Manicheus, he hath these words: *Palam est quantum in re dubia ad fidem et certitudinem valeat catholicæ Ecclesiæ autoritas, quæ ab ipsis fundatissimis sedibus apostolorum usque ad hodiernum diem, succedentibus sibimet episcopis, et tot populorum consensione firmatur*; that is, “It is apparent what great force the authority of that Church hath to settle the persuasion of faith, and cause certainty in things doubtful, that from the most surely-established seats of the apostles, by succession of bishops even till this present, and consent of people, is most firmly settled.” To the second reason we answer, that the Church, including the apostles, and all faithful ones that have been since, comprehendeth in it the present Church, and so might command Augustine not to listen to Manicheus. So that this commanding proveth not that he speaketh precisely of the present Church. To

¹ Pag. 66.

² Contra Faustum Manichæum, Lib. xi. cap. 2. [Tom. viii. col. 219.]

the third I say, that the treatiser is either strangely ignorant, or strangely impudent, when he affirmeth, that I can allege no divine that understandeth the words of Augustine of the Church, including in it the apostles, and such as lived in their times. For first, Durandus understandeth them of the primitive Church, including the apostles. Secondly, Gerson¹ will tell him, that when Augustine saith he would not believe the gospel, if the authority of the Church did not move him, he understandeth by the name of the Church, the primitive congregation of those faithful ones which saw and heard Christ, and were his witnesses. Thirdly, Driedo² writeth thus: "When Augustine saith, he would not believe the gospel if the authority of the Church did not move him, he understandeth that Church which had been ever since the beginning of the Christian faith, having her bishops in orderly sort succeeding one another, and growing and increasing till our times, which Church truly comprehendeth in it the blessed company of the holy apostles, who, having seen Christ and his miracles, and learned from his mouth the doctrine of faith, delivered unto us the evangelical scriptures." And again, the same Driedo saith³, that the authority of the scripture is greater than the authority of the Church that now is in the world, in itself considered: but if we speak of the universal Church, including all faithful ones that are and have been, the authority of the Church is in a sort greater than the scripture, and in a sort equal. For explication whereof he addeth, that as touching things that cannot be seen nor known by us, we believe the sayings and writings of men, not as if they had in them in themselves considered a sufficient force to move us to believe, but because by some reasons we are persuaded of them who deliver such things unto us, and think them worthy to be believed; so St Augustine might rightly say, he would not believe the books of the gospel, if the authority of the Church did not move him, understanding the universal Church; of which he speaketh

¹ Part. 3. Lect. 2. de Vita Spirituali Animæ. Corol. 7. [Tom. III. col. 24.]

² De Dogmatibus extra canonem Scripturæ constit. Lib. IV. cap. 4. [p. 564. fol. Lovan. 1533.]

³ De Via investigandæ veræ intelligentiæ Sacræ Scripturæ. Lib. II. [cap. 3. p. 151.]

against Manicheus; which, including the apostles, hath had in it an orderly course of succession of bishops till our time. For the faithfulness, truth, and credit of this Church was more evident than the truth of the books of the New Testament, which are therefore received as sacred and true, because written by those apostles, to whom Christ so many ways gave testimony, both by word and work: and the scriptures are to be proved by the authority of that Church which included the apostles; but in the Church that now is, or that includeth only such as are now living, God doth not so manifest himself as he formerly did; so that this Church must demonstrate herself to be orthodox, by proving her faith out of the scripture. With Driedo Ockam¹ concur-eth; his words are these: "Sometimes the name of the Church comprehendeth not only the whole congregation of catholics living, but the faithful departed also; and in this sense blessed Augustine useth the name of the Church in his book against the Manichees, cited in the decrees, 2 dist. cap. "Palam:" where the catholic Church importeth the bishops that have succeeded one another from the apostles' times, and the people subject to them. And in the same sense Augustine useth the name of the Church, when he saith, he would not believe the gospel if the authority of the Church did not move him; for this Church comprehendeth in it the writers of the books of the gospel, and all the apostles: so that from the authority of Augustine, rightly understood, it cannot be inferred that the pope, the maker of the canons, is rather and more to be believed than the gospel: yet it may be granted, that we must more and rather believe the Church which hath been from the times of the prophets and apostles till now, than the gospel: not for that men may any way doubt of the gospel, but because the whole is greater than the part. So that the Church which is of greater authority than the gospel, is that whereof the writer of the gospel is a part: neither is it strange that the whole should be of more authority than the parts." These are the words of Ockam in the place cited by me. Wherefore let the reader judge whether that I cite out of Ockam be impertinent, as the treatiser saith, or not. To Durandus, Gerson, Driedo, and Ockam, we may add Wal-

¹ Dial. Lib. i. Part. 2. cap. 4. [apud Goldast. Monarch. S. Rom. Imp. Tom. ii. p. 402.]

densis¹, who fully agrees with them, shewing at large that it pertained to the Church only in her first, best, and primitive state and age, to deliver a perfect direction touching the canon of the scripture; so that she hath no power or authority now to add any more books to the canon already received, as out of her own immediate knowledge: but it sufficeth to the magnifying of her authority in her present estate, that even now no other books may be received, but such only as in her first and best estate she proposed. Further adding, that the saying of Augustine, that he would not believe the gospel if the authority of the Church did not move him, is to be understood of the Church, including the primitive fathers and pastors, the apostles' scholars. By this which hath been said, it is evident, as I think, that the former of those two constructions which I make of Augustine's words, hath been approved by far better men than this treatise; and that therefore he sheweth himself more bold than wise, when he pronounced it to be frivolous. And surely, if we consider well the discourse of St Augustine², I think it may be proved unanswerably, out of the circumstances of the same, that he speaketh not precisely of the present Church. For it is that authority of the catholic Church he urgeth that was begun by miracles, nourished by hope, increased by charity, and confirmed and strengthened by long continuance. And of that Church he speaketh, wherein there had been a succession of bishops from Peter till that present time. So that he must needs mean the Church, including not only such faithful ones as were then living when he wrote, but all that either then were, or had been from the apostles' times. Wherefore let us pass to the other construction of Augustine's words, which is, that the authority of the present Church was the ground and reason of an acquise faith, and an introduction leading him to a more sure stay, but not the reason or ground of that faith whereby principally he did believe. This construction the treatise saith cannot stand, because Augustine saith, if the authority he speaketh of be weakened, he will believe no longer. Whence it seemeth to be consequent, that it was the cause of all the persuasion of faith that he had then when he wrote, and not only of an acquise faith, pre-

¹ Doctrin. Fid. Lib. II. Art. 2. cap. 21. [Tom. I. p. 201.]

² Contra Epist. Manich. cap. 5. [Tom. VIII. col. 154.]

paring and fitting him to a stronger, more excellent, and farther degree or kind of faith. For the clearing of this point, we must note that there are three sorts of such men as believe¹: for there are some that believe out of piety only, not discerning by reason whether the things they believe be to be believed as true or not: the second have a light of divine reason shining in them, and causing an approbation of that they believe: the third sort, having a pure heart and conscience, begin already inwardly to taste that which hereafter more fully shall be enjoyed. Resting in the first degree, as the authority of the Church moveth us to believe, so if it be weakened, that kind and degree of faith that stayeth on it falleth to the ground, having no other sufficient stay: but if we speak of faith in respect of her two other degrees, she hath a more sure and firm ground and stay to rest upon. And therefore Augustine² affirmeth, that the truth, clearly manifesting itself unto us, is to be preferred before all those things that commend unto us the authority of the Church; and that there are certain spiritually-minded men, who in this life attain to the knowledge of heavenly truth, and sincere wisdom, without all doubt discerning it, though but in part and weakly, in that they are men. Of which number there is no question but that Augustine was one; so that the authority of the Church could not be the sole or principal motive or reason at that time, when he wrote of his present persuasion of the truth of heavenly mysteries, contained in the Gospel of Christ, as the treatiser would make us believe: but having to do with the Manichees, who promised the evident and clear knowledge of truth, but failing to perform that they promised, urged him to believe that which they could not make him know to be true; he professeth, that if he must believe without discerning the truth of that he believeth, he must rest on the authority of the catholic Church: for the Manichees had no authority sufficient to move a man to believe in this sort. Now the catholic Church commanded him not to listen to Manicheus, in which behalf, if they would and could weaken the authority thereof, he professeth he neither can, nor will believe any more, with such a kind of faith as they urged him to; which is, without all discerning of the

¹ Hugo de Sancto Victore in Sentent. [Tract. i. cap. 3. Tom. III. p. 419. ed. fol. Rothom. 1648.]

² Ubi supra.

truth of the things that are to be believed. Thus we see the discourse of St Augustine no way proveth that the authority of the Church was the sole or principal ground of the highest degree or kind of faith he had; but it is most evident out of the same, that it served only as an introduction to lead to a more sure persuasion than itself could cause.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part I. § 5, 6.)

The next thing the treatiser hath¹ that concerneth me, is that I “acknowledge in the Church a rule of faith, descending by tradition from the apostles, according to which the Scriptures are to be expounded.” Whereunto I briefly answer, that indeed I admit such a rule so descending unto us; but that the rule I speak of is nothing else but a summary comprehension of the chief heads of Christian doctrine, every part whereof is found in Scripture, and from them easily to be collected and proved, delivered unto us by the guides of the Church, from hand to hand, as from the apostles. So that my words make nothing for proof of the papists’ supposed unwritten traditions: wherefore let us pass to that which followeth, which is the sophistical circulation, which I say papists run into, in that they believe that the Church is infallibly led into all truth, because it is so contained in the Scripture; and that the Scripture is the word of God, because the Church, infallibly led into all truth, telleth them it is. In this passage he saith², I “wrong Stapleton, in that I charge him, that in his Triplication against Whitaker he affirmeth other matters to be believed, because they are contained in Scripture, and the Scripture, because it is the word of God: and that it is the word of God, because the Church delivereth it to be so: and the Church, because it is led by the Spirit: and that it is led by the Spirit, because it is so contained in the Scripture and the creed.” For that, as he saith, “Stapleton in the last place maketh no mention of the Scripture, but of the creed only.” Wherefore let us hear Stapleton himself speak. Whereas D. Whitaker objecteth, that papists, according to Stapleton’s opinion, believe whatsoever they believe, not only by, but for the Church: and that ingenuously he had con-

¹ Pag. 78.

² Pag. 81.

fessed so much: he answereth¹, that indeed he had so professed, and that he ever would so profess: and in another place², whereas D. Whitaker saith³, papists believe the Church, because God commanded them to do so, and that God doth so command them, because the Church, whose authority is sacred, telleth them so: he answereth, that they do not believe that God commandeth them to believe the Church, either properly, or only because the Church telleth them so: but partly, because of the most manifest authorities of Scriptures, sending men to the Church to be taught by it; partly moved to do so by the Creed of the Apostles, wherein we profess that we believe the catholic Church: that is, not only that there is such a Church, but that we are members of it; and that God doth teach us by it. Is here no mention of the Scripture, but of the creed only? Doubtless the treatiser hath a very hard forehead, for otherwise he could not but blush, and acknowledge that he wrongeth me, and not I Stapleton. But to make good that which I have written, that papists either fall into a sophistical circulation, or resolve the persuasion of their faith finally into human motives and inducements, first, it is to be observed, that no man persuadeth himself of the truth of any thing, but because it is evident unto himself in itself, to be as he persuadeth himself, either in abstractive knowledge or intuitive, intellectual or experimental, or of affection; or else because it is so delivered to be, by some such as he is well persuaded of, both in respect of their understanding discerning aright, and will to deliver nothing but that they apprehend to be true. In the former kind, the inducement, motive, or formal cause of men's assent to such propositions as they assent unto, is the evidence of them in themselves, which either they have originally as the first principles, or by necessary deduction from things so evident, as conclusions thence inferred; in the latter, the authority and credit of the reporter. The former kind of assent is named *assensus evidens*, the latter *inevidens*; of which latter sort faith is, which is named a firm assent without evidence, because many of the things which we are to believe are not, nor cannot be, evident unto us originally in themselves, as the first principles of human knowledge, nor by deduction

¹ Triplication. [cap. 14. Tom. i. p. 1204.]

² Pag. 179.

³ [Cap. 15. p. 1230.]

from and out of things so evident, in such sort as conclusions in sciences are. Yet is not this assent without all evidence. For though the things believed be not evident in themselves, yet the medium, by virtue whereof we believe them, must be evident; and the proof of them by virtue of that medium. Now the medium, by virtue whereof we believe things no way evident unto us in themselves, can be nothing else but the report of another; neither is every report of another a sufficient medium or inducement to make us believe things we know not, but it must be the report of such an one as we know cannot be deceived, nor will not deceive. It must therefore be evident to every one, that firmly and without doubting believeth things not known unto him upon the report of another, that he that reporteth them unto him neither is deceived, nor can deceive. Whence it followeth necessarily, that things are as he reporteth. These things presupposed, I demand of this treatiser, whether he and his consorts assent to the articles of the Christian faith, induced so to do by the evidence of the things in themselves, or by the report of another. That they assent not unto them, induced so to do by the evidence of the things in themselves they all profess, but by the report of another. I demand therefore who that other is, whether God or man? If man, then have they nothing but a human persuasion, very weakly grounded, and wherein they may be deceived; for every man is a liar. If God, let them tell me whether it be evident in itself that God delivereth these things unto them, and pronounceth them to be as they believe, or not. If not, but believed only, then as before by reason of authority; and that either of God, or man. Not of God; for it is not evident in itself that God delivereth anything unto them; not of men, for their report is not of such credit as that we may certainly and undoubtedly stay upon it; seeing they may be deceived, and deceive other. They answer, therefore, that it is no way evident unto them, in itself, that God delivereth the things they believe; but that they persuade themselves he delivered such things upon the report of men; but such men as are infallibly led into all truth. See then if they do not run round in a circle, finding no stay. They believe the resurrection of the dead, and the like things, because God revealed it; they believe that God revealed it, because it is

tained in the Scripture; and the Scripture, because it word of God; and that it is the word of God, because church so delivereth; and the Church, because it is a side of men, infallibly led into all truth; and that there church infallibly led into all truth, because it is so confirmed in Scripture; and the Scripture, because it is the word of God: and so round, without ever finding any end. Out of this circle they cannot get, unless they either ground their faith upon the mere report of men as men, and human authorities; or confess that it is evident unto them in itself, that God speaketh in the Scripture, and revealeth those things which they believe; which if they do, it must be in either of the manner, matter there uttered, or confirmed by its effects. In respect of the manner, there being a certain divine virtue, force, and majesty, in the very form of words of him that speaketh in the Scripture: in respect of the matter, which being suggested and proposed to us, and the approbation of reason, enlightened by the light of the Holy Spirit, in respect of the consequent effects, in that we find a great and wonderful change wrought in us, assuring us that it is of God that hath such effects, which is that we condemn which they condemn in us. The treatiser would have us believe that there are two opinions amongst them touching this point; whereof the one is, as he telleth us, that we believe the Church, because the Scripture teacheth us that the Church is to be believed; and the Scripture, because the Church delivereth it to us to be the word of God. And the other is, that by the assistance of God, together with the concurrence of our natural understanding, we produce an act of natural faith, by which we firmly believe the articles of Christian faith, not for any human inducements, but for that they are revealed by Almighty God, without seeking any other; which, if it be so, it must be evident in itself to those that follow this opinion, that God hath revealed and confirmed the things they believe, and that by one of the ways before mentioned; and then they fall into our opinion: for if it be not evident to them in itself that God speaketh in the Scriptures, and reveals the things they are to believe, they must go further, to be assured that he doth speak and reveal the things that are to be believed, either by the force of reason or authority. For no man persuadeth

himself of anything but upon some inducements. Proof & reason demonstrative I think they will not seek; and probable inducements they may not rest in; therefore they must proceed to some proof by authority, which can be no other but that of the Church; and then they join with them that follow the other opinion, and believe the articles of Christian faith, contained in Scripture, because God hath revealed them; and that God hath revealed them, because the Church telleth them so; and the Church, because the Scripture testifieth of it that it is led into all truth; which is a very gross sophistical circulation. This the treatiser did well perceive, and therefore, to help the matter, he distinguisheth the cause of believing, and the condition necessarily requisite that the cause may have her working, in shew making the divine revelation the reason or cause that we believe, and the Church's proposing to us the things to be believed, a condition only, and not a cause: in sort, as the fire alone is the cause of the burning of the wood, but the putting of one of them to another is a necessary condition, without which that cause can produce no such effect: but this shift will not serve the turn. For it is the fire only that burneth the wood, though it cannot burn unless it be put unto it: so that in like sort, if the comparison hold, the divine revelation must, of and by itself alone, move, induce, and incline us to believe the things proposed by the Church, as being evident unto us to be a divine revelation, though without the Church's proposing we could take no notice of it. Even as in natural knowledge, it is the evidence of truth, appearing unto us, originally found in the first principles, and secondarily in the conclusions from thence deduced, that is the sole and only cause or reason of our assent to such principles and conclusions; though without the help of some men of knowledge, proposing them to us, and leading us from the apprehension of one of them to another, happily we should not at all attain such knowledge. But this evidence of the divine revelation in itself the treatiser will not admit. For it is no way evident in itself to him, that God hath revealed any of the things he believeth; but the only proof, besides human motives or reason, (which are too weak to be the ground of faith), that he hath, is the authority of the Church. So that the ministry of the Church is not only a condition, but a

cause of that persuasion of faith which they have : yea, the authority of the Church is the formal cause of all that faith seduced papists have. And therefore the distinction of a cause and condition helpeth them not. It is true indeed that the ministry of the Church, proposing to men things to be believed, is only a condition requisite to the producing of a supernatural act of faith, in respect of them that have some other thing to persuade them, that that is true which the Church proposeth, besides the authority of the Church ; but in respect of such as have no other proof of the truth thereof, it is a formal cause. Now this is the condition of all papists : for let them tell me whether they believe the Scripture to be the word of God, without any motive at all or not ? And if they do not, as it is most certain they do not, whether besides such as are human they have any other than the authority of the Church ? If they have not, as doubtless they have not, they make the authority of the Church the formal cause of their faith, and fall into that sophistical circulation they are charged with. For they believe the articles of religion, because revealed ; and that they were revealed, because it is so contained in the Scripture ; and the Scripture, because it is the word of God ; and that it is the word of God, because the Church telleth them it is ; and the Church, because it is guided by the Spirit ; and that it is so guided, because it is so contained in the Scripture. This is such a maze as no wise man will willingly enter into : and yet the treatiser commendeth the treading of these intricate paths, and telleth us that two causes may be causes one of another. That the cause may be proved by the effect, and the effect by the cause ; and that such a kind of argumentation is not a circulation, but a demonstrative regress. That two causes may be causes either of other, in diverse respects, we make no question ; for the end of each thing, as it is desired, setteth the efficient cause a-work, and the efficient causeth the same to be actually enjoyed. Likewise, we doubt not but that the cause may be proved by the effect, and the effect by the cause, in a demonstrative regress. For the effect, as better known unto us than the cause, may make us know the cause ; and the cause being found out by us, may make us more perfitly, and in a better sort, to know the effect than before ; not only that, and what it is, but why it is also. So

the death of little infants proveth them sinners, and their being sinners proveth them mortal. The bigness of the footstep in the dust or sand sheweth the bigness of his foot that made that impression; and the bigness of his foot will shew how big the impression is that he maketh: but this maketh nothing for the justifying of the Romish circulation. For here the effect being known in a sort in itself, maketh us know the cause; and the cause being found out and known, maketh us more perfectly to know the effect than at first we did; but the case is otherwise with the papists; for with them the Scripture, which in itself hath no credit with them, but such only as it is to receive from the Church, giveth the Church credit; and the Church, which hath no credit but such as it is to receive from the Scripture, giveth the Scripture credit by her testimony. And they endeavour to prove the infallibility of the Church's judgment out of the Scripture, and the truth of the Scriptures out of the determination and judgment of the Church. Much like as if when question is made touching the quality and condition of two men, utterly unknown, a man, to commend them to such as doubt of them, should bring no other testimony of their good and honest disposition, but the testimony of each of them of the other. It is true then which I have said, that to a man admitting the Old Testament and doubting of the New, a man may urge the authority of the Old; and to a man doubting of the Old and admitting the New, the authority of the New; but to him that doubteth of both, a man must allege neither of them, but must bring some other authority or proof; so likewise, to him that admitteth the Scripture, and doubteth of the Church, a man may urge the authority of the Scripture; but to him that doubteth of both, as all do when they begin to believe, a man must allege some other proof; or else he shall cause him to run round in a circle for ever, and never to find any way out. Wherefore, to conclude this point, let our adversaries know that we admit and require human motives and inducements, and amongst them a good opinion of them that teach us, as preparing and fitting us to faith. Secondly, that we require a supernatural aid, light, and habit, for the producing of an act of faith. Thirdly, that we require some divine motive and inducement. Fourthly, that this cannot be the authority of the Church, seeing the

authority of the Church is one of the things we are to be induced to believe. Fifthly, that we require the ministry of the Church, as a propounder of all heavenly truth, though her authority can be no proof in general of all such truth. Sixthly, that the Church, though not as it includeth only the believers that are in the world at one time, yet as it comprehendeth all that are, or have been, is an infallible propounder of heavenly truth, and so acknowledged to be, by such as are assured of the truth of the doctrine of Christianity in general. Seventhly, that the authority of this Church is a sufficient proof of the truth of particular things proposed by her to such as already are by other divine motives assured of her infallibility.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part I. § 7.)

From the authority of the Scripture, which he would fain make to be wholly dependent on the Church, the treatiser passeth to the fulness and sufficiency of it¹; seeking, amongst other his discourses, to weaken those proofs which are brought by me for confirmation thereof. Affirming, that though I “make show² as if it were a plain matter, that the evangelists in their Gospels, St Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, and St John in the Apocalypse, meant to deliver a perfect sum of Christian doctrine, and direction of faith, yet I bring no reason of any moment to prove it.” Whereas yet in the place cited by him I have these words, containing in them, as I suppose, a strong proof of the thing questioned. Who seeth not that the evangelists, writing the history of Christ’s life and death, St Luke in the book of the Acts of the Apostles, describing the coming of the Holy Ghost, the admirable gifts and graces poured upon the apostles, and the Churches founded and ordered by them, and St John writing the Revelations which he had concerning the future state of things to the end of the world, meant to deliver a perfect sum of Christian doctrine? if the proof contained in these words be not sufficient, for my part I know not what may be; for what can

¹ Pag. 88 and 89.

² [Field, Book iv. Chap. xx. Vol. ii. p. 463.]

be necessary to be known of Christians, over and above that which is found in the Old Testament, besides the incarnation of Christ, his words, actions and sufferings; the manner of the establishment of Churches in the faith of Christ; and the ordaining and appointing of fit guides to take care of the government of the same, and the future state of things to the end of the world? But he saith, no one of the evangelists intended to set down all that Christ did and suffered, as it appeareth in that no one of them hath so done; and that it cannot be said that all jointly have so done, seeing that could not proceed but from some common deliberation, or the disposition and inspiration of the Holy Ghost moving them to write: neither of which can be said. For that there was no such deliberation, he saith it is evident, in that no man mentioneth any such thing, and in that it is known they wrote in divers countries, at divers times, upon divers occasions; and that the inspiration of the Holy Spirit did not direct them to the writing of all things necessary, he saith it is likewise most clear, in that I confess there are some things wanting in their books which the Church believeth: which could not be if the Spirit had moved them to write all. This objection will soon be answered. For first it is certain that some one of the evangelists intended to write all things which Christ did and spake, St Luke¹ professing that he had so done; which yet is not to be understood of all things simply, but such only as he did and spake in that time within the compass whereof he confined his narration. Neither doth this prejudice the fulness of the evangelical history. For as Baronius² noteth, the later evangelists taking a view of that the former had written, for the most part added what things they found omitted by them: so Mark and Luke write of the ascension of Christ, not mentioned by St Matthew, because he ended his story before he came to it. And John finding, as Hierome³ saith, that the other three had written only the history of one year, after John the Baptist was cast into prison, wherein Christ suffered; approved that which they had written as true, and omitting that year, because the things that fell out in it were reported by them, recorded such things as fell out

¹ Acts i. Luke i.

² Annal. Tom. I. A.D. 34. [§ 218. p. 190.]

³ Catal. Scriptor. in Johanne, apud Baron. Annal. Tom. I. A.D. 99. § 5. [p. 756.]

before the imprisonment of the Baptist, which they had not written, as not fetching the beginning of their narration so far off. If it be said by this treatiser, that many things that Christ did are so omitted, that they are found in none of the evangelists: for that John¹, who wrote last of all, and knew well what the rest had written, hath these words, "Many other signs also Jesus wrought in the sight of his disciples, which are not written in this book; but these things are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have everlasting life through his name;" and again², "There are also many other things which Jesus did, which if they should be written every one, I suppose the world would not be able to contain the books which should be written:" Baronius³ will tell him, that the evangelists, when they took in hand the writing of the sacred stories, intended not to write all the things generally that Christ did; but such and so many only as might serve to confirm the faith, and to demonstrate that Jesus is the Son of God; and that the things which they have written are sufficient to salvation, that men believing may have eternal life. So that though there were no common deliberation or consultation amongst the evangelists, and though they wrote at divers times and in divers places, yet by the sweet disposition of the Holy Spirit that moved them to write, it might, and did so fall out, in that one saw what another had written, that the latter added such things as they found omitted by the former, and so left unto us a perfect and full narration concerning Christ his incarnation, life, death, resurrection and ascension, as also the things he did and spake during the time of his conversing amongst men. So that the treatiser is not able to prove that the evangelical history is imperfect: but there is one thing wherein he glorieth, as if he had gotten some great advantage, which is, that I confess that there are some things found in the Epistles of the apostles, occasionally written and believed by the Church, that are not found in the history of the evangelists, the book of all the Acts of the Apostles, nor the Revelation of St John: whence he thinketh he may infer, that either the authors of those books meant not to deliver a perfect sum and direction of Christian faith

¹ Cap. xx. 30, 31.

² Cap. xxi. 25.

³ Annal. Tom. I. A.D. 34, 223. [ubi supra.]

as I affirm, or that they missed of their purpose; which may not be granted. But let him know, that there is no consequence of any such absurdity as he imagineth, from any thing I have written. For the things believed by the Church, and not found in the former books, but in the Epistles of the apostles, are nothing else but distinct and clear determinations of doubts arising touching matters of faith or manners, out of and according to the sum of Christian doctrine, found in the former books, or historical narrations of such things as passed between the apostles themselves, or between them and the Churches founded by them, or some particular persons in them, not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles: or lastly, apostolical prescriptions of things pertaining to decency, order, and comeliness in the performance of the acts of God's worship and service. Now I think it will not follow, that if there be found in the apostolical Epistles some more distinct and clear resolutions and determinations of doubts out of the form and direction of Christian doctrine, found in the former books than are there found, or a prescription of some outward observations, that the former books contain not a perfect sum and direction of Christian faith: much less will it be consequent that these books contain not a perfect direction of Christian faith, because some historical narrations, not found in them, are believed in the Church; as that Paul left his cloak at Troas, that he mediated for Onesimus, and sought to reconcile him to his master, and the like. The treatiser therefore passeth from this exception, and asketh, "how I will prove, that all things believed by the Church, and not contained in the former books, are found in the Epistles of the apostles;" to whom I answer, that when he shall give any instance of things believed by the Church, and not found in the former books, either it shall be proved that they are not believed by the Church, or they shall be shewed him in those epistles. Wherefore, let us see what he hath more to say. "One of the apostolical Epistles," he saith¹, "is lost, namely, that which Paul wrote to the Laodiceans, in which there might be something necessarily to be believed that is not found in any other book of the New Testament." Therefore it may be thought that there is some want and imperfection in the books of the New Testament. This truly is a very idle and

¹ Pag. 89.

silly objection : for though there was a certain epistle to the Laodiceans carried about and read by some in ancient times, yet, as Hierome¹ testifieth, it was exploded by all : and Chrysostom², and Theodoret³ are of opinion that Paul never wrote any epistle to the Laodiceans ; but that the epistle he speaketh of was written from Laodicea, or by the Laodiceans, to inform him of the state of things amongst themselves, or amongst the Colossians, by whom he would have it read. And cardinal Baronius⁴ himself approveth their opinion, rather than the other. That which he hath, of my admitting traditions, I will answer when I come to examine his next section.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part I. § 8.)

In his next section he hath these words⁵, “ Barlow⁶ and Field, two famous English protestants, admit certain apostolical traditions.” And farther, he addeth, that I “ allow of certain rules for the discerning of apostolic traditions from such as are not such.” Whereunto we answer, that we admit sundry kinds of tradition, and yet deny that anything concerning faith, or the necessary direction and information of men’s manners, is to be believed and received that is not written. For we say, nothing was delivered by tradition but the books of Scripture, things in some sort therein contained, and thence deduced ; and certain dispensable observations, not at all or hardly to be discerned from ecclesiastical constitutions. Neither is it new or strange that we should admit some kinds of traditions ; for Kemnitius⁷ acknowledgeth all those kinds that I mention, which will no way help the papists ; for the question between them and us is, not whether there be any tradition or not. For it is most certain that the books of Scripture are delivered by tradition. But it being presupposed that the holy men of God, taught immediately by

¹ Catal. Script. Ecclesiast. in Paulo. [Tom. ii. col. 825.]

² In Epist. ad Colos. Homil. 12. [Tom. xi. p. 413.]

³ In Epist. ad Colos. in princ. citat. a Baron. Annal. Tom. i. A.D. 60, § 13. [p. 567.]

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Pag. 94.

⁶ [Sermon, &c., referred to above, p. 439.]

⁷ In Examine Concilii Tridentini, Decret. Prim. Sess. 4. [p. 4.]

Christ his Son, recommended certain books to posterities, and agreed on which those books are; whether they contain all things necessary to be known and practised by Christian men for the attaining of everlasting life and salvation; we say they do, they deny it. Yet will the treatiser prove from hence, contrary to my assertions, that according to my own grounds tradition is the very foundation of my faith. For if protestants receive the number, names of the authors, and integrity of the parts of books, divine and canonical, as delivered by tradition, as I say they do; and if without tradition we cannot know such divine books, he thinketh it consequent that tradition is the ground of our faith. But indeed there is no such consequence as he imagineth. For it is one thing to require the tradition of the Church, as a necessary means whereby the books of Scripture may be delivered unto us and made known; and another, to make the same tradition the ground of our faith; seeing, in the judgment of the treatiser himself, everything is not the ground of our faith, builded upon Scripture, without which we cannot know the canonical books of Scripture from such as are not of that rank. As it is evident in that he distinguisheth the ground of our faith, and reason of our believing, from the condition required to the producing of such an act of faith¹; denying the Church's proposing of things to be believed to be the ground of our faith, and yet requiring it, as a necessary condition, without which ordinarily men cannot believe. So that though we know the names of the writers of the books of holy Scripture by tradition, and that there were no more books, nor no more parts of books of this kind left to posterities by the apostles, but such as the Church delivereth to us; yet it is not consequent that we have no other ground of our persuasion, that the books delivered to us, and the parts thereof, are canonical, but tradition; for the evidence of divine power and majesty shewing itself in them more than in all human compositions whatsoever, proveth them to have proceeded from the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, breathing in them nothing but heavenly grace. "The words of holy Scripture," saith Picus Mirandula², "are rude and plain, but full of life and soul; they have their sting; they pierce and enter in even

¹ Part I. pag. 83, &c.

² Epist. ad Nepotem. [p. 819. ed. fol. Bas. 1601.]

to the most secret spirit, and strangely transform him that with due respect readeth them and meditateth on them. And besides, there are sundry divine and convincing reasons, that the sum of Christian doctrine contained in these books is nothing else but heavenly truth; and being without the compass of that we naturally understand, revealed truth." So that the treatiser doth greatly forget himself when he pronounceth it to be false that I say¹, that the Scriptures win credit of themselves, and yield sufficient satisfaction to all men of their divine truth. This is the sum of all that he hath of traditions. For where he saith, I affirm that "without the Creed of the Apostles we cannot know the Scriptures to be of God;" he sheweth himself to care little whether that he writeth be true or false. For I nowhere have any such thing; but where he saith, I affirm that papists make traditions ecclesiastical equal with the written word of God, and that this is one of my ordinary untruths, he deserveth a sharper censure. For if the reader be pleased to peruse the place cited by him², he shall find that I say no such thing, nor any thing that the pope himself can possibly dislike. For, delivering the opinion of papists touching traditions, their divers kinds, and the credit that is to be given unto them, I shew that they make divine traditions equal with the words, precepts, and doctrines of Christ, left unto us in writing; apostolical, with the written precepts of the apostles; and ecclesiastical, with the written precepts of the pastors of the Church;" confessing that there is no reason why they should not so do, if they could prove any such unwritten traditions. Is this to say that papists make ecclesiastical traditions equal with the written word of God? Is this one of my ordinary untruths? or rather, is not this a bewraying of an extraordinary impudency in him that so saith? Surely I fear the reader will have a very ill conceit of him upon the discerning of this his bad dealing. Yet he goeth forward³, charging me that I "make the baptism of infants to be an unwritten tradition;" whereas yet he knoweth right well, that howsoever I grant it may be named a tradition, in that there is no express precept or example of it in Scripture; yet I affirm that it is no unwritten tradition, in that the grounds, reasons, and causes of the necessity of it,

¹ Pag. 96.² Book iv. cap. xx. [Vol. II. p. 464.]³ Pag. 96.

as instances of unwritten verities, and yet proved as strongly by them out of Scripture, as any other point of faith. For if they shall say, an heretic will not yield himself convinced by such proofs, it will be answered, that no more he will by any other in any other point, nor by the tradition of the Church neither; which yet I suppose they will not make to be a weak proof in that respect.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part I. § 9.)

The next exception taken against me is¹, that I have not well said, that “a man may still doubt and refuse to believe a thing defined in a general council, without heretical pertinacy; and that general councils may err in matters of greatest consequence.” What I have written I will make good against the treatiser. For it is not so strange a thing as he would make us believe, to think that general councils may err, and that a man may doubt of things defined in them, without heretical pertinacy; seeing not only our divines generally so think, but sundry of the best learned in the Roman Church in former times were of the same opinion, as I have elsewhere shewed at large². Neither were it hard to answer the authorities he bringeth to prove that general councils cannot err, if a man would insist upon the particular examination of them. But this may suffice in a generality, that the fathers produced by him blame and condemn in particular the calling of things in question that had been determined in the Council of Nice, and some other of that sort, and not generally the doubting of anything determined in any council, how disorderly soever it proceeded. In the second Council of Ephesus³ there wanted not a sufficient number of worthy bishops, yet because he that took on him the presidentship used not accustomed moderation, neither permitted each man freely to deliver his opinion, it was not accepted, nor the decrees of it received. From the not erring of councils, the treatiser passeth to the question concerning the Church’s authority in making new articles of faith⁴; and seeketh to clear the Roman Church from the impu-

¹ Pag. 99. ² [Field, Book iv. Chaps. v.—xii. Vol. II. p. 434, sqq.]

³ Leo, Epist. 25. [al. 44. Tom. I. col. 909.]

⁴ Pag. 106.

tation of challenging any such authority by my confession; my words alleged by him to this purpose are these: Our adversaries confess that the approbation and determination of the Church cannot make that a truth which was not, nor that a divine or catholic truth, that was not so before. But the good man hath used this poor sentence of mine as Hanun¹ used the messengers of David, whose garments he cut off in the middle; a wrong afterwards severely, and yet most justly, revenged by David. For it followeth in the same sentence, that papists do think that the Church, by her sole and bare determination may make that verity to be in such sort catholic, that every one must expressly believe it that was not so, and in such degree catholic before. Whereby it appeareth that they attribute a power to the Church, in a sort, to make new articles of faith, in that she may make things formerly believed only *implicitè*, to be necessary to be expressly believed, not by evidence of proof, or apparent deduction from things expressly believed, but by her bare and sole authority; which not only we, but sundry right learned, godly, and wise, in the midst of the Church of Rome, ever denied. Wherefore let us pass from this imagined advantage to consider the rest of his exceptions.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part I. § 10.)

In my Third Book, and first chapter, speaking of the patriarch of Constantinople, I have these words: "In the second general council holden at Constantinople he was preferred before the other patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and sat in degree of honour next unto the bishop of Rome: in the great Council of Chalcedon he was made equal with him, and to have all equal rights, privileges, and prerogatives, because he was bishop of New Rome, as the other was of Old." Hereupon the treatiser breaketh out into these words²: "I cannot do otherwise but marvel, that a man of his place and learning doth not blush to commit such a notorious untruth to the print and view of the world. For not to speak of the falsehood of the first part of his affirmation, because it is in some sort impertinent, that which he saith of

¹ 2 Sam. x. 4.

² Pag. 137.

the Council of Chalcedon is most untrue, repugnant to all antiquity, and not only contrary to all proceedings, and the history of the said council, but also to the words of the canon by him alleged." Who would not think that there were some gross oversights committed by me in these passages upon such an outcry? Wherefore let us consider the several parts of this his exception against me.

First, he saith, the bishop of Constantinople was not preferred before the other two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and set in degree of honour next unto the bishop of Rome, in the first Council of Constantinople, as I have said; and that I say untruly, when I say he was. Let us therefore hear the words of the canon itself, and then let the reader judge between us. The words of the third canon of that council are these: *Constantinopolitanus episcopus obtineat præcipuum honorum, ac dignitatem, secundum ac post episcopum Romanum, ideo quod Constantinopolis nova Roma est*: that is, "Let the bishop of Constantinople have the chiefest honour and dignity after the bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is New Rome." If the words of the canon suffice not to justify my assertion, let us hear the treatiser himself: in the same page he citeth these words of the bishops assembled in the Council of Chalcedon, in their synodal epistle to Leo bishop of Rome: "We have confirmed the rule of the hundred and fifty holy fathers, which were gathered together at Constantinople, under Theodosius of happy memory, which commanded that the see of Constantinople, which is ordained the second, and to have second honour, after your most holy and apostolic see," &c. Is not here as much said as I have written? Did not the holy fathers, assembled at Constantinople, decree that the bishop of Constantinople shall be preferred before the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, and sit in degree of honour next unto the bishop of Rome? And do not the fathers in the Council of Chalcedon say they decreed so? Have all these holy fathers committed notorious untruths to the print and view of the world? It is well the treatiser concealed his name, for otherwise he must have heard further from me.

But happily I misreported the Council of Chalcedon when I said that in that council the bishop of Constantinople was made equal with the bishop of Rome, and to have equal

rights, privileges, and prerogatives, because he was bishop of New Rome, as the other of Old. Let us therefore hear the words of the bishops assembled in that council¹: "The fathers," say the bishops of that council, "did rightly give pre-eminences and privileges to the throne of Old Rome, because that city was lady and mistress of the world; and the hundred and fifty bishops, most dearly beloved of God, moved with the same respect, gave equal pre-eminences and privileges to the most holy throne of New Rome, thinking it reasonable that that city, honoured with the imperial seat and senate, and enjoying equal pre-eminences and privileges with the elder princely city, should be made greater than the other in ecclesiastical affairs, being second after it." Of this decree, Nilus², in his book of the primacy of the pope, observeth, first, that in the judgment of these holy bishops the pope hath the primacy from the fathers, and not from the apostles. Secondly, that he hath it in respect of the greatness of his city, being the seat of the empire, and not by reason of his succeeding Peter; which utterly overthroweth the papacy. And therefore this good man, after all this outcry raised against me, as if I had misreported the council, is forced to deny the authority of the canon³, as not being confirmed by the bishop of Rome. See then how he demeaneth himself. First, he urgeth that the bishop of New Rome, or Constantinople, could not have equal privilege with the bishop of Old Rome, because he was to be second and next after him; whereunto Nilus answereth, that if the reason did hold, the bishop of Alexandria could not be equal to the bishop of Constantinople in power and authority, nor the bishop of Antioch unto him; one of these being after another in order and in honour: and thence concludeth, that if the bishop of Antioch might be equal to the bishop of Alexandria, and the bishop of Alexandria to the bishop of Constantinople, notwithstanding the placing of one of them in order and honour, before another, the bishop of Constantinople might be equal to the bishop of Rome, though he were the second and next after him. So that that which this treatiser allegeth, that by the confession of these fathers the

¹ Synodus Chalcedon. Act. 16. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 1733.]

² De Primatu Papæ, Lib. II. [p. 50. 8vo. Hanov. 1601.]

³ Pag. 123.

bishop of Rome had always the primacy, is to no purpose, seeing the primacy he had was but of order and honour, which may be yielded to one amongst them that are equal in power ; in which sense the bishops assembled in the Council of Chalcedon, in their relation to pope Leo, call him their head. Secondly, he confesseth "it may be gathered out of some Greek copies of this council : " he might have said, out of all copies, Greek and Latin, "that by this canon, the bishop of New Rome, or Constantinople, was so made second, after the bishop of Old Rome, that equal privileges were given unto him : " but addeth, that they "were only concerning jurisdiction, to ordain certain metropolitans of the East Church, as the bishop of Rome had the like in the West ; " which evasion serveth not the turn. For the bishops in this council, supposing that the reason why the fathers gave the pre-eminence to the bishop of Rome was the greatness of the city, do thereupon give him the like pre-eminences. So that they meant to make him equal generally, and not in some particular things only. Besides, if they did equal him in jurisdiction, and in the ordination and confirmation of metropolitans, it will follow that they equalled him simply and absolutely. For in the power of order there can be no inequality between him and any other bishop. Thirdly, he saith that the canon of this council is of no authority : and the like he must say of the canons of the first Council of Constantinople, and that in Trullo, and so bear down all that standeth in his way, as Binius¹ and other of his fellows do, who fear not to charge these holy fathers and bishops with lying and falsehood. But how doth he prove that this canon is of no authority ? Surely the only reason he bringeth is, because the legates of the bishop of Rome resisted against it, and the bishop himself never confirmed it ; which is of little force. For we know that, notwithstanding the long-continued resistance of the Roman bishops, yet in the end they were forced to give way to this constitution. So that after the time of Justinian² the emperor, who confirmed

¹ In Notis in Conc. Chalced.

² "Ideoque sancimus secundum earum (synodorum) definitiones, sanctissimum senioris Romæ papam primum esse omnium sacerdotum ; beatissimum autem archiepiscopum Constantinopoleos novæ Romæ secundum habere locum post sanctam apostolicam senioris

the same, they never made any word about it any more. The words of Justinian's confirmation are these: "We ordain, according to the decrees of the holy councils, that the most holy bishop of Old Rome shall be the first of all bishops; and the most blessed bishop of Constantinople, which is New Rome, shall have the second place after the see of Old Rome, and shall be before all the rest in order and honour." Neither did Martian the emperor, as the treatiser most untruly avoucheth, void the canons of these councils, which in this sort were confirmed afterwards by Justinian. Wherefore, seeing it is evident that almost the whole Christian world, in divers general councils, feared not to make another bishop the bishop of Rome's peer, I hope the reader will easily discern that I have not passed the bounds of modesty, nor fallen into any unseemly scoffing and railing vein, as the treatiser chargeth me, when I tax the antichristian and Lucifer-like pride of the Romish antichrist, who, notwithstanding the contradiction of the greatest part of the Christian world, sought to subject all the members of Christ to himself; and pronounced them all to be in the state of damnation that bow not down before him as Vice-God, and supreme commander on earth. But it seemeth he had a great desire, at the least, to seem to say something against me: for otherwise he would not so shamelessly belie me as he doth, when he saith¹, I "would derive the beginning of the pope's superiority from Phocas," whereas, in the place cited by him, I have no such thing, but the contrary. For I affirm, that in the first Council of Constantinople the bishop of that city was set in degree of honour next unto the bishop of Rome, and before the other two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, thereby confessing that the bishop of Rome had the first place at that time: which when the Constantinopolitan bishop sought to have, Phocas so concluded matters between these two bishops, that the bishop of Rome should have the first and chief place in the Church of God, and Constantinople the second; so that the pre-eminence and chieftly which the pope claimeth lawfully was ancient, and not derived from Phocas, how-

Romæ sedem: aliis autem omnibus sedibus præponatur."—Justin. Novell. cxxxi. [Authent. Collat. ix. Tit. 14. cap. 2. Tom. II. p. 184 Corp. Jur. Civil. Gothofredi, fol. Amst. 1663.]

¹ Pag. 139.

soever he might, and happily did, enlarge and extend it farther than was fit, giving him a kind of universality of jurisdiction.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part I. § 11.)

From the primacy of the bishop of Rome the treatiser¹ passeth to the infallibility of his judgment, and affirmeth that his decrees, though he define without a general council, are that firm rock and sure ground upon which our faith is to be builded; and that a man may well admit his definitions, as a ground of supernatural faith, and prudently build an act of such supernatural faith upon it: and yet in the same place confesseth, it is not yet authentically defined that the pope in this sort cannot err. Which thing also Bellarmine² and Stapleton³ acknowledge, professing expressly that it is no matter of faith to believe that the pope cannot err, if he define without a general council: in which passages there is, as I suppose, a most gross contradiction⁴. For how can the infallibility of the pope's judgment be to them a rock to build an act of supernatural faith upon, who neither know nor believe that his judgment is infallible, but think so only? Can a man certainly and undoubtedly build his persuasion of any thing upon his sayings whom he neither knoweth nor believeth to be free from error? Wherefore, for the clearing of this point: first, the treatiser saith, "Though the Church have not authentically defined that the pope cannot err, yet the Scriptures, and other arguments, brought to prove it, are so plain, and there are so many that think so, that a man may very well admit his definitions to be a ground of faith." Whence it will follow, that a man may build his faith upon the Scriptures, and other arguments and reasons, without expecting the resolution of the Church, for the understanding of the one, and discerning of the force and validity of the other: whereas elsewhere he professeth⁵, that "without

¹ Pag. 139.

² De Rom. Pont. Lib. iv. cap. 2. [Tom. i. col. 803.]

³ Relect. Contr. 3. Quæst. 4. [Tom. i. p. 712.]

⁴ [See Field, Book III. Chap. XLV. Vol. i. p. 355.]

⁵ Part i. p. 56.

the resolution of the present Church the letter of holy Scripture, and the works of antiquity, yield no certain and divine argument." Secondly, he contradicteth himself, and denieth the supposed infallibility of the pope's judgment to be the rock on which the Church is builded, and maketh that rock to be only the consenting judgment of the pope and other bishops in a general council, contrary to the opinion of almost all learned and pious men, as he telleth us himself, who think that that infallibility of judgment, and assurance of truth, upon which our faith is to be builded, is not partly in the pope, and partly in other bishops, but altogether in the pope. Thus, seeking to avoid one contradiction, he runneth into many.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part II. § 1.)

Having surveyed the first part of the treatise, and examined such objections as the author of it maketh against me, I will pass to the second; wherein first he goeth about to prove¹ out of that which I have², that bishops assembled in general councils may interpret the Scriptures, and by their authority suppress them that gainsay such interpretations as they consent upon, subjecting them to excommunication, and censures of like nature; that, "according to the providence and wisdom of Almighty God, general councils should not be subject to error in such matters; for that otherwise men might be forced, according to God's ordinance, to obey general councils erring and propounding false doctrine." Which is a very silly kind of reasoning; for in the very same sort, a man may prove that particular bishops are free from erring in their proceedings, and that they can impose and prescribe nothing unjustly, under pain of excommunication; for that otherwise men might be forced, and that according to God's ordinance, to obey such bishops, erring in their proceedings, and commanding unjust things; whereas there is no question to be made, but that they have power to excommunicate who may abuse the same; and that sometimes it is a thing most pleasing unto God, by refusing to obey them that have power to excommunicate, but abuse the same, to run into the utter-

¹ Pag. 35.

² [Field, Book iv. Chap. vi. Vol. ii. p. 409.]

most extremities of their censures; yea, St Augustine¹ pronounceth, that the patient enduring of wrongs in this kind shall be highly rewarded by Almighty God.

Secondly, in the same chapter, labouring to prove that protestants contemn and reject the fathers², and to that purpose wresting some sayings of Doctor Humfrey³ and others, he objecteth, that I “haply may seem to some one, that doth not thoroughly look into my words, to approve the authority of the ancient fathers, as far forth as any catholic; but saith, that in truth I do not.” For proof whereof he setteth down what I have written touching this point: namely, first, that we must receive as true whatsoever hath been delivered by all the saints with one consent, which have left their opinion and judgment in writing; it not being possible that they should all have written of any thing, but that which was generally received in their times, and toucheth the very life of Christian faith. Secondly, whatsoever the most famous have constantly and uniformly delivered as a matter of faith, no man contradicting them, though many be found to have said nothing of it. Thirdly, whatsoever the most famous in every age have constantly delivered, as matter of faith, and received from them that went before them, in such sort that the gainsayers were in their beginnings noted for singularity, novelty, and division, and in process of time, if they persisted in such contradiction, charged with heresy: which is as much as any papist doth say. And then, instead of shewing that I attribute not so much to the fathers as I should do, or as papists do, he turneth himself to shew that such consent of fathers as I speak of is no sure direction for the finding out of the truth: so overthrowing all that which his own divines have delivered touching this point. But yet that he may seem to say something to the purpose, he goeth about to prove that I “bereave the fathers almost of all authority.” First, in that I “reject their testimonies touching all other matters, but only certain principal and substantial points⁴.” Secondly, in that I “require such a general consent as can hardly be found touching such principal points.” Thirdly, in that I “make the whole Church subject to error.” For answer unto these allegations, I say; the first is a shameless untruth,

¹ De Vera Religione, cap. 6. [Tom. i. col. 752.]

² Pag. 40.

³ [In Vit. Jewelli.]

⁴ [Pag. 45.]

for I do not limit or restrain the consent of the fathers to certain principal or substantial points, as he misreporteth me; but make the same to be a direction in all things that may be clearly deduced from the rule of faith, and word of divine and heavenly truth, answerably to that of Vincentius Lirinensis¹, that the consent of holy fathers is with great study and care to be sought out, and followed by us, not in all petite questions that may be moved concerning the divine law, but only, or at the least specially, in things pertaining to the rule of faith; with whom Pererius² agreeth. To the second I say, that I require no other consent of fathers than Vincentius Lirinensis doth; who will have us only to follow that doctrine of the fathers as certain, which all with one consent have holden, written, and taught, that have written of such things. Neither doth this worthy treatiser admit any other consent than I require; for in this same chapter he hath these words. "They will object that every one of the fathers was subject to error." I confess it; but yet God according to his promise, as I have above declared, was so to direct and govern them, that they should not all err. This consent of the fathers we make to be a rule of direction: but yet not so generally and absolutely, as if truth could not at any time be found out without it, but so that we must not neglect the knowledge of it, nor go against it when we know it. Neither is it necessary for the knowledge hereof, as the treatiser objecteth, to read over all the fathers: for the constant concurrence of the principal in all ages, without noted contradiction, doth suffice to assure us of such consent. The third allegation is partly untrue, and partly inconsequent. It is untrue in that he saith I think all the pastors of the present Church may err in matters of greatest moment. It is inconsequent, because though the whole present Church may err in some things, not pertaining to the rule of faith, and general councils, in matters of greatest consequence; yet it followeth not, that the fathers of all times and places may be thought to have erred, seeing this succession of fathers is of greater authority than the company of pastors that now are. Neither is it consequent, that if error may possess the greatest part,

¹ Contra prophanas hæreseon novationes, cap. 39. [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. Tom. vii. p. 261.]

² In Genes. Lib. vii. Quæst. 7. [Tom. i. p. 262.]

or almost all the present Church, that it may be catholic also, and so found every where, and ever. The former Vincen-
tius Lirinensis¹ yieldeth to be possible, but disclaimeth the
latter ; and therefore prescribeth, that if error creep into one
part of the Church, we should look unto other ; that if it en-
deavour to stain and defile all, we should look up higher unto
antiquity ; and that if some have erred amongst the ancient,
we should look what all not noted for singularity did teach.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part II. § 2.)

Wherefore let us proceed to that which followeth in the
next place : first, he reporteth, what I have written touching
the ground of that persuasion which we have of the truth of
things contained in Scripture, and then taketh exceptions to
it. In the report, first he saith, that I make the principal
cause of our belief of things contained in the books of holy
Scripture to be the habit or light of faith. Secondly, that
besides the habit or light of faith, I require reasons or motives,
by force whereof the Spirit of God may settle the mind of a
man in the persuasion of the truth of things contained in
Scripture, that might otherwise be doubted of. Thirdly, that
I make this motive or reason in some things to be the evi-
dence of the things themselves in the light of grace : in other
not so evident unto us, the authority of God himself, whom
we do most certainly discern to speak in the word of faith
preached unto us. These things I confess are delivered by
me, and rightly collected by him out of that which I have
written. Yet doth he wrong some other of the same judg-
ment with me, touching this point, in that he saith untruly,
they reject all supernatural habits, and so goeth about to
make a difference between them and me in this respect, where-
as in truth and in deed there is none. But what is that the
good man doth or can dislike in this my discourse ? First,
he undertaketh to prove², that neither the evidence of the
things contained in Scriptures in themselves, presupposing
the light of grace, nor the authority of God himself, discerned
to speak, can be sufficient motives whereby the Spirit of God
may settle us in the persuasion of the truth of such things as

¹ Cap. 6 [p. 251.]

² Pag. 54.

are therein contained. Whereas yet I think, if he were asked what the motives are, by force whereof the Spirit doth effect this work, if these be not, he would not easily give any answer: but how doth he demonstrate the insufficiency of these motives? Surely very weakly and insufficiently. For first, thus he reasoneth against them: If these motives were of sufficiency, every one enlightened by the light of grace should by virtue of them be persuaded of the heavenly truth of all such things as are contained in the books of God: which is a very bad inference. For by the like kind of reasoning it may be proved, that the evidence of things in the light of nature, is not the motive or inducement that causeth our persuasion touching such things as are known in natural knowledge, because all that have the light of natural reason are not rightly persuaded concerning all such things: which no wise man will allow. So that as it is not to be imputed to the defect of evidence in the things that are to be known in natural knowledge, which should settle the persuasion that all men are not rightly persuaded of them, but to the defect of the light of natural reason found in them, or the want of due consideration and right proceeding in the searching out of such things as are so to be known: so likewise it is not to be imputed to the want of evidence of the truth of the things, or at least of God's speaking in the word of heavenly truth, that all men believe not all the books that are divine and canonical, and the things contained in them; but to the defect of spiritual light in them that should discern such things, or the want of due consideration and right proceeding in the searching out of such things. Secondly, he laboureth to prove¹, that none of the articles of faith, or things believed by us, are evident unto us in the light of faith; whereas yet notwithstanding Hugo de Sancto Victore² saith expressly, that in some the light of divine reason causeth approbation of that they believe; and that in other the purity of the heart and conscience causeth a foretasting of those things which hereafter more fully shall be enjoyed. And Alexander of Ales³ pronounceth, that the things apprehended by us in divine knowledge, are more certainly discerned by such as are spiritual in the certainty of experience, in the certainty which is

¹ Pag. 55. ² In Sententiis. [Tract. i. cap. 3. Tom. III. p. 419.]

³ Summæ Theol. Part. I. Quæst. 2. Memb. 4. Art. 2. [Tom. I. p. 5.]

in respect of affection, and by way of spiritual taste and feeling, than any thing is discerned in the light of natural understanding, according to that of the prophet¹, “How sweet are thy words, O Lord, unto my mouth; they are sweeter than the honey and the honeycomb.” Wherefore, that we may the more distinctly conceive these things, we must observe that there are some things which though without revelation we could not know, yet after they are revealed are evident unto us in the light of grace. As first, that the defects and evils that are found in the nature of man, the blindness of his understanding, the waywardness of his affections, and perverse inclination of his will, were not from the beginning; that having been in all the sons of men, the first parents of mankind fell from their original and primitive estate; and that seeing these evils are found in all, even in little infants new born, the propagation of them is natural, and not by imitation. Secondly, that the very inclinations of our hearts, being naturally evil, in this corrupt state of nature, nothing can change them to good, but God by a special work, above and beyond the course of nature; which therefore may rightly be named grace. Other things there are, which are discerned by spiritual taste and feeling, as the remission of sins, the joy and exultation of heart that is there found where God is present in grace. And a third sort of things there are, which being not discerned to be true either of these two ways, are believed notwithstanding, because delivered unto us by God, whom we discern to speak in the word of heavenly truth. So that the two former sorts of things are evident in themselves to them that are spiritual, the latter in respect of that medium by force whereof they are believed, which is divine authority delivering them unto us; which thing Hugo de Sancto Victore² excellently expresseth. *Credit fides, saith he, quod non vidit, et non vidit quod credit; vidit tamen aliquid per quod admonita est, et excitata credere quod non vidit. Deus sic ab initio notitiam sui ab homine temperavit, ut sicut nunquam quid esset totum poterat comprehendere, sic quod esset, nunquam prorsus posset ignorari. Oportuit ut proderet se occultum Deus ne totus celaretur, et*

¹ Psal. cxviii. [al. cxix. 103.]

² Erudit. Theolog. de Sacramentis Fidei, Lib. 1. Part. 3. cap. 1, 2. [Tom. II. p. 504.]

prorsus nesciretur, et rursus ad aliquid proditum se et agnitum occultaret ne totus manifestaretur, ut aliquid esset quod cor hominis enutriret cognitum, et rursus aliquid quod absconditum provocaret: that is, “Faith believeth that it never saw, and it never saw that which it doth believe, yet it saw something by which it was admonished and stirred up to believe that which it saw not. God from the beginning did so temper the revealing of himself to be known of men, that as it could never be wholly comprehended what he was, so it might never be altogether unknown that he was. It was fit therefore that God should manifest himself formerly hid, that he might not be wholly hidden, and no knowledge had of him: and again, that having in some sort revealed and made himself known, he should so hide himself, as not wholly to be manifested; that there might be something, which being known, might nourish the heart of man; and again something, which being hid, might provoke and stir men up to a desire of attaining some farther thing.”

These things it seemeth the treatiser thought not of, and therefore denieth¹ that “there is any motive sufficient to make a man believe the articles of the faith, setting aside the mean supernatural by which they are propounded;” and thereupon asketh me² what maketh me believe the articles of the Trinity, the two distinct natures in Christ in the unity of the same person, and the resurrection of the dead? Whereunto I answer, that the thing that moveth me so to believe is the authority of the Scripture, which is the word of God; and that I believe it to be the word of God, because I do most certainly discern him to speak in the same; and a certain divine force and majesty to present itself unto me, though the profane treatiser professeth³ he knoweth not “what that authority and majesty of God is which is discerned in the sacred Scriptures, nor how we discern it;” which is not to be marvelled at, seeing blind men cannot discern the difference of colours; but that there is something more than human discernible in the Scripture, all devout and religious men will acknowledge with us. “Believe me,” saith Picus Mirandula, “there lieth hid in the Scripture a secret virtue, strangely altering and changing them that in due sort are conversant in the same.” So that the reason that all do not discern the

¹ Pag. 55.² Pag. 56.³ Pag. 56.

majesty of God in all books that are divine, and that some doubt of such as others admit, is not because such a divine power is not discernible in them, but because there is some defect in the parties not discerning the same.

To the former most weak reasons, brought to prove the insufficiency of those inducements or reasons, by which we think the Spirit of God settleth us in a persuasion of the truth of things contained in the Scripture, first, he addeth an untruth, to wit, that I deny those parts of Scripture which rehearse matters of fact to be known to be divine by the authority of God himself, discerned to speak in the word of faith. And secondly, an objection that men cannot know the Scripture to be divine, by discerning the majesty of God speaking in them, unless they read, or hear every part of them read over, which is very hard to be done by every one. Whereunto we answer according to their own grounds, that those parts of divine and canonical Scripture which particularly we have not read or considered are only *implicitè* and virtually believed of us, as likewise the things that are contained in them: neither should this seem strange to the Romanists; for they think it pertaineth to the faith of each Christian man to believe all the books of holy Scripture to be undoubtedly true, and indited by the Spirit of God. Yet are there many amongst them that neither know how many nor which these books are; but believe them virtually only, as it appertaineth to the faith to believe that Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, fled into Egypt, and that Paul mediated for the reconciling of Onesimus to Philemon; but it is sufficient for men that never read or considered these particulars to believe them virtually. Thirdly, he chargeth us with contrariety in our sayings, in that we make the Scripture to be the ground and rule of our faith, and yet make the light of faith a mean whereby we come to the knowledge of Scripture; because, as he thinketh, the Scripture cannot be a rule of our faith, unless it be certainly known to be divine before we believe. But the good man should know that the Scripture may be the rule of our faith, directing us touching such particular things as we are to believe, though it be not known to be divine before we believe. For first, God giveth us the eyes of faith, and openeth our understandings, that we may see and discern in general heavenly truth to be contained in Scripture; and then it

becometh a rule of direction in all particular points of faith. Fourthly, he imputeth to us¹ that we rely upon “illuminations” and “inspirations” in the things we believe, as if we believed them without any other proof or demonstration, upon bare imagined inspirations; whereas we believe nothing without such proofs and motives as all men may take notice of; and yet know right well that none do make right use thereof but such as have their understandings enlightened². So that his reasoning against the certainty of this illumination is idle, seeing we do not make illumination or inspiration the ground of our persuasion touching things to be believed; but a disposition of the mind making us capable of the apprehension of things that are divine and heavenly. This illumination is in some more, and in some less; but in all the chosen servants of God, such as sufficeth for the discerning of all saving truth, necessary to be known of each man according to his estate and condition. Fifthly, besides idle repetition of things going before, to which he referreth himself, and some untruths mingled with the same; first, he chargeth me that I am contrary to myself in delivering the opinions of papists. The first supposed contradiction is, in that I affirm that it is the ordinary opinion of papists that the articles of faith are believed because God revealeth them, and yet say in another place that they make the authority of the Church the rule of our faith, and reason why we believe. The second, in that I charge the papists in one place that they give authority to the Church to make new articles of faith, and in another place free them from the same. This latter supposed contrariety I shewed before to be none at all but in the treatiser’s imagination only; and touching the first, if he were a man of any common understanding, or knew what contrariety is, he would not charge me with any such thing. For it is true that all papists think the articles of faith are to be believed because revealed; but they think also that we know not that they are revealed, but believe so only, and that not by reason of any divine revelation, testimony, or authority, but because the Church so telleth us, and we have many human inducements moving us so to persuade ourselves; so that they make the authority of the Church and human inducements the last and final reason of believing whatsoever they believe. This the

¹ Pag. 61.

² [Field, Book iv. Chap. xvi. Vol. ii. p. 446.]

treatiser knew well enough, and therefore he requireth me to shew¹ how I “know that God revealeth the things believed by Christians, if I will not fall into the same fault for which I blame them.” Whereunto I answer, that I know the Scriptures to be inspired of God by the divine force and majesty that sheweth itself in them; in which sense I say the books of Scripture win credit of themselves, and yield sufficient satisfaction to all men of their divine truth. For as the colour in each thing maketh it visible and to be seen, so the divine power and virtue that sheweth itself in the Scripture maketh us to believe that it is of God. But the treatiser will not thus leave me, but still goeth on adding one unjust imputation to another. For whereas we say only, the Scriptures are not discerned to be divine and inspired of God, unless we be enlightened by grace, and not that they are proved to be divine by the certainty of that illumination; he maketh us², whether we will or not, to prove the Scriptures by our inspirations, and that we are inspired by the Scriptures; whereas we prove neither the one nor the other of these things in any such sort. For, touching the Scripture, I have sufficiently shewed before how we know it to be divine; and for the other, the treatiser should know that we do not prove by Scripture that we are divinely enlightened and inspired, but that as natural reason hath a direct act whereby she apprehendeth things without, and a reflexed act whereby taking a view of the former direct acts, she findeth out herself; so the light of faith first discovereth heavenly virtues in the Scripture, such as natural reason never could find out, and then by reflexion findeth itself to be of another nature and kind than that rational understanding that was before. Wherefore let us go forward. Did not mine eyes see, and my hands handle the palpable absurdities of this treatiser, I would not believe any man’s report, that one so void of all sense and reason as he every way sheweth himself to be, should be permitted to write. For whereas I bring a most clear sentence out of Augustine to prove, that howsoever the authority of the Church serve as an introduction to bring us to the spiritual discerning of divine things, yet men rest not in it; he answereth, that Augustine in the chapter cited by me, “affirmeth only, that because all men are not capable at first

¹ Pag. 65.² Pag. 66.

to understand the sincere wisdom and truth taught in the Church, God hath ordained in it a motive which may first move them to seek it¹;" to wit, the authority of the Church, which partly through miracles, partly through multitudes, is of force to move; which no way taketh anything from, but rather addeth strength to, my proofs; for if these motives be necessary only at the first, before men be purged and made pure in heart, that they may discern and see the light of heavenly truth, it is evident that in Augustine's judgment the authority of the Church serveth but as an introduction, and that the thing which right believers rest upon is of a higher nature, to wit, the discerning of heavenly truth. Wherefore finding himself too weak to give any substantial answer, he betaketh himself to a most silly exception, pretending that I have not truly translated these words of Augustine: *præsto est autoritas, quam partim miraculis, partim multitudine valere nemo ambigit*: "authority is ready at hand, which standeth upon two things, the one the greatness of miracles done, the other multitude." Is this a false translation? hath the authority of the Church that force which it hath to move men to believe, partly by reason of miracles, and partly by reason of multitude; and may it not be truly said, that it standeth partly upon the greatness of miracles wrought, and partly upon multitudes? but *valere* doth not signify to stand upon; it is true it doth not; yet what boy in the grammar school will not laugh at him for thus childishly demeaning himself? for what man of understanding would call men to construe every word precisely as it importeth by itself, without consideration of the coherence it hath with other in the same sentence? Besides this place of Augustine there is another cited by me out of Hugo, where he maketh three sorts of believers, whereof the first are such as are moved out of piety to believe, which yet discern not by reason whether the things they believe are to be believed or not. The second, such who by reason approve that which by faith they believe. The third sort are such as by reason of the purity of their heart and conscience begin inwardly to taste what by faith they believe. This place maketh strongly for the confirmation of that I say, that the evidence of sundry things in the light of faith and grace is that formal reason which assureth us of the

¹ Pag. 66.

truth of them. For here Hugo affirmeth, that the best sort of believers do approve by reason, or by taste inwardly discern the things they believe to be true. So that such approbation or spiritual taste is the reason of their persuasion of the truth of these things. To this authority the treatiser hath nothing to say, but that it "maketh nothing to the purpose¹," and that if I meant to translate the words of Hugo, I have not exactly translated them. Whether the saying of Hugo be to the purpose or not, I will leave it to the judgment of the reader; but as for his other exception, I would have him know, and any sensible reader will very easily discern, that I meant not exactly to translate his words, but at large to set down the intent and drift of them, which I have most truly performed; and therefore he doth me wrong when he saith, I deal corruptly and untruly. In the third place he endeavoureth to make his reader believe there is a contrariety between me and Luther and Brentius; in that Luther, with whom Brentius seemeth to agree, maketh the Scripture to be of itself a most certain, most easy, and most manifest interpreter of itself, proving, judging, and enlightening all things; and I acknowledge many difficulties in it. But if the treatiser had been pleased to have taken things aright, he could not but have seen that Luther also acknowledgeth manifold difficulties in the Scripture (yea, he doth see it and acknowledge it, and yet will not see it); and therefore that he be not contrary to himself, when he affirmeth that the Scriptures are easy, interpret themselves, and judge and enlighten all things, he must be understood to mean, that notwithstanding some difficulties, they are not so obscure and hard as that heretics may wrest and abuse them at their pleasure, and no man be able to convince them out of the evidence of those sacred writings, as the Romanists imagine, but that we may be so assured out of the Scripture itself, and the nature of the things therein contained, that we have the true meaning of it, that we need not altogether to rest in the authority of the Church: which explication of Luther's words² the treatiser might have found in the place cited by him if he had been pleased, and so have omitted the urging of this imagined contradiction.

¹ Pag. 67.

² Luth. Præfat. in Dissert. Art. a Leone X. damnatorum. [Tom. II. fol. 94.]

(A TREATISE, &c. Part II. § 3.)

The fourth thing that he proposeth which concerneth me is¹, that I mention a rule of faith according to which the Scriptures are to be interpreted, which, if we neglect, all other considerations are insufficient; and the like he allegeth out of the Harmony of Confessions; whence he inferreth that we admit another guide in interpreting the Scripture, besides the letter of the Scripture. But he should know that the rule of faith mentioned by me, delivered to us from hand to hand by the guides of God's Church, containeth nothing in it but that which is found in Scripture, either expressly or by necessary implication, so that though we admit another guide in the interpretation of Scripture besides the bare letter, yet we admit no other but that form of Christian doctrine which all right-believing Christians, taught by the apostles and apostolic men, have ever received as contained in the Scripture, and thence collected. To this he addeth an excellent observation², which is, that I "seem to confess that St Paul sometimes by the works of the law understandeth the works of the law of Moses³," in that I say that "that apostle pronounceth that the Galatians were bewitched, and that if they still persisted to join circumcision and the works of the law with Christ, they were fallen from grace, and Christ could profit them nothing." But he needed not thus to mince the matter, for I willingly confess that Paul not sometimes only, but ever understandeth by the works of the law, the works of Moses' law. Neither can there anything be inferred thence for the papists, or against us. For whereas by the works of the law some understand those works which the ceremonial law prescribed; other such as the moral law requireth; and a third sort, such as by terror it worketh in men, or causeth them to work, without any change of the heart, (which cannot be wrought but only by grace); and the papists think that when the apostle saith we are justified by faith without works, he excludeth not such works as the moral law requireth, but such as the ceremonial law prescribeth, and the moral law worketh in men: we teach that he excludeth all these. So that a man, repenting and believing, may be

¹ Pag. 82.² Pag. 109.³ [Field, Book I. chap. xviii. Vol. I. p. 58]

saved, though having never done any good work, he be taken out of this world before he can do any. It is true indeed that good works do necessarily follow justification, if time do serve, and opportunity be offered ; yet are they no meritorious causes of salvation.

But the treatiser will prove¹ out of that which I have written, that they are meritorious, and that faith only doth not justify. That good works are meritorious, he endeavour-eth to prove, because I confess that men justified freely by grace are crowned in the world to come, for that new obedience that is found in them after justification. But this consequence I suppose will not be thought good, seeing, as Cas-sander² rightly noteth out of Bucer, God in respect of good works, or having an eye to them, or for good works, giveth not only temporal but eternal rewards, not for the worthiness of the works in themselves, but out of his own grace for the merit of Christ, first working such good works in them that are his, and then crowning his own works in them, as Augustine long since aptly observed. Let us see therefore if he can prove any better that faith only doth not justify. This he undertaketh to do out of that which I have written, that justification implieth in it faith, hope, and charity. But for the clearing of this point, let him be pleased to observe, that by the name of justification sometimes nothing is meant but an adjudging of eternal life unto us, sometimes the whole translation of a man out of the state of sin and wrath into a state of righteousness and acceptation with God ; which implieth in it sundry things concurring in very different sort, without any prejudice to the singular prerogative of faith³. For first, it implieth in it a work of Almighty God, as the supreme and highest cause. Secondly, the merits of Christ, as the means whereby God is reconciled, and induced to take us into his favour. Thirdly, in him that is to be justified, a certain persuasion of the truth of such things as are contained in the holy Word of God. Fourthly, motions of fear, contrition, hope of mercy, and the like works of preparing grace, as causes disposing and fitting him that is to be justified, that he may be capable of God's favour. Fifthly, as the

¹ Pag. 110.

² Consultati. Art. 6.

³ Vide Antididag. Colon. de Justificatione et Causis per quas justificamur.

susceptive cause, an act of faith, by which a man truly repenting of former evils, and seeking deliverance, without all doubting, firmly believeth that all his sins are remitted him for Christ's sake. Lastly, an infusion of the habit of divine and heavenly virtues, as a beginning of that life of God, to which he doth adjudge them whom he receiveth to favour. So that my saying¹, that justification thus taken implieth in it faith, hope, and charity, contrarieth not our position, that faith only justifieth, in sort before expressed, which the treatiser knowing right well, insisteth no longer upon this cavil, but passeth to an untruth, charging me that I say of St Augustine (whom yet I pronounce to have been "the greatest of all the fathers, and the worthiest divine the Church of God ever had since the apostles' times,") that "his manner of delivering the article of justification is not full, perfect, and exact²," as if I imputed some fault to him in not delivering the point of justification as it became him; whereas I have no such thing, but say only that his manner of delivering that article was not so full, perfect, and exact, as we are forced to require in these times against the errors of the Romanists; in which saying I no way blame that worthy father, but shew that new errors require a more exact manner of handling of things than was necessary before such errors sprung up; which I think no wise man will deny, and am well assured this treatiser cannot deny, unless he will be contrary to himself. For he saith expressly³ that "St Augustine, before some articles of Christian religion were so thoroughly discussed and defined in the Church, as afterwards upon the rising of new heresies, spake not so aptly and properly as was needful in succeeding times, and therefore retracted some things which he had formerly uttered." So that the reader will easily find that in this passage he hath said less than nothing; neither will his next discourse be found any better⁴, wherein he laboureth to shew a contrariety between me, and Luther, Calvin, and others, in that I "make that act of faith which obtaineth and procureth our justification, to be an act by way of petition, humbly intreating for acceptation and favour, and not of comfortable assurance," consisting in a full persuasion that through Christ's merits we

¹ Pag. 113.² [Field, Book III. Chap. XLII. Vol. I. p. 343.]³ Pag. 187.⁴ Pag. 114.

are the children of God; whereas Luther, Calvin, and the rest, make justifying faith to be an assured persuasion that through Christ's merits we are the sons of God. But the treatiser might easily know, if he were disposed, that, according to our opinion¹, justifying faith hath some acts, as a cause disposing, preparing, and fitting us to the receipt of that gracious favour, whereby God doth justify us; and other as a susceptible cause, receiving, embracing, and enjoying the same. In the former respect, neither they nor I make faith to consist in a persuasion that we are the sons of God; in the latter we both do, and so agree well enough, though the treatiser, it seemeth, could wish it were otherwise.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part II. § 4.)

Wherefore let us go forward, and take a view of that which followeth. The next thing which he hath that concerneth me is, that it may be gathered out of my assertions in my Third Book of the Church², that I think (as he saith some other also do) that it is no fundamental point of doctrine, but a thing indifferent, to believe, or not to believe, the real, that is, the local presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. But I am well assured there can no such thing be gathered out of any of the places cited by him, unless it be lawful for him to reason *a baculo ad angulum*, as often as he doth. For in the pages 120 and 121 of his Second Part, because I confess that in the primitive Church the manner of some was to receive the sacrament in the public assembly, and not be partakers of it presently, but to carry it home; that the sacrament was carried by the deacons to the sick; that in places where they communicated every day, there was a reservation of some parts of the sanctified elements, and that the sanctified elements thus reserved in reference to an ensuing receiving of them, were the body of Christ, to wit, in mystery and exhibitivè signification; he goeth about to conclude that I must needs confess the real, that is, the local presence of Christ's body in the sacrament; which consequence is

¹ [Field, Book III. Chap. XLIV. Vol. I. p. 351.]

² [Chap. XXXVIII. Vol. I. p. 315.]

no better than if a man should go about to conclude that this treatiser hath written a good and profitable book, because he hath troubled the world with one, such as it is, full of vain, idle, and empty discourses; whereof if any man make doubt, let him consider but the very next words. For, whereas I confessed Calvin's dislike of the reservation anciently used, and yet said, it cannot be proved that he denied the sacramental elements, consecrated and reserved for a time in reference to an ensuing receiving of them, to be sacramentally the body of Christ; he saith, I labour in vain, because Calvin doth expressly condemn these reservations, which I confessed before; but no way goeth about to make good the consequence which I denied, to wit, that therefore he thought the sanctified elements so reserved not to be sacramentally the body of Christ. For that which he hath, that Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon, and almost all protestants, hold the Eucharist to be no permanent thing, but to be the sacrament only when it is received, hath no more force of proof than the rest of his frivolous discourses; seeing it is most evident that the protestants named by him have no such meaning, that the sanctified elements in the holy Eucharist are no sacrament but precisely in the very receiving of them; for then they should be no sacrament in the hand of the minister, and on the holy table, but only in the hand or mouth of the communicant; but that they are no sacrament but in reference to the use to which they were appointed by Almighty God, as I have shewed at large in the place against which this treatiser quarrelleth.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part II. § 5.)

Let us therefore proceed to see what he hath more to say. In my Fourth Book¹, writing of the things required for the attaining of the right understanding of the Scripture, I say, "some things are required as making us capable of such understanding, and other as means whereby we attain unto it." Amongst the things required, as making us capable of the right understanding of Scripture, I reckon the illumination of the understanding, and a mind free from the thought of

¹ Chap. xix. [Vol. II. p. 459.]

other things, depending on God as the fountain of illumination, and desirous to find out the truth, with resolution to embrace it, although contrary to the conceits of natural men. The means whereby we attain to the right understanding of holy Scripture I make to be of two sorts, some disposing and preparing only, as often reading, meditating, and praying, some guiding us in the search itself, and these I make to be five. Whereof the first is the knowledge of the rule of faith, and the practice of the saints according to the same. The second, a due consideration what will follow upon our interpretation, agreeing with, or contrary to, the things received amongst Christians. In which consideration the conference of other places of Scripture is necessary. The third, the consideration of the circumstances of the places interpreted, the occasion of the words, the things going before, and following after. The fourth, the knowledge of all those histories, arts, and sciences, which may help us. The fifth, the knowledge of the original tongues, and the phrases and idiotisms of the same. In all these passages, as I think, there is nothing that the devil himself dareth gainsay; yet as if I had uttered some strange paradoxes, and things never heard of before, the treatiser saith, my doctrine is "commonly singular¹," inso-much that he professeth he "thinketh he may very well in some sort liken the platform, or order and faith of a Church set down in my books of that argument, to Sir Thomas More's Utopia, and that there neither is, nor ever was, any such Church in the world as I describe;" and thereupon maketh show as if he would confute every word that I have in the place cited by him. Verily I think it will not be safe for me to write or say that there is a God, that God made heaven and earth, or that he sent his Son into the world; for he impugneth things as clear as any of these, as that an illumination of the mind is necessary to the understanding of the Scripture inspired of God, and the things contained in it; seeing the natural man perceiveth not the things of God, which are spiritually discerned; whereas yet we shall find that he can say nothing against the necessity of such divine illumination for the understanding of the Scripture, but he might say as much against the necessity of the light of natural reason for the understanding of things naturally discernible. For he

¹ Pag. 149.

might ask, as now he doth touching this illumination, how a man knoweth he hath reason, or the use of reason, and is not mad or drunk, seeing such men as are so distempered think they have the use of reason as well as any other; and one kind of answer will serve for both these doubts. For as men know they have reason by the discerning of such things as are not discernible by the senses or sensitive faculties which are organical, so faithful and believing men, that have their minds enlightened, know they have received such a new illumination, in that they discern things which before by the dim sight of nature they could not, and as men that are sober and in their right wits do certainly know they are so, though such as are mad or drunk think they are when they are not, and so deceive themselves. So men that have true illumination of grace may certainly know they have it, though some frantic and brain-sick men think they have it when they have it not. The weakness of this assault it seemeth the treatiser did perceive, and therefore he assaileth us another way, and undertaketh to prove that it is not necessary a man should be spiritual before he understandeth the Scriptures, because then it would be consequent that our faith could not be builded upon Scripture, as we think it is. But I doubt he will have as bad success as before. For as there must be a natural light of reason shining in men before anything naturally discernible can evidently appear unto them to be that it is; and yet the persuasion men have touching the being of such things, buildeth itself upon such evidence; so likewise there must be a light of grace shining in the understanding of men before they can understand the Scripture, and yet the persuasion they have of the truth of divine things may and doth build itself upon the Scriptures, understood through such light.

Wherefore let us see what he hath yet more to say. Whereas besides an illumination, I require in him that will understand the Scriptures, a mind free from the thought of other things, depending upon God as the fountain of illumination, and desirous of truth with resolution to embrace it, though contrary to the conceit of natural men; besides his former exception already answered, he addeth these words: "I dislike these words, 'desirous of truth, with resolution to embrace it'." The like whereunto I protest I never read,

¹ [Pag. 151.]

nor heard to come from any man. For is it possible there should any such man be found that should dislike it in us, that we require in him that will understand the Scripture, a mind desirous of truth, with resolution to embrace it? Surely it is, for we have met with such an one; but he hath taken order by concealing his name, that no man shall make him blush by looking on him. This doubtless is one of the sons of Belial that have cast off the yoke, that neither fear God, nor reverence men. But what reason doth he give of his dislike? These words, he saith, seem to pretend a kind of doubting or staggering which must not be allowed, especially in such men as are spiritual. As if a spiritual man might doubt of nothing, nor be ignorant of nothing; whereas yet all men know St Augustine, St Hierome, and other holy fathers, who as we think were spiritual, doubted of the meaning of sundry passages of holy Scriptures, and left many questions unresolved. If happily he say, men may not doubt of matters of faith, and that therefore they must not be said to have minds desirous of truth, with resolution to embrace it; it will be answered, that no man professing himself to be a Christian ought to doubt of such things as all Christians are bound expressly to believe; yet are there many matters of faith, that is, such as must be believed at least *implicitè*, that faithful men may doubt of and inquire after. Yea, at first when a man beginneth to believe, he doubteth of all points of faith, and must be settled in the same by the Scriptures interpreted unto him, the divine illumination of grace making him understand them.

Thirdly, whereas I reckon the knowledge of the rule of faith, and the practice of the saints according to the same, amongst the means which are necessary for the understanding of the Scripture, and define that rule; first, to be the summary comprehension of such principal articles of divine knowlege as are contained in the Creed of the Apostles, and are the principles whence all other things are derived; secondly, all such things as all Christians are bound to believe expressly, and which have been ever constantly believed by all such as have not been noted for singularity and novelty: he saith, "most men will dislike my doctrine¹," and pronounceth this rule to be very uncertain²; and yet presently

¹ Pag. 151.

² Ibid.

forgetting himself, addeth, that he hath proved in the first part of this treatise¹, that in very deed the Scriptures ought to be interpreted according to the rule of faith, that is, the sum of Christian religion preserved as a *depositum* in the Church². But some man happily will say, that howsoever he forgetteth himself, yet he hath good advantage against us. For first, he argueth, that if the Scripture be to be interpreted according to the rule of faith, the rule of faith itself is not known and believed through the authority of the Scripture. Secondly, he saith, the practice of the saints from the beginning, to which I require men to have an eye in interpreting Scripture, can very hardly be gathered out of the monuments of antiquity according to my grounds. For answer to which objections: first, I say, that the particular and several parts of Scripture must be interpreted according to the rule of faith, that is, the sum of Christian doctrine received in the Church; and that yet the same sum of Christian doctrine is no otherwise to be received by us, but because it hath been delivered by the Church as gathered out of the due comparing of one part of Scripture with another, and from thence confirmed and proved. Neither must we firmly rest in the direction of it, till the Church make us see and discern how it is gathered out of several places of Scripture laid together. Secondly, that the practice of the saints may be known out of the monuments of antiquity, so far forth as is necessary for the helping of us to understand the Scriptures, without any such difficulty as the treatiser imagineth. For example, when St Augustine was to interpret certain places of Scripture touching the derivation of sin from Adam, and to clear the point whether it were by natural propagation, or by imitation only, as the Pelagians thought, it was not hard for him to know that the Church did ever most carefully present her new-born infants to baptism before they could be misled and drawn away to evil, by following the example of Adam's disobedience; and thence to infer, that she ever believed that infants are conceived and born in sin, and consequently that the propagation of sin from Adam is natural, and not by imitation only.

The fourth thing that I require in him that will take upon him to interpret the Scripture, is a due consideration what will follow upon his interpretation, agreeing with, or

¹ [Part I. Chap. 7. § 5. p. 75.]

² Pag. 152.

contrary to, the things generally received and believed amongst Christians; against which he hath nothing to say; yet that he might be thought to say something, first he challengeth Luther for not observing this rule; and secondly, affirmeth that it is insufficient if at any time almost all Christians may err¹, as I teach. But first, concerning Luther, the good man should know that he cannot justly be charged with the breach of this rule, seeing he broached no new doctrine in the Church, as the treatiser untruly affirmeth, but such as had the testimony of antiquity, and the allowance of innumerable Christians in his time, as well in the West as in the East. And secondly, that the possibility of the erring of the greatest part of the Church prejudiceth not this rule, he might, if he pleased, learn out of Vincentius Lirinensis², who acknowledgeth that sometimes error may overspread almost all the present Church, and prescribeth that in such a case men should look up higher into antiquity.

The two other ensuing rules, to wit, consideration of the circumstances of the places interpreted, the occasion of the words, the things going before and following after, and the knowledge of all such histories, arts, and sciences, as may help us in interpreting the Scripture, he passeth over as necessary, though not sufficient of themselves alone. The knowledge of the original tongues he acknowledgeth to be profitable³, but will not admit it to be necessary, especially according to the conceit of the Romanists: first, because they are sure they have the Scriptures rightly translated; secondly, because they make not the Scripture the propounder of their belief, but expound it according to the rule of faith delivered and received. In which passages he bewrayeth gross ignorance. For first, the Romanists are not sure that they have the Scripture truly translated, as it appeareth by that which Andradius⁴ hath written: who proveth at large, that though the vulgar translation were allowed of by the Council of Trent, as containing nothing in it whence any heresy or error in faith may be inferred, yet is it not without many and great mistakings. And secondly, if they were sure, yet, as Melchior Canus⁵ sheweth, the knowledge of tongues is

¹ Pag. 152. ² Cont. Proph. Hæres. Novationes. cap. 6. [p. 251.]

³ Pag. 152.

⁴ Defens. Fid. Trident.

⁵ Loc. Theol. Lib. II.

needful for the finding out of the meaning of sundry particular places of Scripture, by reason of some ambiguity or obscurity in the translation. Thirdly, for that though the rule of faith serve for direction in generality, so that following the same we may be sure not to decline from the truth of doctrine, yet will not that rule secure us from all erring and swerving in the meaning of each place in particular, so that in the want of the knowledge of the tongues may be, and is, most necessary.

After all these exceptions taken against the helps and rules proposed by me for the finding out of the meaning of Scripture, the treatiser¹ setteth on me again in a fiercer manner than before, and requireth me to bring some "divine testimony, proof, or argument, or some particular reason of the necessity and sufficiency of these helps and rules." Whereunto I briefly answer, that if any person under heaven can take any exception against any of these helps and rules proposed by me, or devise any other which will justify the necessity and sufficiency of them: but he cannot, I think it altogether needless to prove that the sun shineth at noon, or to shew by reason or authority that spiritual things cannot be discerned but by spiritual means. The treatiser therefore returneth and taketh new exceptions against the helps and rules proposed by me: first, saying, but most untruly, that the greater part of men will not allow them; and secondly, labouring to overthrow them by reason.

For first, that an illumination of the mind is not necessary for the understanding of the Scripture, he goeth about to prove, saying, if such illumination be necessary, no man can be assured of the truth of another man's interpretation,

and no man can tell whether he have an illumination of the understanding, and a mind disposed in such sort as is required, or not. Whereunto I answer, that it is true, that no man can assure himself that another man's interpretation is true and good, out of any knowledge of such personal things in the interpreter, yet may he know it to be true out of the nature of the thing itself, and thence infer, that either he that so interpreteth, or they from whom he received such interpretation, had a divine illumination. For even as to discourse of the nature of colours, presupposeth that the man that so discourseth hath or had sight, if he speak thereof

¹ Pag. 153.

with any apprehension of that he speaketh, (though a blind man having heard the discourses of other, may use like words without all sense and apprehension of that he speaketh); so no man can interpret the Scriptures, and discourse of the things therein contained, with sense and feeling, but such a one whose mind is enlightened; though profane persons, and such as be void of all divine illumination, may as from others interpret the Scripture, and discourse of such divine things as are therein. And as a man may assure himself that another man's discourse of colours is good, out of the nature of the thing itself, though he know not whether he have, or ever had, such sense of seeing as is requisite in him that will speak of colours with any apprehension; so a man may know that another man's interpretation is true, though he know not whether he have such an illumination of mind as is necessary for the understanding of the things contained in the Scripture.

Secondly, he undertaketh to shew¹, that no man can either assure himself that he hath the true meaning of Scripture, or convince the gainsayers by following the direction of the former rules, because, as he supposeth, a man cannot certainly know that he hath an illumination of mind; that he hath observed those rules; that he is disposed as he should be, and furnished with learning in such sort as is requisite. Whereunto first I answer briefly, that it is as possible for a man to know whether he have an illumination of the mind or not, as it is whether he have the light of natural reason. Secondly, that the observation of the rules formerly mentioned, and the disposition of a man's mind resolved to embrace the truth, may as easily be known as any other motions, purposes, and resolutions. Neither is it more hard for a man that is spiritual to know whether he be sufficiently furnished with learning requisite for the understanding of the Scripture, than for a natural man to know whether he have learning enough to understand Aristotle, or any other profane author.

Thirdly, in confutation of the former rules, he allegeth that they may not be admitted as necessary, because if they be, all such as have no illumination of mind, nor willing disposition to embrace the truth when it shall be manifested to them, must be excluded out of the number of faithful ones.

¹ Pag. 153, 154.

Which if he think to be an absurdity, it is no great matter what he saith ; but he addeth, that they that are unlearned have not the knowledge of all those arts and sciences that are necessary for the understanding of sundry parts of Scripture, nor of those original tongues wherein they were written, without the knowledge whereof they cannot be understood ; whereas yet they are to build their faith upon the Scripture rightly understood ; whence it will follow, that all such must be excluded out of the number of the faithful. This indeed is such a consequence as must not be admitted, neither is there any such thing consequent upon that which we say. For though all men have not that knowledge of arts, sciences, and tongues, that is necessary for the exact understanding of all parts and passages of Scripture, yet may they understand so much of the same as is necessary to salvation, without the knowledge of arts and sciences : the things that are so precisely necessary being delivered in very plain, easy, and familiar terms. Neither is it necessary that if a man will build his faith upon the Scripture, that he must understand every part of it. Only one scruple remaineth, which is, that an ignorant man can have no certain ground of his faith, if he build the same upon the Scripture, because lacking the knowledge of tongues he cannot know whether it be truly translated or not ; but this scruple may easily be removed, seeing an ignorant man, out of the Scripture itself duly proposed, explained, and interpreted unto him, may know it to be divine, heavenly, and inspired of God ; and consequently, that in what tongue soever it was written, it is truly translated touching the substance, howsoever happily there may be some accidental aberrations whereof he cannot judge.

After these exceptions taken against the helps and rules proposed by me, as necessary for the finding out of the sense and meaning of the Scripture, the treatiser, observing no order in his way, addresseth himself to prove that we have no certain means whereby to know that the Scriptures are of God, for which they be ; and then returneth again to prove that we have no certain rule whereby to be assured we have the sense of them. But all that he saith to this purpose may easily be answered. For first, the truth of Christian doctrine is divinely proved unto us by the satisfaction we find in the same, touching things wherein natural reason left us unre-

solved, and the effects we find to follow upon the receiving of it. Secondly, that Christian doctrine is revealed, it is evident, because staying within the confines of the light of natural reason, we can discern no such things as in this heavenly doctrine are manifested to us. Thirdly, the revelation that is now, being mediate, and depending on a former, it must of necessity be granted that there was a first and immediate revelation of the things that are believed. Fourthly, that that immediate revelation was without mixture of error, there being no imperfection found in any of God's immediate workings. Fifthly, that whatsoever books they wrote, to whom that immediate revelation of heavenly truth was granted, are divine, without mixture of error, and canonical. Sixthly, that all such books as are recommended to us by the consenting testimony of all Christians, not noted for singularity, novelty, or heresy, as written by those who first learned the doctrine of heavenly truth from God himself, must be acknowledged to have been written by them. Which persuasion is confirmed, in that when we read and meditate upon the books so commended to us, we find a majesty, virtue, and power appearing in them more than in all human compositions, captivating us to the obedience of faith, and making us to receive them as undoubtedly divine.

These are the grounds which we build upon. Wherefore let the reader judge whether the treatiser¹ had any cause to write as he doth, that he "cannot sufficiently marvel, that I, or any man of judgment or learning, should run these courses, and impugn their doctrine concerning these points, as absurd, which indeed is most prudent and divine, and yet fall into most gross absurdities and inconveniences." How prudent and divine their doctrine is touching the ground of their faith, I have shewed before, making it most clear, that if they did shew no more prudence in any thing else, their part would soon be overthrown. But touching the absurdities into which he supposeth we run, they will be found to be none at all. For, as I have shewed at large, we ground our faith in general upon the evidence of heavenly truth, and the authority of Almighty God, whom we discern to speak in the holy Scriptures; and yet in such sort listen to the Church, as a mistress of heavenly truth in all particular points, that we do

¹ Pag. 155.

not broach any new and strange doctrine unheard of in the Church, nor impugn anything that was always constantly delivered and received in the same. So that it is untrue that the treatiser saith¹, that I “reject all general authority, and leave every man to follow his own private conceit:” he returneth therefore to prove, that supposing we know the letter of Scripture, yet have we no certain rule to find out the sense of it; and mustereth some objections to this purpose, which I have sufficiently answered already in the defence of the rules proposed by me, and impugned by him. Neither is it so strange as he would make it, that we confess every one, though never so much enlightened, to be subject to error, and yet each of us assureth himself he doth not err from the Christian verity, one having no more assurance of not erring than another. For is it not so, that in respect of things that may be known by the light of natural reason, each one confesseth himself to be subject to error, and yet every one assureth himself he doth not err in sundry particular things? Wherefore he leaveth this point², and proceedeth to another, where he bewrayeth the weakness of his brain, labouring seriously to prove, that he, who buildeth his faith upon the English Parliament, cannot firmly and undoubtedly believe, nor have any true faith; because I say, “we can never be so well persuaded of any man or multitude of men, but that we may justly fear they are deceived, or will deceive.” Truly it had been well that he had applied himself to some other thing rather than book-making, unless he had any greater facility and felicity in it than he hath; for who was ever so senseless as to build his faith upon the English Parliament? or why doth the treatiser thus fight with his own shadow? But haply he will be better towards the end.

(A TREATISE, &c. Part II. § 6.)

In the last place, speaking of the supposed divisions and dissensions amongst protestants, he saith³, some amongst us are “so bold as to deny, that there is any great or material dissension in our Churches;” and that I, amongst others,

¹ Pag. 156.

² Pag. 166.

³ Pag. 181.

write, that it “so fell out by the happy providence of God, when there was a reformation made, that there was no material or essential difference amongst them that were actors in it, but such as upon equal scanning will be found rather to consist in the divers manner of expressing one thing, and to be but verbal upon mistaking, through the hasty and inconsiderate humours of some men, than anything else.” And that further I add, that “I dare confidently pronounce, that after due and full examination of each other’s meaning, there shall be no difference found touching the matter of the sacrament, the ubiquitary presence, or the like, between the Churches reformed by Luther’s ministry in Germany, and other places, and those whom some men’s malice called Sacramentaries; that none of the differences between Melancthon and Illyricus, except about certain ceremonies, were real; that Osiander held no private opinion touching justification, howsoever his strange manner of speaking gave occasion to many so to think and conceive; and that this shall be justified against the proudest papist of them all.” This, my assertion, he saith, “all the world knoweth to be untrue;” and endeavoureth to prove it to be so, first, by mine own sayings elsewhere, and then by some other proofs¹. By mine own sayings, in that I “complain of unhappy divisions in the Christian world, and of infinite distractions of men’s minds, not knowing, in so great variety of opinions, what to think, or to whom to join themselves; and that the controversies of religion in our time are grown in number so many, and in nature so intricate, that few have time and leisure, fewer strength of understanding, to examine them².” But this proof will be found too weak: for there are many, and very material divisions in the Christian world, infinitely distracting the minds of men, as those of the Greeks and Latins; those of the Romish faction, and such as embrace the reformed religion: and the controversies that are between these are in number many, and in nature intricate: in respect whereof my complaint might be most just, though never any one protestant had opened his mouth against another. And besides, supposing my complaint of divisions in the Christian world to reach to the breaches that are, and have been, amongst the professors of the reformed religion, nothing can be inferred

¹ Pag. 182.² [Field, Book III. Chap. 13. Vol. I. p. 189.]

from thence contrary to anything that I have written touching the agreeing of these men in judgment and opinion. For there may be great breaches between such men as are of one judgment and opinion upon mistaking one another; and therefore Gregory Nazianzen, in his Oration made in the praise of Athanasius, sheweth that the whole world in a sort was divided upon a mere mistaking; and that Athanasius, by making either part rightly to understand the other, procured a reconciliation. Neither need this to seem strange; for oftentimes controversies are multiplied, and by ill handling made intricate, that in truth and indeed are no controversies, and might easily be cleared, if there were a due proceeding in the discussing of the same. So that the treatiser had no reason to say, that an indifferent reader will hardly excuse me from error in this behalf.

Wherefore let us go forward, and see what other proofs he bringeth to prove that my assertion cannot be true. First, whereas I say there is no difference touching the sacrament, the ubiquitary presence, and the like, between the Lutherans and Sacramentaries, as he maketh me to speak, he saith, I may easily be convinced of untruth; because Calvin avoucheth, that by the ubiquitary presence, Marcion, an ancient heretic, is raised up out of hell, and a thousand books are written about the same point, shewing how great dissensions there have been in the world touching the same. But this proof is easily disproved: for though it be true that Calvin hath, that to imagine that the body of Christ hath no finite dimensions, but such as are extended as far as heaven and earth, and that it is everywhere by actual position, or local extension, is to make it a fantastical body, and to raise up the old heretic Marcion out of hell; yet to think that Christ's body is personally everywhere, in respect of the conjunction and union it hath with God, by reason whereof it is nowhere severed from God, who is everywhere, neither Calvin nor any other orthodoxal divine ever condemned. So that the divines of Germany, condemning that kind of ubiquitary presence that Calvin doth, and Calvin allowing that other whereof they speak, they must of necessity agree together, notwithstanding anything the treatiser can say to the contrary. But because I have largely handled this matter touch-

¹ Instit. Lib. iv. cap. 17. § 16 et 17.

ing the ubiquitary presence and the sacrament in my Fifth Book Of the Church, and in my answer to Higgons, I will no longer insist upon it, but refer the reader to the former places.

Secondly, whereas I affirm, that none of the differences between Melancthon and Illyricus, except about certain ceremonies, were real, he saith : “ Whosoever readeth the acts of the synod holden by the Lutherans at Altenberg, and the writings of the Flaccians against the Synergists and Adiaphorists, shall find dissensions touching greater matters.” For the clearing of this objection it must be observed, that the supposed differences between those whom the treatiser calleth Flaccians, and the other whom he nameth Synergists, were touching the co-operation of the will of man with the grace of God, in her first conversion unto God, and the necessity of good works to salvation.

Concerning the former of these two points¹, it was ever agreed on between both these sorts of men, that after the first conversion there is a co-operation of the will of man altered and renewed by the work of God’s Spirit, with grace in all ensuing actions of piety and virtue ; and in this sense both of them as defending a synergy, or co-operation of man’s will with God’s grace, might rightly be named Synergists. Secondly, it was likewise agreed on by both sorts, that man by the fall of Adam, and in the state of sin, is not only wounded in the powers of his soul, in respect of things natural, external, and political, so that he cannot perform any action so well in any of these kinds of things as before he could ; but that he is utterly spoiled of all power, strength, and ability to do any spiritual and supernatural actions of true virtue and piety, and is not only half dead, but wholly dead, having no more power of himself to do anything that is good, than a dead man hath to perform the works of life. Thirdly, it was agreed on that there is not left in men corrupted by Adam’s fall the least spark of moral or spiritual good desire or inclination, which being blowed upon and stirred, may concur with God’s grace for the bringing forth of any good work. So that neither of them were Synergists in this sense, though Illyricus, Musæus, and other, supposed that Victorinus and some other did think so. Fourthly, it was with like unanimous consent agreed on,

¹ Vide Disput. Vinaræ habitam inter Illyricum et Victorinum. [De Originali Peccato et Libero Arbitrio, 4to. Brem. 1562.]

that there remaineth still in man after the fall a desire of good, and of that good wherein there is no defect of good, no mixture of evil, no mutability nor fear of being lost, though such be the infelicity of sinful man, that having his understanding darkened, and his will perversely inclined, he seeketh and supposeth he may find this good where it is not to be found. So that when God cometh to convert and turn a sinful man to himself, he needeth not newly to put a desire of good into him, for that is naturally found in him, but by enlightening the understanding that it may discern and see what true good is, and where it is to be found; and by turning the will from desiring that as good which is not, or not in such degree as is supposed, he maketh him a good and happy man that was evil and miserable before. Neither doth he create a will in man, but changeth the will he findeth in him, that it may affect that which it did not, and so createth a new will and heart in him, that is, frameth him to the desire of that from which he was most averse before. There is then no spiritual nor moral good in man when he is to be converted unto God; no knowledge of true and spiritual good; nor no desire of the same, which being stirred up may concur with the grace of God, and therefore no synergy or co-operation of any such good, knowledge, or desire of good, with the grace of God in our first conversion; but that confused knowledge of good, and natural inclination to desire it, that is found in man before his conversion, when good desires are to be raised in him, concurreth with the grace of God, directing the understanding to seek that good where it is to be found, and turning, bending, and bowing the hearts to the love and liking of it. For, that man desireth which seemeth good unto him, he hath of nature; that he desireth that which seemeth and is not, he hath from the corruption of nature, and it argueth sinful defect; and that he desireth the true good and rightly, it is of grace directing the understanding, and turning the will from affecting that which before perversely it did desire, to seek that which it should, and in such sort as it should. And so, in that he doth desire and pursue that which he thinketh to be good, out of the natural inclination of his will; but that which indeed is, and he should think to be good, out of the motions of the Spirit; there is a kind of synergy, or co-operation of the natural powers of man and God's grace, even in his first conversion.

Wherefore let us pass from the question touching the co-operation of man's will with God's grace, to the other concerning the necessity of good works to salvation. Where first it is agreed on¹, that there is necessarily required in all that will be saved a dislike of former evils wherewith God was offended. Secondly, a ceasing to do evil. Thirdly, a desire of grace that may preserve and keep us from the like. Fourthly, a desire to do things pleasing unto God in that time that remaineth. Fifthly², it is acknowledged by all, that in them that are justified, and have title to eternal salvation, good works are so far forth necessary to salvation, if they have time, that the not doing of them is sin, which, without repentance and remission, excludeth from salvation. Sixthly, that good works are necessary as fruits of faith, which all they that are justified and look for salvation are bound in duty to bring forth. Seventhly, that they are not so absolutely necessary that no man can be saved without them; for a man may be saved that in the last moment disliketh sin, and desireth pardon for it, and grace that he may not fall into it again, without the actual doing of any good works. So that I protest I cannot see wherein there could be any real difference between these men; neither will the treatiser, I think, be able to shew me any such difference, either out of the acts of the synod of Altenberg, or by any other means. For that men are bound in duty to do good works, that they necessarily follow faith, and that no man can be saved without dislike of sin, desire of avoiding it, and purpose of doing that which is pleasing unto God, Illyricus made no question; and so disliked not the saying of his opposites, that good works are necessary to salvation, as thinking them in no sort necessary; but because he thought their words did import, that no man in any case can be saved without the actual doing of good works, no, though he have them in desire; and that no man may assure himself farther of the favour and mercy of God towards him than he findeth the presence of the works of virtue in him; which things undoubtedly they never meant.

Another opinion there is that is attributed to Illyricus

¹ Illyricus de voce et re Fidei. Part. III. p. 61 et 62. [8vo. Bas. 1555.]

² Decr. Synod. Isnatensis, Anno 1556 celebrat. Epist. Menii ad Melancthonem de absurditate Majorismi.

touching the nature of original sin, which is greatly condemned by many¹. For first, he is charged to have taught that "the substance of man's soul was changed and corrupted by Adam's fall:" whence it will follow that it is mortal. Secondly, that "sin is a substance;" and sundry other like things, whence the impious positions of the Manichees may be inferred. For the clearing of Illyricus from these impieties, first, we must observe that he² distinguisheth two sorts of corruption, naming the one natural, and the other spiritual; the one consisting in the abolition of the thing corrupted, the other in a transformation of it. Secondly, that this transformation of the soul is not in respect of her essence and being simply, but of her essential and substantial powers and faculties. Thirdly, that this transformation of the soul in her faculties, is not in respect of all her faculties, but the best and principal only, to wit, reason and the will. Fourthly, that there is not any transformation or transversion of these faculties simply in respect of all objects; for the soul by the light of natural reason judgeth rightly of many things still, though with some imperfections; but in respect of her principal object, to wit, God, his worship, and law. So that this is all that Illyricus saith, that the soul of man, since Adam's fall, is so transformed and changed in the best and principal of her essential and substantial faculties, that they are not only turned away from their principal object, and from tending to the right end whither they should look, but converted also to the desiring of such things as they should not, or in such sort as they should not; but of the extinguishing or abolishing of any of the essential and natural faculties of the soul, much less of the essence and being of it simply, he hath no word. Wherefore let us come to the other part of the accusation framed against him, which is, that he maketh sin to be a substance, and let us hear what he will say unto it himself. There are, saith Illyricus³, certain absurd sayings maliciously attributed unto me; as that sin is a substance, that it is in the predicament of substance;

¹ Treatise, Part 2. cap. 1. p. 10.

² Quarundam impiarum sententiarum refutatio, p. 133. De Essentia Imaginis Dei et Diaboli, p. 353 et 318. [8vo. Bas. 1568.]

³ Quorundam thematum originalem justitiam et injustitiam, simul et beneficia Christi extenuantium, refutatio, p. 99.

that it is the reasonable soul of man, and that on the contrary side, the soul is sin: but I never used any such speeches, neither did I ever say any more, but that some part of original sin is the soul's essential faculty of reason and the will corrupted, in that they are averted and turned away from their right object and end. But for the more full clearing of him from that impious opinion which is imputed to him, we must take notice of certain good observations found in him. As first, that we may speak of sin concretively or abstractively. Secondly, that if we speak of sin abstractively, that is, sinfulness, it is nothing but an inconformity with the law of God. Thirdly, that that to which such inconformity immediately cleaveth, and wherein want of conformity with God's law is found, may rightly be named sin concretively. So that if such inconformity be found in any action, we may safely pronounce it to be sin; if in any habit, we may pronounce that that habit is sin; if in any inclination or desire, that that is sin also; if in any the essential and substantial faculties of the soul, as being turned from the right object and end, and converted to such object and end as they should not, we may safely pronounce that these faculties, disordered and put out of course, are sin, even that original and birth-sin, which is the fountain whence all other do flow. So that to conclude this point according to the opinion of Illyricus, if we speak formally and abstractively, original sin is the disordering of the essential and substantial faculties of the soul, consisting in an aversion from the principal object, and a conversion to other instead of it. But if we speak concretively and materially, original sin is the substantial faculty of the soul, which we call free will, turned from seeking God, to oppose itself against him; in which passages there is no impiety, nothing unsound, or that doth not stand with the truth which we profess; but his manner of speaking was such as might give occasion of dislike, and therefore himself confesseth, that he qualified some forms of words which he had formerly used, upon the advice of Simon Musæus, that his meaning might be the better known, and no misconstruction made of that he meant well. So that it will be found that there was no real difference between Melancthon and Illyricus about original sin, or any other matter of faith; and therefore I may be as good as my word, and

justify it against the proudest papist living, that none of the differences between Melancthon and Illyricus, except about certain ceremonies, were real.

Wherefore the treatiser leaveth Illyricus, and cometh to Osiander, whom he will prove to have holden a private opinion touching justification, because Calvin in his Institutions spendeth almost one whole chapter in the confutation of his conceit touching the same article, which in the very entrance he calleth he wots not what monster of essential righteousness : and Conradus Schlüsselburg placeth him and his followers in the catalogue of heretics. But this objection will easily be answered ; for it is not to be doubted, but Calvin and the rest justly disliked that which they apprehended to be his opinion, and condemned it as a monster. For they conceived that he made justification to be nothing else but a transfusion of the essential righteousness of Christ into us, and a mixture and confusion of it with us. But Smidelinus sheweth at large, that he never had any such conceit, but that, distinguishing three kinds of righteousness in Christ whereof we are made partakers, to wit, active, passive, and essential, in that he was the Son of God ; he taught that justification is not only an acceptation and receiving of us to favour, upon the imputation of the active and passive righteousness of Christ, but an admission of us also to the right of the participation of the divine nature, as Peter speaketh, and of that essential righteousness that was in him, in that he was the Son of God ; that so receiving of his fulness, we may be filled with all divine qualities and graces. The reason why he thus urged the implying of the communication of the essential righteousness of Christ in our justification, was not, as the same Smidelinus telleth us, for that he thought justification to consist wholly therein, or for that he meant to exclude the imputation of the merit and satisfaction of Christ from being causes of our justification or receiving favour with God ; but because he saw many mistook and abused the doctrine of free justification by the imputation of Christ's righteousness, to the careless neglecting of all righteousness in themselves ; therefore he taught, there is no remission of sin, no receiving of any man to favour, by virtue of the imputation of the active and passive righteousness of Christ, unless, out of dislike of sin and desire of grace to avoid it, he be

admitted to the right of the participation of that essential righteousness that dwelt in him in all fulness, that so it may dwell in him that is to be justified also, in some degree and sort. Neither is this construction of Osiander's words made by Smidelinus only, but by sundry other. For Stapleton saith, the followers of Brentius defended the opinion of Osiander: whereas yet neither Brentius, nor any of his followers, ever dreamed of any transfusion of the essential righteousness of Christ into us, any mixture or confusion of it with us, or any other communication of it to us, or in any other sort, than is before expressed. So that the treatiser had no reason to write as he doth, that my proceedings are rare and singular, and that I fear not to affirm things apparently false, and confessed untrue by all my brethren: much less to say, that every man may easily perceive by these my proceedings, that I had a good opinion of mine own wit and learning. For what have I done that savoureth of pride? or wherein have I bewrayed such vanity as he speaketh of? Is it a matter of pride not to condemn hastily other opinions, to make the fairest and best construction of other men's words, especially such as are of the same profession with us? Wherefore if the treatiser be able to say any thing against this my defence of Illyricus and Osiander, I will hear him; otherwise let him not tell me of my school distinctions, for I am not ashamed of them: neither do I use them as the Roman sophisters do, to avoid the evidence of that truth that is too mighty for them to encounter; but to clear that which the Romanists desire to have wrapped up in perplexed and intricate disputes.

But it seemeth, the treatiser will not accept of this condition, and therefore he passeth from the supposed divisions of our Churches, and differences of our divines, and proceedeth to shew their inconstancy, instancing particularly in Luther. And whereas in my former books I have answered the objections of papists touching this supposed inconstancy, he goeth about to refute that my answer, which consisteth of two parts. Whereof the first is, that in sundry points of greatest moment, as of the power of nature, of freewill, justification, the difference of the law and the gospel, faith and works, Christian liberty, and the like, Luther was ever constant. The second, that it is not so strange as our adversaries would make it, that Luther proceeded by degrees in discerning sundry popish

errors; seeing Augustine and their angelical doctor altered their judgment in divers things, and, upon better consideration, disliked what they had formerly approved. The former part of this my answer he pronounceth to contain a manifest untruth; for that, amongst other things mentioned by me, Luther was not ever constant and of one judgment touching freewill, he endeavoureth to prove, because in the defence of his articles condemned by the pope¹, he saith, “freewill is a forged or feigned thing, and a title without a substance, it being in no man’s power to think any thing good or evil, but all things falling out of absolute necessity:” and elsewhere he saith, “men of their own proper strength have freewill to do or not to do external works, so that they may attain to secular and civil honesty.” But M. Treatiser should know, that between these sayings of Luther there is no contradiction in truth and in deed, but in his fancy only; for in the former place two things are delivered by Luther. The first, that no man by nature hath power to turn himself to God without grace, or so much as to prepare himself to the receipt of grace, which in the latter place, speaking only of external works and civil or secular honesty, he doth not contradict. The second, that though men in outward things, and things that are below, have a kind of freedom of will and choice, and power to do or not to do them; yet not so free, but that they are subject to the providence and disposition of Almighty God, bowing, bending, and turning them whither he pleaseth, and having them in such sort in his hand, as that they can will nothing unless he permit them; which no way prejudiceth that liberty which elsewhere he attributeth to the will. For the will of man is said to be free, because it doth nothing but on liking and choice, and because God permitting it hath power to do what pleaseth it best; and not because it is free and not subject to divine disposition and ordering, or as if it could do any thing without God’s permission and concurrence. And this is all that Luther hath in the former or latter of the two places alleged by the treatiser: for he hath no word of

¹ “Simpliciter debui dicere, Liberum arbitrium est figmentum in rebus, seu titulis sine re. Quia nulli est in manu sua quippiam cogitare mali aut boni, sed omnia sub Deo sunt, contra quem nihil possumus, nisi quantum permittit, aut facit ipse.”—Luther. Assert. Art. 36. [Tom. II. fol. 112. b.]

absolute necessity, but of God's most wise and provident direction of our wills, in all their choices, desires, and actions. And though elsewhere he approve the saying of Wickliffe, that all things fall out by a kind of absolute necessity, yet he interpreteth himself to mean neither natural necessity, nor co-action, but infallibility of event, in that all things fall out most certainly as God thinketh good to dispose and order them. Wherefore seeing the treatiser can fasten no contradiction upon Luther touching freewill, let us proceed to see what exceptions he taketh to that defence I make of his altering of his judgment in some other things. My defence is, that it was not strange for him to alter his judgment in some points of good moment, seeing St Augustine, the greatest of all the fathers, and the angelical doctor, did so before him. His exception against this my defence consisteth of two parts¹; whereof the first is, that Luther's changing of his opinion argueth, he was not extraordinarily and immediately taught of God, (which we easily grant,) and that he built his faith upon his own unconstant reason; which the treatiser will never prove to be consequent upon the alteration of his judgment in some points of religion: for that otherwise Augustine might be convinced to have so builded his faith likewise, who altered his judgment touching as great matters as ever Luther did. For whereas formerly he attributed the election of such as were chosen to eternal life, to the foresight of their future faith, after he entered into the conflict with the Pelagians, he disclaimed it as a mere Pelagian conceit. The second, that St Augustine writing, when he was yet a novice in Christian religion, and not fully instructed, erred in some points, which errors, having received better instruction, he disclaimed; and that "before some articles of Christian religion were so thoroughly discussed and defined in the Church, as afterwards upon the rising of new heresies, he spake not so aptly and properly as was needful in succeeding times, and therefore retracted what he had uttered;" but that it "was not therefore lawful for Luther to leap up and down, hither and thither, and to change his faith accordingly as his fancy led him." For answer whereunto I say, that Luther changed not his faith according to fancy, nor altered his judgment in any point of Christian doctrine generally and constantly agreed

¹ Pag. 186, 187.

on in that Church wherein he lived. For, as I have elsewhere proved at large, none of the things wherein we at this day dissent from the present Church of Rome, were generally and constantly believed and received as articles of faith in the days of our fathers, in that Church wherein they lived and died; so that in this respect there will be no difference between the case of Luther and Augustine, or Aquinas, who, as the treatiser confesseth, altered and corrected their former opinions touching sundry points of doctrine not determined by the Church, without any note of inconstancy, or building their faith upon their own unconstant reason.

And thus have I run through both parts of the treatise of the Grounds of the Old and New Religion, so that I might here end; but that the author thereof addeth in the end an Appendix in confutation of a book written by M. Crashaw, concerning Romish forgeries and falsifications¹; wherein among other things he endeavoureth to prove, there could be no such corruption of the fathers' writings in former times, as M. Crashaw conceiveth, because I say the papists were only a faction in the Church, and that there were ever divers in the midst of all the confusions of the papacy agreeing with us, who always opposed themselves against such as sought to advance papal tyranny and popish superstition, who, he thinketh, if there were any such, were careful to preserve the fathers' works from corruption. For answer whereunto we must note, that the corruptions of the fathers' writings are of three sorts; either by putting out base and counterfeit stuff under their honourable names; or by putting in some things into their true and indubitate works, not well sorting with the same; or by taking something out of them. That many absurd things have been published under the names of holy fathers, no man can make any doubt that looketh into the works of Augustine, Hierome, and others, with which many things censured and judged to be apocryphal by our adversaries themselves are mingled. Now if in their judgment this first kind of corruption of the fathers' works might be in former times, notwithstanding such good men, as they think, were ever in the Church, who willingly and wittingly would

¹ Pag. 222. [An Appendix to this Treatise, containing a Briefe Confutation of a Booke, published in the yeare M.DCVI., by William Crashaw, bearing this title, "Romish Forgeries and Falsifications," &c.]

give no consent to any such corruption ; why may not we say that some things might be added or detracted from the indubitate writings of the fathers, notwithstanding anything they could do to the contrary, whom we suppose in the midst of papal confusions to have opposed themselves against error, idolatry, and superstition, then by some brought into the Church, and to have given testimony to that truth which we now maintain ? so that this objection is easily answered. What he hath against others, I doubt not but they will take notice of, and that he shall hear from them in due time, to whom I leave him.

THE END OF THE SECOND PART.

THE THIRD PART,

CONTAINING A BRIEF EXAMINATION OF SUCH PRE-
TENDED PROOFS FOR ROMISH RELIGION AND RE-
CUSANCY, AS ARE PRODUCED AND VIOLENTLY
WRESTED BY A LATE PAMPHLETEER¹ OUT
OF THE FORMER BOOKS.

IN the Epistle to the Lords of the Council, he first complaineth of the long and manifold supposed miseries of English pseudo-catholics². Secondly, he imputeth the same to the puritans, as if they had been procured principally by them, and for their cause. Thirdly, he proveth that not only those puritans that refuse external conformity, but such also as for a fashion follow it, are guilty of the proceedings against the Romanists; because the greatest number of protestant writers do teach that there is no such essential and substantial difference between protestants and puritans, but that they are of one Church, faith, and religion. A strange kind of proof; yet these are his words³: “The pens and pulpits of puritans, and their printers, will sufficiently write, preach, and publish to the world, by whom, and to what purpose, no small part of these afflictions have been urged and incited against us, not only by those few which refuse your external conformity, but such as for a fashion follow it, to retain themselves in authority. For proof whereof, the greatest number of the present protestant writers, D. Sutcliffe, D. Dove, D. Field, M. Willet, Wootton, Middleton, &c. do teach, that there is no substantial, essential, or material point of difference in religion between protestants and puritans, but they are of one Church, faith, and religion³.” His meaning, it seemeth, is, that all protestants

¹ [See above, p. 257, note 1.]

² In that Watson, Clerk, and the hellish contrivers of the powder treason, with some few of their adherents have suffered death, and others have not been permitted to warm themselves at the fires in Smithfield, as they were wont to do.

³ [Pag. 5.]

acknowledging puritans to be of one Church with them, are puritans; and therefore he would have all to know, that howsoever he make show of blaming puritans only, or principally, yet in truth he equally condemneth all; and that therefore he doth but dissemble, or say he knoweth not what. But do all these protestant writers named by him teach that there is no material difference between protestants and puritans? Surely no; for touching myself, I never wrote any such thing, neither in the place cited by him, nor anywhere else; so that he beginneth with a manifest and shameless untruth. But I do the more willingly pardon him this fault, for that it seemeth he doth not consider what he writeth. For in the title of his book he professeth that he will take the proofs of his catholic religion and recusancy only from the writings of such protestant divines as have been published since the reign of his majesty over this kingdom; for that, as he saith, they often change their opinions, at the least at the coming of every new prince. And yet, page 30, he citeth the bishop of Winchester's book¹, written many years ago, and Dr Covell his book in Defence of Master Hooker, as often as any other; which yet was written in her late majesty's time. But what if I had written, that howsoever there are some material differences between protestants and puritans, as it pleaseth him to style them, yet not so essential or substantial but that they may be of one Church, faith, and religion? What absurdity would have followed? Would it be consequent from hence, as he inferreth, that it is not material with us, whether men be of a true or false religion, of any, or none at all? Have there not been, nay, are there not, greater differences betwixt papists, who yet will be angry if they be not esteemed to be all of one Church, faith, and religion? Did not Pope John the Two-and-twentieth think that the souls of the just shall not see God till the general resurrection²? and did not the French king that then was, with the whole university of Paris, condemn the same opinion as heretical with sound of trumpet? Did not Ambrosius Catharinus³ teach, that a man may be certain with the certainty of faith, that he is in state of

¹ [Bishop Bilson.] The true Difference, &c. Edit. Anno 1586. [p. 66, 7.]

² Gerson, Serm. in Fest. Paschæ. [Tom. III. col. 1204.]

³ Soto contra Ambros.

grace, and Soto the contrary? Did not Pighius¹, Contarenus², and the authors of the book called *Antididagma Coloniense*, defend imputative justice, and other papists reject it? Did not some amongst them teach the merit of condignity? do not others³, moved with a sober moderation, think there is no such merit? Do not some think the pope is universal bishop, others, that he is not, but prime bishop only⁴? Do not some teach that all bishops receive their jurisdiction from the pope, others, the contrary⁵? Do not some think the pope may papally err, and others, that he cannot⁶? Do not some of them think he is temporal lord of all the world, and others, the contrary⁷? Do not some of them think he may depose princes, and others, that he may not⁸? is there not a very material point of difference amongst papists touching predestination? Let them shew us, if they can, so many and material differences between protestants and puritans. And yet these were all of one Church in their judgment; yea, Pope Stephen⁹, who reversed all the acts of Formosus his predecessor, pronounced the ordinations of all those to be void whom he had ordained, brought his dead body out of the grave into the council, stript it out of the papal vesture, put upon it a lay habit, and cutting off two fingers of his right hand, cast it into Tiber; Pope John his successor, who called a council of seventy-four bishops to confirm the ordinations of Formosus, the archbishops of France and the king being present at Ravenna, and burned the acts of the synod which Stephen had called to condemn Formosus; and Sergius, who again condemned Formosus, and pronounced all his ordinations to be void, reversing the acts of Pope John

¹ Pighius de Justificat.

² Contaren. de Justificatione.

³ Answer to Bel, his downfall, &c. ["The forerunner of Bel's downfall," &c., by R. Parsons, 8vo. n. p. 1605.] Vega. Quæst. 5. de Meritis gloriæ ex condigno. [ad calc. Lib. de Justificatione, p. 789.]

⁴ Cusan. Concord. Cathol. Lib. II. cap. 13. [p. 726.]

⁵ Bellar. Lib. IV. de Roman. Pontif. cap. 22. [Tom. I. col. 868.]

⁶ Stapleton. Relect. Controv. 3. de Prim. Subject. Pot. Eccles. Quæst. 4. [Tom. I. p. 706.]

⁷ Bellar. de Rom. Pont. Lib. V. cap. 1. [Tom. I. col. 875.]

⁸ Walden. Doct. Fid. Lib. II. Art. 3. Quæst. 78. [Tom. I. p. 391.] Gerson. de Pot. Eccles. Consid. 12. [Tom. II. col. 246.] Sigebert. in Chronic. Anno 1088. [Inter Script. Rer. German. Pistorii, p. 606.]

⁹ Idem in Chron. [p. 574.]

and his synod, were all of one Church, of one communion, faith, and religion. Nay, which is more strange, when there were three anti-popes sitting in divers places, accursing one another with all their adherents, and that for many years, yet still they were of one Church, of one communion, faith, and religion. Yet may not we infer from hence against them, as they do against us, that it is not material with them whether men be of a true or false religion, of any, or none at all. Surely they are more privileged than other men; for some of them may take the oath of allegiance¹, and disclaim the pope's power and right to intermeddle with princes' states, and other refuse it, and yet still be catholic brethren in the communion of the same Church. Yea, a priest may like of this oath², and persuade others to take it, and afterwards go over the sea, and alter his judgment, and returning, choose rather to suffer death than to take it again; yet no man must take notice of it. But if a minister subscribe, and afterwards upon ill advice refuse to do the same again, then all the courses of our religion are such, that by no outward signs, communion, profession, protestation, or subscription, a man can tell who is of what religion amongst us. But let us pass from the Epistle to the book itself.

(CHAP. I.)

In the first chapter, which is "Of the supreme and most pre-eminent authority of the true Church, and how necessary it is to find it, follow the directions, and rest in the judgment of it," he hath these words: "Doctor Field, a late protestant writer, beginneth his Dedicatory Epistle to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury before his books *Of the Church* in this manner: 'There is no part of heavenly doctrine more

¹ Example of Blackwell. [See "A large Examination of G. Blackwell, taken at Lambeth, point by point, upon occasion of an Answer of his to a letter sent him from Card. Bellarmine, blaming him for taking the Oath of Allegiance," &c. 4to. Lond. 1607.]

² Drury. [Probably John Durey (Duræus), a Scottish Jesuit, who wrote in defence of Campian against Whitaker.—Dod, *Church History*, Vol. II. p. 141. Alegambe, *Biblioth. Jesuit.* p. 237.]

necessary in these days of so many intricate controversies of religion, than diligently to search out which, amongst all the societies of men in the world, is that blessed company of holy ones, that household of faith, that spouse of Christ, and Church of the living God, which is the pillar and ground of truth, that so we may embrace her communion, follow her directions, and rest in her judgment." And, after some other things cited out of others, he addeth, "The joining with the true Church is so needful a thing, that D. Field concludeth: 'There is no salvation, remission of sins, or hope of eternal life out of the Church.'" To what purpose this allegation serveth I cannot conceive; for there is nothing in any of these speeches of mine that ever any protestant doubted of, or from which anything may be concluded against us, or for the papists. "The Church of God," saith Master Calvin¹, "is named the mother of the faithful: neither is there any entrance into eternal life, unless she conceive us in her womb, unless she bring us forth, unless her paps do give us suck, and unless she keep us under her custody and government, till, having put off this mortal flesh, we become like the angels in heaven. Add hereunto," saith he, "that out of her lap and bosom there is no remission of sins, nor salvation to be looked for, as both Esaias and Joel testify, to whom Ezekiel subscribeth, when he denounceth they shall not be reckoned amongst the people of God whom he excludeth from eternal life." The only thing that is any way doubtful is, how far we are bound to rest in the judgment of the Church. For the clearing whereof the author of these proofs, having taken so much pains to read over my books *Of the Church*, to take some advantage by them against the truth of religion professed amongst us, might have been pleased to remember those different degrees of obedience which we are to yield to them that command and teach us in the Church of God: which I have noted in the Fourth Book, and fifth chapter, out of Waldensis, excellently described and set down by him in this sort²: "We must," saith he, "reverence and respect the authority of all catholic doctors whose doctrine and writings the Church alloweth. We must more regard the authority of catholic bishops; more than these, the authority

¹ Calv. Instit. Lib. iv. cap. 1. sect. 4.

² Wald. Doct. Fid. Lib. ii. Art. 2. cap. 27. [Tom. i. p. 221.]

of apostolic Churches; amongst them, more specially the Church of Rome; of a general council, more than all these: yet must we not so listen to the determinations of any of these, nor so certainly assent unto them, as to the things contained in Scripture, or believed and taught by the whole universal Church, that hath been ever since the apostles' times; but as to the instructions of our elders, and fatherly admonitions and directions, we must obey without scrupulous questioning, with all modesty of mind, with all good allowance, acceptation, and repose in the words of them that teach us, unless they teach anything which the higher and superior controlleth. And yet if they do, the humble and obedient children of the Church must not insolently insult upon them from whom they are forced to dissent; but they must dissent with a reverent, childlike, and respectful shamefastness." And elsewhere he saith: "The Church whose faith never faileth, according to the promise made to Peter, (who bare the figure of the Church, when Christ said unto him, I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not,) is not any particular Church, as the Church of Africa, within the bounds whereof Donatus did include the whole, nor the particular Roman Church, but the universal Church, not gathered together in a general council, which hath sometimes erred, as that at Ariminum under Taurus the governor, and that at Constantinople under Justinian the younger; but it is the catholic Church, dispersed through the whole world, from the baptism of Christ unto our times, which doth undoubtedly hold the true faith, and faithful testimony of Jesus." Yea, the same author is of opinion, that though it argue great contumacy for a man to dissent from a general council without convincing reason, yet not perfidious impiety, unless he know, or might know, if the fault were not in himself, that in so dissenting he dissenteth from the Scripture, or the determination of the universal Church that hath been since the apostles' times, which only is absolutely privileged from erring.

Thus then I hope the indifferent reader will easily discern, that hitherto the author of Protestant Proofs hath found no proof for Romish religion in anything that I have written. Let us come therefore to the second chapter.

(CHAP. II.)

In the second chapter, wherein he endeavoureth to prove, by the testimonies of protestants, that the Roman Church ever was, and still is the true Church of Christ, he citeth four things as written by me. The first is touching the "supreme binding and commanding authority that is in the Church." His words are these¹: "Doctor Field writeth, that the supreme binding and commanding authority is only in bishops in a general council." The second is touching the definition of the Church set down in the articles of religion, Art. 19, that "it is the congregation of faithful ones, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered according to Christ's institution, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same," whereunto he saith I agree. The third is, that the true Church of God is subject unto errors of doctrine which are not fundamental. The fourth, that the Roman Church is the true Church of God. His words are these¹: "I think no man will deny the Church of Rome to be the same it was at the coming of Luther, and long before; and yet Doctor Field writeth, that 'the Roman and Latin Church continued the true Church of God even till our time.' And again, 'We doubt not but the Church, in which the Bishop of Rome exalted himself with more than Lucifer-like pride, was notwithstanding the true Church of God, that it held a saving profession of the truth in Christ, and by force thereof converted many countries from error to the way of truth:' and he farther acknowledgeth, with Doctor Covel and others, that 'Luther and the rest of his religion were baptized, received their Christianity, ordination, and power of ministry, in that Church, as the true, visible, and apparent Church of Christ.' He telleth farther, that 'divers of the Roman Church, not only of the ignorant, but of the best-learned, were saved, and are saints in heaven.'"

These are his allegations. Now let us see what is to be said unto them. Touching the first, it is most undoubtedly true, that the supreme and highest external binding and commanding authority is only in bishops and others assembled in a general council; but what will he infer from hence? All

¹ [Pag. 8.]² [Pag. 10.]

men, saith he, do know, and Dr Sutcliffe with others acknowledge, that the protestants have had no such council. And what then? therefore they are not the Churches of God. O impious and wicked conclusion! For hereby all the Churches of the world 300 years after Christ are proved not to have been the true Churches of Christ; seeing, as it is evident, there was no general council all that while: so that Christianity was rent into factions for want of this remedy, as Isidorus¹ testifieth. But saith he, the protestant relator of religion teacheth, that this pre-eminence, means, and remedy, is only in the Church of Rome. This is most false; for howsoever he thinketh it not impossible for the Romanists to have a general council of those of their own faction, yet he knoweth it lieth not in them to procure a council absolutely general or œcumenical: nay, we see that for many hundred years there hath not been any general council of all Christians, wherein a perfect consent and agreement might be settled; but the greatest parts of the Christian world have remained divided from the Roman Church for the space of six or seven hundred years. If the author of these proofs shall say, they have all been heretics and schismatics, and that they have lived and died in state of damnation that have lived and died in those Churches ever since their separation; and that therefore a general council of the Christians of the West adhering to the pope, is absolutely general and œcumenical, representing the whole universal Church; we detest so unchristian and devilish a censure: and therefore we willingly confess, that the protestants being but a part of the Christian Church, cannot have any council absolutely general, but in a sort only in respect of those of their own profession. Such a general council of protestants to settle and compose their differences, the protestant relator of religion wisheth for: neither doth he ever deny the possibility thereof, as this pamphleteer misreporteth him, but saith only, that as things now stand, there being no better correspondence among Christian princes, nor greater desire of making up the breaches of the Christian Church, there is little hope of any such general meeting of those of the reformed religion.

Out of the two next allegations nothing can be concluded; for the errors of the present Roman Church are fundamental;

¹ Isid. Præfat. Concil. [Labbe, Tom. i. col. 5.]

neither doth it preach the pure word of God, and duly administer the sacraments, according to Christ's institution, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same. But he saith, he hopeth "no man will deny the Church of Rome to be the same now it was when Luther began, and long before;" and that I confess, "the Latin Church continued the true Church of God even till our times." Because some man perhaps will think that we yield more unto our adversaries now than formerly we did, in that we acknowledge the Latin or Western Churches subject to Romish tyranny before God raised up Luther, to have been the true Churches of God, in which a saving profession of the truth in Christ was found, and wherein Luther himself received his Christianity, ordination, and power of ministry; I will first shew that all our best and most renowned divines did ever acknowledge as much as I have written; secondly, that the Roman Church is not the same now it was when Luther began; and thirdly, that we have not departed from the Church wherein our fathers lived and died, but only from the faction that was in it. Touching the first, M. Luther¹ confesseth that much good, nay that all good, and the very marrow and kernel of faith, piety, and Christian belief, was, by the happy providence of God, preserved even in the midst of all the confusions of the papacy. M. Calvin² in like sort sheweth that the true Church remained under the papacy: *Cum Dominus fœdus suum*, saith he, *in Gallia, Italia, Germania, Hispania, et Anglia deposuerit, ubi illæ provinciæ antichristi tyrannide oppressæ sunt; quo tamen fœdus suum inviolabile maneret, baptismum primo illic conservavit, qui ejus ore consecratus invita humana impietate, vim suam retinet: deinde sua providentia effecit, ut aliæ quoque reliquiæ exstarent, ne ecclesia prorsus interiret: ac quemadmodum ita sæpe diruuntur ædificia, ut fundamenta et ruinae maneat; ita non passus est ecclesiam suam ab antichristo vel a fundamento subverti, vel solo æquari, utcunque ad puniendam hominum ingratitude, horribilem quassationem ac dissectionem fieri permiserit; sed ab ipsa quoque vastatione semirutum ædificium superesse voluit:* that is, "The Lord having made his covenant with the people of France, Italy,

¹ Lib. contra Anabaptist.

² Calv. Instit. Lib. iv. cap. 2. sect. 11.

Germany, Spain and England, when these provinces were oppressed by the tyranny of antichrist, that yet still his covenant might remain inviolable, first he preserved the sacrament of baptism amongst them, which being consecrated by his own mouth, retaineth his force in despite of man's impiety; and besides carefully provided that there should be found some other remainders also, that the Church might not altogether perish. And even as oftentimes buildings are so thrown down that the foundations and some ruins do remain; so God suffered not his Church to be subverted and overthrown by antichrist from the very foundation, or be laid even with the ground, but howsoever, to punish the ingratitude of men, he suffered it to be horribly shaken, torn and rent, yet his pleasure was, that the building should remain after all this waste and decay, though half thrown down." Of the same opinion is Bucer, Melancthon, and Beza, who saith¹: "The Church was under the papacy, but the papacy was not the Church." "We say," saith Philip Mornay², "that among that poor people, that was so long time deceived under the darkness of antichrist, there was a part of the body of the visible Church; but that the pope and his maintainers were the bane of it, who stifled and choked this poor people, as much as lay in them. We say, that this was the Church of Christ, but that antichrist held it by the throat, to the end that the salvation and life that floweth from Christ might not pass unto it. To be short," saith he, "we say, that the people were of the Christian commonwealth, but the pope, with his faction, was a proud seditious Catiline, seeking to destroy it, and set all on fire." And so ever he most aptly putteth a difference between them that were under the papacy and the upholders of the papacy, the Christian Church and the faction that was in it. M. Deering in his lectures, speaking of the orders of the popish Church, hath these words³: "If any man will here object, that notwithstanding all the abuses, yet the priest had that which was principal, liberty to preach and minister sacraments, and that therefore their ministry ought not to be neglected; I answer; In this was the great goodness of

¹ Beza, Quæst. [Quæst. 130, p. 83, 8vo. Gen. 1580.]

² Mornay, Of the Church, cap. 9. [p. 318. Translated out of French into English, by J. F. 8vo. Lond. 1579.]

³ Lect. 23. in 5 ad Heb. [4to. Lond. 1590.]

God, that in time to come his children might assuredly know he reserved to himself a Church even in the midst of all desolation, and that he called them by his word, and confirmed them by his sacraments, even as at this day. For seeing there can be no sin so great but faith in Jesus Christ scattereth it all away, it was impossible that the man of sin should so much adulterate, either the word of God, but that it should be to the faithful a gospel of salvation, or the sacraments of God, but that they should be pledges of eternal life to those that did believe: and he addeth, that notwithstanding all the profanations in those times, in respect whereof we have justly separated ourselves from the pertinacious maintainers of such confusions, yet God of his infinite goodness, who calleth things that are not as though they were, even in that ministry gave grace unto his saints." Thus do these worthies write touching the state of the Christian Church in former times, tyrannically oppressed by antichrist; neither is there any of our divines of worth and learning, for ought I know, that dissenteth from them.

Wherefore I will now proceed to shew that the Roman Church is not the same now that it was when Luther began. Here first, that we be not deceived, we must observe, that by the name of the Roman Church¹ sometimes we understand the pope, his clergy, and other Christians of the Roman diocese; sometimes all Churches subject to the tyranny of the bishop of Rome. In this latter sense we speak of the Roman Church at this time, and will make it most clear and evident, that it is not the same now that it was when Luther began. For first, the Roman Church that then was, was the whole number of Christians subject to papal tyranny, whereof a great part desired nothing more than to shake off that yoke²; which as soon as he began to oppose himself they presently

¹ "Romana ecclesia quandoque sumitur pro... omnibus fidelibus Romanæ diœcesis; quandoque pro omnibus credentibus fidem apostolicam prædicatam Romanis."—Petrus ab Alliaco Cameracensis, Quæst. Vesperiarum. [art. 2. fol. 279. D. ad calc. lib. in i. et ii. sent. 8vo. Par. sin. ann.]

² Illyr. in Catal. Testium Veritatis. Carolus Miltitius being sent from pope Leo to Frederick, professed, that all the way as he came, having sounded men's affections, he found three to favour Luther for one that favoured the pope; and Luther professeth, that the applause of the world did support him much, all men being weary of the frauds

did, accounting those that attributed that to the pope which is now attributed unto him, to be but flatterers; but the Roman Church that now is, is the multitude of such only as thus magnify, admire, and adore the plenitude of papal power, or at least are contented to be under the yoke of it still. Secondly, the Church of Rome that then was, consisted of men not having means of instruction and information, like unto those which have been since; and therefore not erring pertinaciously in things wherein they were deceived. But the Church that now is consisteth of such only as pertinaciously resist against the clear manifestation of the truth, and with all fury and madness pursue unto death those that defend and maintain the same, or at least of such as consent in outward communion with them that so do. So that they that lived heretofore might in their simplicity be saved, and yet these that now are perish in their contradiction and wilful resistance against the truth. Neither need this to seem strange, seeing Vincentius Lirinensis saith¹ (speaking of the error of rebaptization), that the authors, devisors, and beginners of it are crowned in heaven, that is, Cyprian and the African bishops of his time: for that notwithstanding this error, they held the unity of the Church, and condemned not, but communicated with them that were otherwise minded; and the followers of the same error, that is, the Donatists, for their schism and pertinacy were condemned into hell. Thirdly, the Roman Church that then was had in it all the abuses and superstitious observations it now hath, and such as erred in all the points of doctrine, wherein they of the Roman Church now err, in which respect it may seem to have been the same as the author of these pretended proofs urgeth; but it had also others² that disliked and desired the removing of all those abuses and superstitious observations which we have removed, and thought right in all those points of doctrine wherein the rest erred; in which respect it was not the same, but very different from that faction of Romanists that resisteth

extortions, and wicked practices of the Romanists.—Præfat. Oper. Lutheri. [Tom. I. ed. fol. Witeb. 1558.]

¹ Contra Prof. Hæres. Novitat. [cap. 11. Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. Tom. VII. p. 252.]

² See the Appendix to the Third Book Of the Church, and the 12th Chapter of the same book.

that reformation of religion which so many famous states of Christendom have willingly embraced. So that the Roman Church that then was consisted of two sorts of men: of the one as true living members; of the other, as pertaining to her unity in respect of baptism, power of ministry, and profession of some parts of heavenly truth, though not partaking in that degree of unity which the principal parts thereof had amongst themselves, but divided from them, being a dangerous faction in the midst of her, seeking her destruction, which she could neither fly from, nor drive from her; as Bernard somewhere speaketh¹: *Omnes amici, omnes inimici, omnes domestici, nulli pacifici, ... servi Christi serviunt antichrista*. All these were in some general sort the Church in respect of baptism, the profession of some parts of heavenly truth, and the power of ministry; but principally, and in special sort, they only that believed rightly touching the most material points of Christian religion, and wished for the reformation of superstitious abuses. In respect of the former of these, the Roman Church was *verè ecclesia*, "truly a Church," that is, a multitude of men professing Christ, and baptized; but not *vera ecclesia*, "a true Church," that is, a multitude of men holding a saving profession of the truth in Christ, as Mornay² fitly noteth, for which Stapleton unjustly reprehendeth him; but in respect of the latter, it was *vera ecclesia*, "a true Church," that is, a multitude of men holding a saving profession of the truth in Christ. The Church of the Jews at the coming of Christ had in it the Scribes, Pharisees, and Sadducees, as well as Zachary, Elizabeth, Simeon, and Anna: in respect of the former, it was *verè ecclesia*, but not *vera ecclesia*; in respect of the latter, it was *vera ecclesia*. Neither should this seem strange to any man, that the same society of Christian men should, in respect of some parts whereof it consisteth, be the true Church of Christ, and in respect of some other, not so; seeing all men confess, that the same visible Church and society of Christians may be named a garden inclosed, an orchard of pomegranates, a well sealed up, a fountain of living waters, a paradise with all precious and desirable fruit, a holy nation, a peculiar people, a royal priesthood, the spouse of Christ and wife of the Lamb; the Love of Christ, all

¹ Serm. 33. in Cantica. [Tom. I. col. 1397. A.]

² Mornay, Of the Church, cap. 2. [p. 39.]

fair, undefiled, and without spot, in respect of her best and principal parts, though not in respect of other. The former of these two sorts of men that were found in the Roman Church we name a faction. First, because they had no part in that degree of unity which the best parts thereof had amongst themselves, but wandered into by-paths of error to their own destruction, and sought the ruin of that mother, which by baptism had sacramentally regenerated them to be the sons of God. Secondly, for that they brought in new and strange errors, and a new kind of tyrannical government, prejudicial to the purity of the faith once delivered, and the ancient liberty of the people of God. For hereby we are to judge who are of the faction in the Church, and who not, and not by multitude or paucity, as some fondly imagine. The disguised Arians, and others misled by them to the condemning of Athanasius, were but a faction in the Church at that time, yet were they many, so that Hierome saith, the whole world was become an Arian; and they that adhered to Athanasius were few in number, and contemptible in respect of the rest. And all they that hold and defend errors in matters of doctrine, and observations in matters of practice and laws, prejudicial to the ancient liberties in the society of the Christian Church, are rightly said to be a faction in the same, whether they be many or few; and they that retain the faith once delivered are most properly the Church. Lastly, the errors that we condemn were taught in the Roman Church that was when Luther began, but they were not the doctrines of that Church; but these errors are of the doctrines of the present Roman Church. For the clearing of the former part, to wit, that the errors condemned by us were not the doctrines of that ancient Roman Church, wherein our fathers lived and died, we must observe, that the doctrines taught in that Church were of three sorts. The first, such as were delivered with so full consent of all that lived in the same, that whosoever offered to teach otherwise was rejected as a damnable heretic; such was the doctrine of the Trinity, the creation, fall, original sin, incarnation of the Son of God, the unity of his person, and diversity of the natures subsisting in the same. The second, such errors as were taught by many in the midst of the same Church, as that the pope cannot err, and the like. The third, such contrary true assertions as were by other

opposed against those errors. The first were absolutely the doctrines of that Church. The third may be said to have been the doctrines of the Church, though all received them not, because they were the doctrines of such as were so in the Church that they were the Church, according to that of Augustine¹: "Some are in such sort in the house of God, that they also are the house of God; and some are so in the house, that they pertain not to the frame and fabric of it, nor to the society and fellowship of fruitful and peaceable righteousness." The second kind of doctrines were not at all the doctrines of the Church, because they neither were taught with full consent of all that lived in it, nor by them that were so in the Church and house of God, that they were the Church and house of God; but by such as thought they pertained to the Church in respect of the profession of some parts of heavenly truth, yet in respect of many other wherein they were departed from the same, seeking to subvert the faith once delivered, were but a faction in it.

Hence it followeth (which is the third thing I promised to shew) that howsoever we have forsaken the communion of the Roman diocese, yet we have not departed from the Roman Church in the later sense before expressed, wherein our fathers lived and died, but only from the faction that was in it. First, because we have brought in no doctrine², then generally and constantly condemned, nor rejected any thing then generally and constantly consented on. Secondly, because we have done nothing in that alteration of things that now appeareth, but removed abuses then disliked, and shaken off the yoke of tyranny which that Church in her best parts did ever desire to be freed from, howsoever she had brought forth and nourished other children that conspired against her, that taught otherwise than we now do, and would willingly for their advantage have retained many things which we have removed. Thus then (I hope) it doth appear, that howsoever I confess, that the Latin or West Churches, oppressed with Romish tyranny, continued the true Churches of God, held a saving profession of heavenly truth, turned many to God, and had many saints that died in their communion even till the time that Luther began; yet I neither dissent from Luther,

¹ August. de Baptism. Lib. vii. cap. 51. [Tom. ix. col. 200.]

² See the Appendix to the Third Book Of the Church.

Calvin, Beza, or any other protestant of judgment, nor any way acknowledge the present Romish Church to be that true Church of God whose communion we must embrace, whose directions we must follow, and in whose judgment we must rest. But will some man say, is the Roman Church at this day no part of the Church of God? Surely, as Augustine noteth¹, that the societies of heretics, in that they retain the profession of many parts of heavenly truth, and the ministration of the sacrament of baptism, are so far forth still conjoined with the Catholic Church of God, and the Catholic Church in and by them bringeth forth children unto God; so the present Roman Church is still in some sort a part of the visible Church of God, but no otherwise than other societies of heretics are, in that it retaineth the profession of some parts of heavenly truth, and ministereth the true sacrament of baptism to the salvation of the souls of many thousand infants that die after they are baptized, before she have poisoned them with her errors. Thus having spoken sufficiently for the clearing of myself touching this point, I will pass from this chapter to the next.

(CHAP. III.)

In the third chapter he endeavoureth to shew that “the protestants do now teach the necessity of one supreme spiritual head and commander in the Church of Christ.” His words are these: “Whereas heretofore some unchristian sermons and books have termed the bishop of Rome to be the great antichrist, we shall now receive a better doctrine and more religious answer. That there ever was and must be one chief and supreme spiritual head and commander of the Church of Christ on earth, &c., D. Field citeth and approveth this as a general and infallible rule: *Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet*, &c.: ‘The health of the Church dependeth on the dignity of the high priest, whose eminent authority if it be denied, there will be as many schisms in the Church as there be priests.’ Then of necessity one chief supreme and high priest must be assigned in

¹ August. de Baptism. contra Donatist. Lib. i. cap. 8, et 10. [Tom. ix. col. 85.]

his judgment." These are his words. The place he meaneth is not page 138, as he quoteth it, but page 80¹. Let the reader, how partial soever, peruse it, and if he find that I have written any thing whence it may be concluded that I acknowledge there ever was and must be one chief and supreme spiritual head and commander of the whole Church of Christ in earth, I will fall prostrate at the pope's feet, and be of the Romish religion for ever. But if it appear unto him that the author of these pretended proofs hath cited this place to prove that which in his conscience he knew it did not, let him beware of such false and cozening companions. My words are: "The unity of each particular Church depends on the unity of the pastor, who is one to whom an eminent and particular power is given, and whom all must obey." Here is no word of one chief pastor of the whole universal Church of Christ upon earth, but of one chief pastor in each particular Church. Who would not detest the impudency and false dealing of these Romish writers? But he saith, I approve the saying of Hierome before mentioned, therefore I must assign one chief pastor of the whole Church of Christ on earth. How will he make good this consequence? Doth Hierome speak in that place cited and approved by me, of one supreme pastor of the whole Church of Christ on earth? Surely this pamphleteer knoweth he doth not, but of the bishop of each particular Church or diocese, "If," saith Hierome², "thou shalt ask, why he that is baptized in the Church doth not receive the Holy Ghost but by the hands of the bishop, which we say is given in baptism; know that this observation cometh from that authority, that the Spirit descended upon the apostles: and in many places we find the same to have been done rather for the honour of priesthood, than the necessity of any law: otherwise if the Spirit descend not but only at the prayer of the bishop, they are to be lamented who in villages, castles, and remote places, baptized by priests or deacons, die before they are visited by the bishop:" and then follow these words: "The safety of the Church depends on the dignity of the chief priest, to whom if an eminent power be not given, there will be as many schisms in the Church as there are priests." So that this is

¹ [Book III. Chap. v. Vol. I. p. 162.]

² Hier. contra Luciferianos. [Tom. II. col. 181.]

that which he saith, that it is rather for the honour of the bishop or chief priest of each Church, that the imposition of hands upon the baptized is reserved unto him alone, than the necessity of any law; because if he had no such pre-eminences and things peculiarly reserved unto him, in respect whereof he might be greater than the rest of the priests and ministers in the Church, there would be as many schisms as priests: and hence he saith it cometh, that without the command of the bishop or chief priest neither priest nor deacon have right to baptize. So that it is manifest, the chief priest he speaketh of, whose power is eminent and peerless, is so named in respect of other priests in the same Church, that may not so much as baptize without his mandate, and not in respect of the pastors of the whole universal Church. Wherefore, if this pamphleteer would have dealt truly and honestly, he should have said: Whereas heretofore some unchristian sermons and books termed the bishop of Rome the great antichrist, we shall now receive a better doctrine and more religious answer, that there must be one chief priest or bishop in every diocese, having a more eminent authority than the rest; and then whereas men now detest his falsehood, they would but only have laughed at his folly. But let us come to his second allegation, and see if there be any more truth in that than in this. His words are these¹: “Doctor Field telleth us from Scripture, that ‘Christ promised to build his Church upon St Peter;’ then no Christian will doubt, unless he will doubt of Christ’s truth and promises, but it was so performed.” Let the reader peruse the place², and he shall find that I do not tell them from Scripture, that Christ promised to build his Church upon Peter, as this man, adding one falsehood to another, most untruly saith I do³, but only cite a place of Tertullian, to prove that nothing was hid from the apostles that was to be revealed to after-comers, where he hath these words: “What was hidden and concealed from Peter, upon whom Christ promised to build his Church? from John the disciple he so dearly loved, that leaned on his breast at the mystical supper, and the rest of that blessed company, that should be after manifested to succeeding generations?” But he will say that I approve the saying of Tertullian, and there-

¹ [Pag. 14.]² [Pag. 344.]³ [Book IV. Chap. II. Vol. II. p. 392.]

fore think the Church was built upon Peter. Truly so I do; but I think also as Hierome doth, that it was built no more upon him than upon all the rest; and therefore the supremacy of Peter's pretended successor will not be concluded from thence. *Dicis* (saith Hierome¹), *super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia, licet idipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat: super omnes ex æquo Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidatur*: that is, "Thou wilt say, the Church was built upon Peter; it is true, it was so; but we shall find in another place that it was builded upon all the apostles. Surely the firmness of the Church doth equally stay and settle itself upon them all." This is so clear and evident, that Bellarmine² himself confesseth that all the apostles may be said to have been foundations of the Church, and that the Church may be truly said to have been built upon them all. First, because they preached Christ to such as had not heard of him before, and were the first that founded Christian Churches. Secondly, in respect of their doctrine, which they learned by immediate revelation from the Son of God, in which the Church is to rest as in the ground and rule of her faith. Thirdly, in respect of government, in that they were all heads and rulers of the universal Church. Thus we see, if I had told them out of Scripture, that Christ promised to build his Church on Peter, our adversaries could not from thence have inferred the supremacy of the pope, his pretended successor.

Wherefore let us come to his next allegation. His words are³: "Doctor Field, and the rest, do ordinarily yield, that the Roman Church continued the true Church of God till the year of Christ six hundred and seven, when Bonifacius the pope there claimed, as they say, supremacy first in the Church." This is a mere imagination of his own; for I nowhere speak of the Church continuing till the time of Bonifacius the pope, or till the year six hundred and seven, as if it had then ceased; and therefore he doth not here cite any page of my book, as in other places, but citeth it at large. But (saith he) "Doctor Field plainly acknowledgeth, that the supremacy belonged to the popes of Rome before the first Nicene Council, and then by the rules which he giveth to know true traditions (custom of the Church, consent of fathers,

¹ Hier. Lib. i. contra Jovinian. [Tom. ii. col. 279.]

² Lib. i. de Pont. Rom. cap. 11. [Tom. i. col. 545.]

³ [Pag. 15.]

or an apostolical Church's testimony,) this must needs be of that first kind, and then of equal authority with Scripture, as he acknowledgeth of such traditions." Such is the intolerable impudency of this man, that I protest I can scarce believe mine own eyes, or persuade myself that he writeth that which I see he doth. For, do I anywhere acknowledge the supremacy belonged to the popes of Rome before the Nicene Council? Nay, do I not in the place cited by him say¹, that before the Nicene Council there were three principal bishops or patriarchs of the Christian Church, to wit, the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, as appeareth by the acts of the council limiting their bounds? Had these their bounds limited and set unto them, and was there one of them an universal commander? If he say I acknowledge the bishop of Rome was in order and honour the first amongst the patriarchs before the Nicene Council, and thereupon infer that I acknowledge his supremacy and commanding power over the rest, he may as well infer that I give to the bishop of Alexandria a commanding authority over the bishop of Antioch, because before the Nicene Council he was before him in order and honour. That which he addeth as a corollary, that by the rules I give to know true traditions, "this must be of that kind, and consequently of equal authority with Scripture," argueth in him a greater desire of saying something than care what he saith. For first, it no way appeareth out of anything that I have said touching the primacy of the pope before the time of the Nicene Council, that either custom of the Church, consent of fathers, or the testimony of an apostolical Church, give the supremacy to the popes. Secondly, it is false that he saith, that I make "custom of the Church, or the testimony of an apostolical Church, rules whereby to find out which are true traditions, and which are not." For first, I do not say, that custom of the Church observing a thing is a proof that that thing which is so observed was delivered from the apostles, but such a custom, whereby a thing hath been observed from the beginning. So that though the popes had been supreme in power and command before the Nicene Council, which all the papists and devils in hell shall never prove, yet would it not follow that this their supremacy were by tradition from the apostles. Secondly, I

¹ Book III. cap. i. [Vol. I. p. 100.]

do not make the testimony of an apostolical Church to be a rule whereby to know true traditions from false, as he is pleased to belie me, but I disclaim it in the very place cited by him. My words are these¹: "The third rule whereby true traditions may be known from false, is the constant testimony of the pastors of an apostolical Church successively delivered; to which some add the present testimony of any apostolical Church; but this none of the fathers admit;" neither do I. The Churches of Corinth, Ephesus, and Rome, are apostolical Churches, and whatsoever their pastors have successively delivered, as received from the apostles, is undoubtedly apostolical; but not everything that the pastors of those Churches that now presently are shall so deliver, seeing they are contrary the one to the other in things of great importance. Thirdly, whereas he saith I acknowledge unwritten traditions to be of equal authority with the Scriptures, he is like himself; for I never acknowledge that there is any matter of faith, of which nature the pope's supremacy is supposed to be, delivered by bare tradition, and not written; but say only, if anything may be proved to have been delivered by lively voice by them that wrote the Scriptures, there is no reason but it should be of as great authority as if it had been written.

Two more allegations there are yet behind in this chapter that concern me. The first, that I say, and protestants generally agree with me, that "the regiment of the West Churches (among which this nation is) belonged to the pope of Rome." It seemeth this man hath a great desire I should say so, and some hope I will say so. But I protest as yet I never wrote any such thing, and therefore here again he referreth his reader to no page of my book, as in other places, but citeth it at large, wherein he sheweth more wit than honesty; for it is good to put a man to seek far for that which can nowhere be found. But what if I had said the bishop of Rome was patriarch of the West? would that prove an universal power over the whole Church, or such a kind of absolute authority over the Churches of the West as in latter times by usurpation he exercised over them? Surely I think not. But (saith he) "Doctor Downname² saith, 'Before the grant of

¹ [Book iv. Chap. xxi. Vol. ii. p. 472.]

² [Antichrist, Lib. ii. cap. 3. p. 100. ed. 4to. Lond. 1620.]

Phocas the Church of Rome had the superiority and pre-eminence over all other Churches excepting that of Constantinople ;' and Doctor Field telleth him absolutely that the title of Constantinople was but intruded and usurped; and when the first Nicene Council gave such honour to the Roman Church, there was not so much as the name of Constantinople." This is the last allegation that concerneth me in this chapter. The place that he citeth is neither to be found in the First Book Of the Church quoted by him, nor anywhere else. For I nowhere ever say that the Council of Nice gave supreme commanding authority over all the Churches to the bishop of Rome, but only that it confirmed the distinct jurisdictions of the three patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. And touching the title of Constantinople, whereof he speaketh; if he mean the title of being universal bishop, it is most true that it was intruded and usurped, as also the like is at this day by the bishops of Rome, which Gregory¹ their predecessor disclaimed, thinking it intolerable that one man should subject to himself all the members of the body of Christ, which is his Church. But if he mean the title of being a patriarch in order the second, having equal privileges with the bishop of Rome, far be it for me to think it was intruded or usurped, or to condemn the acts of the Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon (two of those four which Saint Gregory² received as the four gospels), as the Romanists do, because they gave privileges to the bishop of Constantinople equal to those of the bishop of Rome³. Nay, hereby it appeareth to be true that St Hierome was wont to say, *Orbis major est urbe*⁴. For after that Constantinople, before named Byzantium, was enlarged by Constantine, named after his name, and made the seat of the emperors, though the very name of it was not at all heard of in the time of the Nicene Council, yet in the second general Council holden at Constantinople the bishop thereof was made a patriarch, and set in order and degree of honour before the other two of Alexandria and Antioch; and in the great Council of Chalcedon, where there were more than six hundred bishops assembled, he was again confirmed

¹ Greg. Lib. iv. Epist. 38. [See Chap. xxxii. Vol. iii. p. 265.]

² Greg. Lib. i. Epist. 24. [al. Epist. 25. Tom. ii. col. 515.]

³ Concil. Chalced. Act. 16. [Labbe, Tom. iv. col. 1733.]

⁴ Hieron. ad Evagrium. [Epist. 146. Tom. i. col. 1076.]

in the dignity of a patriarch, and to have equal privileges with the bishop of Rome. Against this decree they that supplied the place of Leo in the council resisted; and Leo¹ himself would by no means admit that the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch claiming from Peter, the one because Mark was there placed by him, the other for that in person he abode there for a time, should be put lower, and the bishop of Constantinople, who had not like pretence, to sit above them. Yet the fathers of the council, not so much respecting the claim from Peter, as the greatness of the city, and thinking it was the greatness of the city of Rome, during the emperor's presence there, that caused the fathers formerly to give honour to the bishop of that city, supposed they might now for the same cause give like honour to the bishop of Constantinople, being become equal in state and magnificence to Old Rome, and named New Rome, as every way matching it; and howsoever the succeeding bishops of Rome strove a long while about this matter², yet in the end they were forced to yield, and to take the bishops of Constantinople for patriarchs in degree of honour set before the other two.

(CHAP. IV.)

In this chapter he endeavoureth to prove by testimonies of protestants, that "all books received for Scripture by the Roman Church are canonical;" and herein are two things that concern me; the first, that the Roman Church being the spouse of Christ, his true Church and pillar of truth, whose communion we must embrace, follow her directions, rest in her judgment, living and dying therein to have eternal life, men might here by my censure and advice confine themselves, and wade no further in so many intricate controversies of religion; the second, that I am or must be of opinion that all those books which the Church of Rome received for canonical are indeed canonical. For answer to the former of these allegations; first, I profess before God, men, and angels, that

¹ Leo, Epist. 53. [al. 106. cap. 5. Tom. i. col. 1167.] et 53. [al. 104. cap. 3. col. 1149.]

² Onuph. Annot. in Vit. Bonif. III. apud Platinam. [p. 77.]

I neither do, nor ever did, think the present Roman Church to be the true Church, whose communion we are bound to embrace; but an heretical Church, with which we may not communicate. Secondly, I profess in like sort that though I did, and do, acknowledge the Church wherein our fathers lived before Luther's time to have been the true Church of God in respect of the best, and indeed the principal parts thereof, which held a saving profession of the truth in Christ (howsoever many, and they greatly prevailing, erred damnablely); yet I never thought it to be that Church in whose judgment we are to rest without any farther doubt or question; nor that it was safe to follow the greater part of the guides and rulers of it; but the Church, in whose judgment we must absolutely and finally rest, is that whole and entire society of holy ones, which beginning at Hierusalem, and filling the world, continueth unto this day. To refuse the judgment of this Church, or to resist against anything delivered *ab omnibus, ubique, semper*, in all places, at all times, by all Christian pastors and people not noted for heresy or singularity, were extreme folly and madness; so that, as I noted in answer to the first chapter out of Waldensis, it is not any particular Church, as the Church of Africa, nor the particular Roman Church, but the universal Church, not gathered together in a general council, which hath sometimes erred, but the whole catholic Church dispersed through the world from the baptism of Christ unto our times, which doth undoubtedly hold the true faith and faithful testimony of Jesus, and in whose judgment we must absolutely rest, without any farther question or doubting; and hereunto agreeth Vincentius Lirinensis¹, prescribing this course to be followed in matters questioned touching faith and religion. If error creep into one part of the Church, we must look unto other that still are sound and pure; if into almost the whole present Church, we must look up higher into former times, and the resolutions of them that have been since the apostles' times. Thus I hope the reader will easily perceive that this first allegation is frivolous; for I do not think the present Church of Rome to be the true Church of God, whose communion we must embrace; nor that the particular Roman Church, when it was at

¹ Contra Prof. Hæret. Novitat. [cap. 3. Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. Tom. vii. p. 250.]

the best, was that Church in the judgment whereof we are absolutely to rest; and therefore let no man confine himself here without farther wading into particular controversies; but let every man, as he tendereth the salvation of his own soul, look to the judgment of other Churches also, and to the resolutions of former times.

Now let us proceed to his second allegation concerning canonical and apocryphal books of Scripture. His words are:¹ "The protestant surveyor of the communion-book affirmeth plainly that the protestants of England must approve for canonical all those books which the Roman Church doth: and Doctor Field is of the same opinion, or must be; for thus he writeth: 'The ancient and true-believing Jews before the coming of Christ (especially such as lived in Greece, and nations out of Jury, commonly called Hellenists,) received those books for canonical Scripture.'" It is well he saith not absolutely that I am of that opinion, but that I am, or must be; for he is well assured I am not: but he knoweth how to force me to be, whether I will or not, by falsely reporting my words, and making me say that I never thought nor said. For do I anywhere say the ancient and true-believing Jews before the coming of Christ received those books for canonical, especially such as were dispersed among the Gentiles? No, surely, but the contrary; namely, that the ancient Church of the Jews did receive those only as divine and canonical which we do, and not those other in question. I am verily persuaded these men think lying to be no sin; for, otherwise, it were not likely that bragging so much of their good works, and trusting to the merit thereof, they would wittingly run so often into such a sin, as we silly men think it to be, and as the Spirit of God assureth us it is, being of the number of those that shut men out of the kingdom of God and Christ, according to that in the Revelation², "Without shall be dogs, and enchanterers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth or maketh lies." But let us see if he deal not better in that which followeth. Surely no; he is constant, and ever like himself; for he saith, "Doctor Field writeth thus, 'The ancient and true-believing Jews, before the coming of Christ (especially such as lived in Greece, and nations out of Jury, commonly called Hellenists,)"

¹ [Pag. 19.]

² Rev. xxii. 15.

received those books for canonical Scripture;' and, to use his own words, 'Hence it came that the Jews delivered a double canon of Scripture to the Christian Churches.' " Surely this is not to use, but to abuse my words. For I was not so senseless as to say, the ancient and true-believing Jews received the books in question for canonical, and that thence it came that they delivered a double canon of Scripture to the Christian Churches. For if the Jews generally had received all these books for canonical, but especially the Hellenists, then they could not have delivered a double canon of Scripture, but one only. Wherefore my words are not as he reporteth them; but having spoken of the twenty-two books of the Old Testament, I add¹, "These only did the ancient Church of the Jews receive as divine and canonical; and that other books were added unto these, whose authority not being certain and known, are named apocryphal, fell out in this sort. The Jews in their latter times, before, and at the coming of Christ, were of two sorts; some properly named Hebrews commorant at Hierusalem and in the Holy Land; other, named Hellenists, Jews of the dispersion, mingled with the Grecians: these had written sundry books in Greek, which they made use of together with other parts of the Old Testament, which they had of the translation of the Septuagint; but the Hebrews received only the twenty-two books before mentioned. Hence it came that the Jews delivered a double canon of the Scripture to the Christian Church; the one pure, indubitate, and divine, which is the Hebrew canon; the other in Greek, enriched with, or, rather, adulterated by, the addition of certain other books written in those days, when God raised up no more prophets among his people. So that the Jews being of two sorts, Hebrews and Hellenists, the Hebrews delivered to the Christian Church only the twenty-two books of the Old Testament, whereof there is no question to be the absolute rule and canon of our faith, and took no notice of the books now in question. But the Hellenists delivered with them these also that are questioned, if not to be the canon of our faith, yet to be a canon and rule of direction for matters of conversation and manners, and to be read at least *ad ædificationem plebis*, for the edification of the people, though not for con-

¹ [Book iv. Chap. xxiii. Vol. ii. p. 477.]

firmation of matters of doctrine. And truly I am persuaded it cannot be proved that the Hellenists ever received these books in question as any part of the canon of faith, or absolutely canonical, but in a sort only, in that they contain a good direction of men's manners. But saith he¹, "D. Field, speaking of this volume of the Hellenists, addeth: 'These books which are doubted of, joined in one volume with those twenty-two, whereof there is no question, were translated out of Greek into Latin, and read by the Latin Church in that translation;' and entreating of Saint Augustine and the Latin fathers, especially in Africa, and the third Carthaginian Council, writeth thus: 'They reckon the books of Scripture according as they found them in use in the Latin Church.' Then Doctor Field hath absolutely granted that in the Latin Church (under which England is) these Scriptures were ever esteemed as canonical.'" They seem greatly to desire to end the controversies between them and us by public disputation, and challenge us in such sort as if we durst not shew ourselves where they should appear: but surely if they perform no more when they come to disputing than they do when they write, nor bring no better arguments when they oppose in our schools than they publish in their books, the very boys in our universities will hiss them out. For how will this consequence ever be made good: Augustine and the Africans, in the third Council of Carthage, reckon the books of Scripture as they found them joined in one volume, translated out of Greek into Latin, not exactly noting the difference that is between them, and so seem to admit into the canon those books which we reject; therefore the books which we reject were ever esteemed to be canonical in the Latin Church; seeing Hierome at the same time translating the Scriptures out of Hebrew, and exactly learning which books pertained to the Hebrew canon, rejected all besides the twenty-two Hebrew books, as the Grecians did before him, and as after him almost all men of note in the Latin Church did. But he will say, Augustine and the Africans found the books rejected by us in use in the Latin Church, as well as the other which we admit to be canonical; therefore they were ever esteemed to be canonical in the Latin Church, under which England is. This proof is too weak; for as I

¹ [Pag. 19.]

have noted in the place cited by him, the Prayer of Manasses confessed by our adversaries to be apocryphal, the third and fourth of Esdras, and the book called Pastor, were likewise in use in the Latin Church, that is, read by them of the Latin Church, cited by them in their writings, and many things translated out of them into the public prayers and Liturgy of the Church; yet will it not follow that these books were ever esteemed as canonical in the Latin Church, under which England was. It is true indeed that Augustine, when he was blamed for citing some testimonies out of the books rejected by us, defended his so doing by the practice of the Church which had anciently read the same in her public assemblies; but not much pressing the authority of them, saith he can prove the things, for proof whereof he alleged those books, out of other that are not doubted of. So that Cajetan's opinion is not improbable, that Augustine did not think these books to be absolutely canonical, but in a sort only, in that they contain many godly instructions, and a good direction for men's manners. That which he addeth in the last place, that these controverted books being translated out of Greek into Latin, with the other originally written in Hebrew, were in likelihood first delivered by the Hellenists, or Jews of the dispersion, to the Greek Churches, as being in Greek amongst them, is to no purpose: for though we should grant they were so delivered all together, yet they of the Greek Church, having an eye to the canon of the Hebrews, put a difference between the one and the other, and never accounted these to be canonical, as I have largely proved out of the testimonies of Melito, Origen, Athanasius, Nazianzen, Cyril, Epiphanius, and Damascene¹. Thus have we examined the allegations of this chapter, and found them very weak and frivolous.

(CHAP. V.)

In the fifth chapter he undertaketh to prove, that protestants confess the vulgar translation to be the best, and their own the worst. But because he allegeth nothing to this pur-

¹ [Ubi supra.]

pose out of anything that I have written, I will pass from this to the next, not doubting but they who are wronged by him will make him know that he undertaketh much, and proveth little.

(CHAP. VI.)

In the sixth chapter¹, wherein he undertaketh to prove by the confession of protestants, that “the true, lawful, and juridical exposition of Scriptures is in the Roman Church, and not with the protestants,” he endeavoureth to shew that I confess so much. His words are these: “D. Field confesseth², that neither conference of places, nor consideration of the *antecedentia* and *consequentia*, nor looking into the originals, are of any force, unless we find the things which we conceive to be understood and meant in the places interpreted, to be consonant to the rule of faith:” therefore he confesseth, that the warranted exposition of Scripture belongeth to the Roman Church. This consequence I deny as strange and absurd: wherefore let us see if he make any show of proving it. He addeth, that I teach, “the rule of faith must be tried either by the general practice of the Church, the renowned of all ages, or the pastors of an apostolical Church;” which, as the world can witness, no protestant can make claim unto: as if from hence it would follow (which is the thing he goeth about to prove, or else he doth nothing) that all warranted exposition of Scripture belongeth to the Roman Church. Whatsoever become of the consequence of this argument, there are many exceptions to be taken to the antecedent of it. For first, I do not give these three rules whereof he speaketh³, whereby to know the rule of faith, but to know true traditions from false. Secondly, I do not say, the general practice of the Church, the renowned of all ages, and the pastors of an apostolical Church, are the rules whereby true traditions may be known from false; but the general practice of the Church from the beginning, the report and testimony of the most renowned and famous in all ages, and the testimony of the pastors of an apostolic Church, successively delivered from the

¹ [Pag. 23.]

² [Field, Book iv. Chap. xix. Vol. ii. p. 458.]

³ [See Book iv. Chap. xv. p. 441.]

beginning, not the present testimony of an apostolical Church. Thirdly, we will never admit any pretended traditions, unless they may be confirmed unto us by one of these rules; and if our adversaries can prove any of their supposed traditions by these rules, we will willingly acknowledge them; and therefore I know no reason why we may not make claim unto them.

He addeth, that I condemn private interpretations; as if ever any protestant had allowed any private interpretation in that sense that I dislike it, or as if our religion were grounded upon private interpretations. But the good man might have been pleased to remember, that in the place¹ cited by him I distinguish three kinds of private interpretations: whereof one is named private, for that they that so interpret neglect the common rules of direction, rely upon secret revelations known to none but themselves, and despise the judgment of other men. Another, because the person so interpreting is private, and yet presumptuously taketh upon him to force all others to embrace the same, having no authority so to do. The third is, when, as the person is of private condition, so he seeketh only to satisfy himself in it, and no way presumeth to prescribe to others to follow that he resolveth on, farther than by reason and higher authority he can enforce the same. The first kind of private interpretations we detest and accurse. The second we condemn as presumptuous. The third we approve, and so do our adversaries, for aught I know; and therefore I know not to what purpose he citeth this saying of mine, that "private men may not so propose their interpretations as if they would bind all other men to embrace and receive them."

That which followeth, that I make "three kinds of interpretation," and affirm, that none have authority so to interpret Scripture, as that they may subject all that dissent from the same to excommunication and censures of like nature, but bishops assembled in a general council, is so true, that neither he, nor any other in his right wits, will ever deny it. For who hath authority so to interpret Scripture as to subject them to excommunication that dissent, but the governors of the Church? and who so, as to subject all that dissent, but they that are the governors of the whole, as are the bishops

¹ [Book IV. Chap. XVI. p. 446.]

of the whole Christian Church assembled in a general council? But, saith he, "Protestants have never had any general council; therefore they have no warranted interpretations of Scripture." If this consequence be good, the Christians, for the space of three hundred years after Christ, had no warranted interpretations of Scripture; for till the reign of Constantine there was no general council. But the protestants can have no general council; therefore they have not amongst them the highest and supreme binding authority and judgment. Surely we confess, that being but a part of the Christian Church, they cannot have a council absolutely general out of themselves alone; and therefore not having the highest binding authority amongst them, it being found only in the whole universal Church, they do not take upon them to interpret Scriptures, as to subject all to excommunication that refuse their interpretations, but such particular Churches and persons only as are under their jurisdiction. The papists, indeed, in the height of their pride, being but a part, contemning all other interested in the supreme binding judgment as well as themselves, assume and appropriate it to themselves alone; in which claim we may rather see the height of their pride, than the clearness of their right. And therefore the Grecians¹ impute all the divisions and breaches of the Christian world unto them, in that they presumed of themselves without them to interpret the Scriptures, and to define certain questions touching the faith in such sort, that they subjected them to anathema and excommunication, so casting them all into hell as much as lay in them. These inconsiderate proceedings and rash censures did such harm, that the wisest², most religious, and moderate in the Latin Church, wished they had never been passed, or that they were reversed and called again. "But," saith he³, "let any man enter into a serious consideration of protestant doctrine in this point; that under pain of damnation we are bound to find and follow the truth; that general councils, as before, may subject every man disobeying their determinations to excommunication and censures of like nature, the most terrible and fearful punishment of this

¹ Orat. de Caus. Dissens. Eccles. apud Nilum. [p. 20. 8vo. Han. 1608.]

² Gerson. Part. 4. Serm. de Pace et Unitate Græcorum. [Tom. II. col. 145.]

³ [p. 24.]

world; and all judgments ecclesiastical, even general councils, may err and have erred even in things pertaining to God, as is defined in their Articles, and is commonly taught and believed with them: this consideration is able to put men not regardless of salvation into more than a quaking palsy." What the meaning of the good man is in this passage, I do not well conceive: for I see not but all these considerations may well stand together; that the truth is to be found out and followed upon pain of damnation, that councils may err; and yet have power to subject such as disobey their determinations to excommunication, the most terrible and fearful punishment of this world, without any danger of causing men to fall into a quaking palsy. For are they all in a state of damnation that are excommunicated, whether justly or unjustly? or may no man subject men to excommunication but he that cannot err? Surely all men know¹ that not only popes and particular bishops, but even general councils, may err in matters of fact, and excommunicate a man unjustly for resisting their determinations. And doth not St Augustine² shew that by the means of prevailing factions men may be unjustly excommunicated, and never restored to the outward communion of the Church again, and yet die in state of salvation? nay, be rewarded for the patient enduring of the wrongs offered them, by them by whom they were excommunicate? It is no such absurd thing then, that they may err who have authority to excommunicate. But perhaps his meaning is, that if councils may err, there is no certain way to find out the truth, which yet every man is bound upon peril of damnation to find and follow; and that it is the consideration hereof that is able to put a man into a quaking palsy. Surely this man seemeth to fear where there is no fear: for are there no other means to find out the truth, when questions and doubts trouble the Church and distract the minds of men, but general councils? How did the fathers in the primitive Church, during the time of the first three hundred years, satisfy themselves, and such as depended of them, in the midst of so many so horrible and damnable

¹ Turrecrem. Lib. II. de Eccles. cap. 93. [fol. 226. 4to. Ven. 1561.]
Bellar. de Pont. Rom. Lib. IV. cap. 11. [Tom. I. col. 828.]

² August. de Vera Relig. cap. 6. [Tom. I. col. 751.]

heresies as then rose up? Doth not Bellarmine¹ from hence infer, that though general councils be a very fit and good means to end controversies, and settle the differences that may arise in the Church, and so much to be desired, yet if they cannot be had, the truth may be found out by other means? Yea, have not the fathers in factious times complained that they never saw good end of any council? and yet were resolved in matters of the faith, and able to settle others also.

(CHAP. VII.)

In this chapter², wherein he endeavoureth to shew that traditions are of equal authority with Scripture, and yet prove the Roman religion, he hath these words: "The dignity and authority of unwritten and apostolical traditions being lawfully proved, was ever esteemed such, that M. Wootton³ affirmeth, 'Out of all question we are bound to keep them,' and telleth, that M. Perkins⁴ was of the same mind." This is an ill beginning; for whereas he should prove, that the apostles delivered some matters of faith by bare tradition without writing, he bringeth forth some that say, if it could be proved that anything was so delivered, it were to be received with no less regard than if it had been written; which is, as if a man should undertake to prove out of Paul's Epistles, that the angels in heaven and the apostles of Christ are to be anathematized and accursed, because he saith⁵, "If we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other doctrine than that ye have received, hold him accursed." Wherefore to help the matter, and to make some show at the least; whereas we say, "If any thing could be proved to have been delivered by the apostles by tradition, it were no less to be esteemed than things of the same nature written by them;" he citeth our words as if we confessed there were certain unwritten apostolical traditions, which were ever esteemed equal with the Scripture, but not before they were proved to be such. "D. Field," saith he,

¹ Lib. I. de Concil. cap. 10. [Tom. II. col. 14.]

² [Pag. 25.]

³ ["Defence of Perkins," p. 405.]

⁴ [Pag. 430.]

⁵ Gal. i. 8.

“ speaketh of such traditions in these words: ‘ There is no reason but these should be equal with Scripture: for it is not the writing that giveth these things their authority, but the worth and credit of him that delivereth them, though but by word, and lively voice only.’ ” In this allegation he wrongeth me no less than in other before; for these are not my words, as he untruly affirmeth against his own knowledge; but speaking of the divers kinds of unwritten traditions imagined by the papists, I say¹: “ All these in their several kinds they make equal with the words, precepts, and doctrines of Christ, the apostles, and pastors of the Church, left unto us in writing; neither is there any reason why they should not do so, if they could prove any such unwritten verities: for it is not the writing that giveth things their authority, but the worth and credit of him that delivereth them. The only doubt is, whether there be any such traditions or not.” Is this to acknowledge that there are unwritten traditions of equal authority with the Scriptures? If one of his fellows should tell him, if he were pope he could not err, would he infer his fellow were so mad to think he could not err, that doth nothing else but err, and mistake all that he citeth? But he saith I add, that “ the perpetual virginity of our lady was a tradition, and only received by such authority; and so do other protestants: and that both they and I acknowledge Helvidius was condemned of heresy, and justly, for denial thereof: which could not be, except to deny the doctrine of true traditions were to deny the word of God, in their judgments.” This is another notable and shameless falsification. For I neither say, the perpetual virginity of our lady was a tradition, nor that Helvidius was condemned, and that justly, for the denial thereof; but my words are²: “ The canon of Scripture being admitted as delivered by tradition, though the Divine truth of it be in itself clear, not depending of the Church’s authority, there is no matter of faith delivered by bare and only tradition, as the Romanists imagine. The only clear instance they seem to give, is touching the perpetual virginity of Mary, which they say cannot be proved by Scripture, and yet it is necessary to be believed; but they should know that this is no point of Christian faith. That she was a virgin before, in, and after the birth of Christ, we

¹ [Book IV. Chap. xx. Vol. II. p. 464.]

² [Ibid. p. 466.]

are bound to believe as an article of our faith; and so much is delivered in Scripture, and in the Apostles' Creed; but that she continued so ever after is a seemly truth, fitting the sanctity of the blessed virgin, and is *de pietate*, but not *de necessitate fidei*." Neither was Helvidius condemned of heresy for the denial hereof, but by such as thought it might be proved out of Scripture, or by such as detested and condemned his madness and desperate singularity, in pertinaciously urging the denial of it upon misconstruction of Scripture, as if the denial of it had been a matter of faith. And surely, whatever this man think to the contrary, Melchior Canus¹ is of opinion that the perpetual virginity of Mary the mother of our Lord is not believed only or principally as delivered by tradition; but that the very consideration of the respect that was due to so sanctified a vessel of the incarnation of the Son of God as was her body, would make us persuade ourselves she never knew man after she was so much honoured as to be the mother of God. This consideration, no doubt, moved the fathers to be of this opinion, rather than any tradition.

In the next place, he setteth down my discourse and division of traditions approved by protestants, in the twentieth chapter of my Fourth Book Of the Church, leaving out divers things in setting down the same for his most advantage, as the reader will easily perceive if he peruse the place. But to what purpose he produceth this discourse and division of mine, I know not. For first, if he think that I now yield more unto them in the matter of traditions than our divines heretofore have done, as he seemeth to do, in that he saith though untruly that I prevent and confute the usual objections of protestants about the doctrine of traditions, he is greatly deceived. For Chemnitius², in his *Examen* of the Tridentine Council, admitteth all those kinds of traditions which I have delivered. I will set down his discourse in his own words, that the reader may see he saith fully as much as I have done. *Primum genus traditionum est, quod apostoli traderunt doctrinam viva voce, sed illa postea in Scriptura literis consignata est. Secundum genus traditionum est, quod libri Scripturæ sacræ non interrupta serie temporum, sicut Augustinus loquitur, et certa connexionis successione*

¹ Loc. Theolog. Lib. xii. [cap. 14. p. 713. 8vo. Col. Agr. 1605.]

² De Tradit. Ex. 1. Decret. 4. Sessionis. [p. 61, sqq.]

ab Ecclesia custoditi, et fideliter ad posteros transmissi, nobisque quasi per manus traditi sunt. Tertium genus traditionum constituimus illud, de quo loquuntur Irenæus, Lib. III. et Tertullianus de Præscript. : Recitant autem quid sit illud quod ex traditione probant, et sunt illi ipsi articuli fidei, quos symbolum apostolicum complectitur. Illos autem in Scriptura multis manifestis testimoniis tradi nullum est dubium. Quartum genus traditionum est, de expositione, vero sensu, seu nativa sententia Scripturæ. Quintum genus traditionum constituimus illud, quod patres aliquando ita vocant illa dogmata quæ non totidem literis et syllabis in Scriptura ponuntur, sed bona, certa, firma et manifesta ratiocinatione ex perspicuis Scripturæ testimoniis colliguntur. Sextum genus traditionum constituimus illud, quod de catholico patrum consensu dicitur. Septimum genus traditionum est, quod ubi veteres mentionem faciunt traditionum non scriptarum, proprie non intelligunt dogmata fidei, extra et præter Scripturam recipienda, etiamsi nullo Scripturæ testimonio probare possunt; sed de ritibus et consuetudinibus quibusdam vetustis loquuntur, quos propter antiquitatem ad apostolos retulerunt. Verisimile est quosdam etiam alios externos ritus, qui in Scriptura annotati non sunt, ab apostolis traditos esse, et nullis quidem certis et firmis documentis probari potest qui sunt ritus certo ab apostolis traditi, qui ex Scriptura ostendi non possunt. These are the words of Chemnitius, whereby it appeareth that he admitteth all those kinds of tradition which I do, and yet rejecteth the imagined traditions of papists. D. Whitaker¹ likewise acknowledgeth that the apostles of Christ ordained and appointed in the Churches certain rites and observations for order and comeliness, which they did not commit to writing, because they were not of necessity to be perpetually observed in one and the same sort, but dispensable according to the circumstance of times and places. This he proveth out of the first to the Corinthians, the 11th and 14th chapters. Secondly, if he think their erroneous opinion touching traditions may be inferred from anything that I acknowledge, he seemeth to be too weak in understanding, and not to know what the state of the question is between them and us; for

¹ Whitak. Disp. de Sacra Script. Quæst. 6. Controv. 1. cap. 6. [Tom. I. p. 372. fol. Gen. 1610.]

the question is not, whether there be any traditions or not, but whether (it being first supposed that the prophets, apostles, and other holy men of God, left unto posterities divine and sacred books, and it being agreed upon which they are,) they contain all things necessary to be known and practised by Christian men, for the attaining of everlasting life and salvation. We say, they do. Neither can he prove the contrary out of anything written by me. For I acknowledge nothing to have been delivered by tradition but the books of Scripture, things therein in some sort contained, and certain dispensable observations not at all or hardly to be discerned from ecclesiastical constitutions.

Let us see therefore what he can conclude out of anything that I have written for the confirmation of the Romish error. "To make," saith he, "a short reflection upon his doctrine, by his first rule of traditions, he must grant unto us which I have proved before at large, that all those books which the Roman Church approveth for Scripture, together with the special doctrines of prayer for the dead, to angels, &c., are traditions. For Doctor Field and his rules do so assure us." It seemeth my case is harder than I was ware of, and my danger greater than I supposed it had been. But what are those rules assigned by me which assure us that all the books approved by the Roman Church are canonical? Have they been ever holden to be so? Have the most famous in all ages, or at the least in divers ages, constantly delivered them unto us, as received by them from those that went before them, no man doubting of them? Did the pastors of any apostolical Church in the world successively deliver them as canonical to their after-comers? He knoweth they did not. For as I have elsewhere proved¹, Melito, bishop of Sardis, Origen, Athanasius, Hilary, Nazianzen, Cyril, Epiphanius, the Council of Laodicea, Ruffinus, Hierome, Gregory, Damascene, Hugo de Sancto Victore, Richardus de Sancto Victore, Petrus Cluniacensis, Lyranus, Dionysius Carthusianus, Hugo Cardinalis, Thomas Aquinas, Occham, Picus Mirandula, Waldensis, Armachanus, Driedo, Cajetan, and all the most famous divines in all ages, reject them, save only Augustine, the third Council of Carthage, and some few other; who yet, as Cajetan thinketh, received them not as absolutely canon-

¹ [Book iv. Chap. xviii. Vol. II. p. 480.]

ical, but in a sort only, in that they contain a convenient good direction of manners. The reader, I doubt not, will easily see his folly in this point. But it may be, the special doctrines of prayer for the dead, and to angels, whereof he speaketh, will be found apostolical traditions, by those rules that I allow of. Surely no; for howsoever it was a most ancient and laudable custom of the Church to remember the names of the dead at the holy altar and table of the Lord, with desire of their and our final consummation and public acquittal in the day of Christ; and some particular men doubtfully extended the same practice and custom farther to the mitigating, suspending, or total removing and taking away of the punishments of Christian men dying in the state of mortal sin; yet the popish opinion of purgatory, and prayer to deliver men from thence, were not once heard of in the primitive Church, nor are yet received by the greatest part of the Christian world. Touching prayer to angels, it was condemned by the apostle St Paul, the Council of Laodicea, Augustine¹, and Theodoret²; but that the Church did invoke angels from the beginning, that the most famous in all ages did teach men so to do, or the pastors of any apostolical Church successively one after another, which are my rules he speaketh of, neither he, nor any papist living, can ever prove.

The second thing he would infer³ out of my words is, that “we must of necessity resort to the Romish Church to know and learn the form of Christian doctrine, the explication of the several parts thereof, and the obscurities of Scripture, for that I say the apostles delivered the form of Christian doctrine as a tradition to posterities, and no posterity of protestants can be of this posterity, because both their priorities and posterities deny traditions.” Thus then the good author reasoneth: The protestants are none of those posterities to which the form of Christian doctrine hath been derived from the apostles by the line of succession: therefore we must resort to the Roman Church to know it. The antecedent of this argument he proveth, because, as he saith, “both priorities and posterities of protestants deny all traditions.” Surely

¹ August. de Vera Relig. cap. 55.

² Theod. in Epist. ad Col. cit. Synod. Laod. [vid. Can. Synodi, 35, et Notam Binii, Labbe, Tom. i. col. 1560.]

³ [Pag. 26.]

the man committeth so many faults in this one silly argument, that I know not well what first to except against; for neither is it consequent, that if protestants be not of that posterity to which the form of Christian doctrine was commended and delivered from the apostles, that we must of necessity seek to the Roman Church to learn it. Neither do protestants deny all traditions, as he untruly affirmeth, but only the false imagined and vain traditions of papists and other heretics. We therefore, to silence this trifler, do profess that the form of Christian doctrine is not to be sought in the Roman Church alone, or the other Christian Churches that now presently are in the world, but in the consenting voice of pastors and people succeeding one another; they that went before ever reporting and delivering to them that came after them the things that they had learned of their elders, that so what doctrine the apostles first delivered, might by their after-comers be delivered to all posterities. Of these posterities we profess ourselves to be, receiving, without any doubt or questioning, whatsoever we find to have been delivered in all places, at all times, by all Christian men not noted for heresy or singularity, and rejecting those things that have no testimony of antiquity, as the pope's not erring, his universality of jurisdiction, his power and right to dispose the kingdoms of the world, private masses, half communions, papal indulgences, and all such things as any way carry the mark of novelty and singularity. But saith he, "D. Field in the fourth and fifth kinds of traditions speaketh of them in the plural number, and yet giveth no example of the fourth, but the baptism of infants, nor of the fifth and last, but the observation of Lent and Sunday, or the Lord's day: therefore he must seek for more than he remembereth, and consequently, in all equal judgment, as many articles of catholic religion as we claim by tradition." The answer hereunto is easy; for touching the fourth kind of tradition I define it to be the continued practice of such things as are neither contained in Scripture expressly, nor the example of such practice there clearly and expressly delivered, though the grounds, reasons, and causes of the necessity of such practice be there contained, and the benefit or good that followeth of it. The only example I give of this kind of tradition, is the baptism of infants: yet may I speak in the plural number, as I do, because not only the

baptism of infants is of this sort, but many very material things belonging thereunto; as that in time of danger of death they are to be baptized with all possible speed, lest we seem to contemn or neglect the sacrament; that this may be done in private houses, either by dipping or sprinkling, as well before as after the eighth day. If this author can tell us of any more examples of things of this kind, the necessity whereof may be proved out of Scripture, though the practice of them be not there expressed, we will admit them; but they will make nothing for the confirmation of popish unwritten traditions, seeing such things are written in respect of the causes and grounds of the necessity of observing them, though not by way of express precept, or report of practice: and therefore it will not follow, from any thing that I have said in the judgment of any man, though not indifferent, nor equal, that I must admit so many articles of religion as papists shall be pleased to claim by tradition. Of the fifth and last kind of traditions, which he divideth into two, though I make but one, I give but only one example; which is the observation of the Lord's day, which yet appeareth by Scripture¹ to have been in use even in the apostles' times. For touching the Lent fast, I do not give it for an example, as he untruly reporteth, but only having described the fifth kind of traditions, say, that some think the Lent fast, and the fast of the fourth and sixth days of the week, to be of this kind.

The next thing which he urgeth in his "reflection upon my doctrine," as he termeth it, is, that "if the traditions of the last kind be confounded with ecclesiastical constitutions, as I say they are, 'that we might the more reverence the constitutions of the Church,' we must at last recant our contempt and dislike against them." For answer hereunto, I will first shew that the traditions of the last sort are so confounded with ecclesiastical constitutions, that it can hardly be certainly known which they are. Secondly, that we never disliked the ancient constitutions of the primitive and first Church, and therefore need not recant any such dislike. That apostolical traditions of the last kind are confounded with ecclesiastical constitutions, it is most clear and evident, in that some reckon one thing, and some another; and our adversaries dare not peremptorily say, which amongst those traditions, diversely

¹ Rev. i. 10.

and differently mentioned by the fathers, are apostolical, and which not. Tertullian¹ accounteth all these following to be apostolical traditions : thrice dipping of them that are baptized ; the interrogatories, responds, and words of sacred stipulation used in baptism ; the renouncing of the devil, his angels, and the pomp of the world, when we come to the water of baptism ; and before in the presence of the bishop ; the foretasting of milk and honey, and the abstaining from bathing and washing a whole week after ; the taking or receiving of the holy sacrament in the time of ordinary repast, oblations for the dead, and for their birthdays every year the same day they died ; standing at prayers on the Lord's day, and from Easter to Whitsuntide, and the signing of men's foreheads with the sign of the cross. *Harum, saith he, et aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem exoptules Scripturarum, nullam invenies : traditio tibi prætendetur auctrix, consuetudo confirmatrix, fides observatrix :* that is, " Of these and the like observations, if thou seek for any written law or precept, thou shalt find none. Tradition will be alleged unto thee as author of them, custom as the confirmer, and faith as the observer." Hereunto some add, praying towards the East², baptizing at Easter and Whitsuntide only³. Hierome accounteth the Lent fast amongst traditions of this sort⁴. His words are : *Nos unam quadragesimam secundum traditionem apostolorum toto anno, tempore nobis congruo, jejunamus :* " We fast one Lent according to the tradition of the apostles in the whole year, at a fit and seasonable time." To whom Jansenius⁵ agreeth, saying, that the observation of the Lent fast seemeth to have proceeded from the tradition of the apostles, which though perhaps it did not bind all by any express precept from the beginning ; yet being kept in all ages, and in all parts of the world, had the strength and force of a law. I think there is no papist will say certainly that all these were apostolical traditions ; but whether they do or

¹ Tertul. de Corona Militis. [capp. 3, 4. p. 102.]

² Basil. de Spiritu Sancto, cap. 27. [Tom. III. p. 54. E.]

³ Leo. Epist. 4. [al. 16.] Univers. Episc. per Siciliam. [cap. 3. Tom. I. col. 718.]

⁴ Hieronym. ad Marcell. advers. Montan. [Epist. 41. Tom. I. col. 187.]

⁵ In Concord. Evang. cap. 15. [p. 107.]

not, it is most certain they think themselves no more bound to keep them than mere ecclesiastical constitutions, which are established by the authority of the Church, and may by the same be abrogated and reversed again, in that the most part of all these are out of use in the Roman Church. For they think not thrice dipping necessary, following therein the authority of St Gregory¹; they foretaste not milk and honey, nor milk and wine when they are baptized; they abstain not from bathing a whole week after baptism; they stand not at their prayers from Easter to Whitsuntide, nor on the Lord's days; they keep not the Lent fast as the primitive Church did, and as all other Churches of Greece, Armenia, and Ethiopia, do to this day, by eating nothing till night, and by abstaining from wine, strong drink, and whatsoever is pleasing; but they make a mere mock of God and men in their observation of Lent and other fasts, in saying a part of their even-song in the morning, that so after the ending thereof, at dinner-time men may be thought to go to supper, and to do as the fathers did that did eat nothing on their fasting-days till the evening; they fast not the Wednesday, which in the primitive Church was fasted as precisely as Friday; but instead hereof they fast on Saturday, which anciently was not fasted in many Churches, nor yet is in the Churches of the East; they baptize at any time in the year. If they have disused and left off these observations, as no doubt they will profess they have, let them not think that we condemn or condemn all those ancient customs which we use not, but have a due respect to circumstances of times, and the different states of things. Tertullian and the ancient thought it *nefas*, an unlawful thing to kneel at prayers on the Lord's day; we think it very lawful, fit, and seemly; yet are we not contrary to the fathers. They suffered none to be baptized but only at Easter and Whitsuntide; we admit men to baptize at all times: they dipped those whom they baptized thrice; we but once: they signed themselves with the sign of the cross when they went out, and when they came in, when they put on, and when they put off their apparel; we, by reason of the abuse of this harmless ceremony, in that it was used by the Romanists, not as an outward profession of their faith in him that was crucified, or a silent invocation of his name, but to

¹ Greg. Lib. i. Epist. 41. [al. 43. Tom. ii. col. 532.]

drive away devils, still tempests, cure diseases, and remit venial sins *ex opere operato*, use this ceremony more sparingly, yet do we not wholly neglect it, but sign our new-baptized infants with this glorious mark and character of the crucified Saviour of the world: they mingled water with that wine which they consecrated in the blessed sacrament, because even in ordinary use their wines being hot were wont so to be allayed; we not having the like reason of mixture, mingle not water with wine in the sacrament, as likewise the Armenians do not; yet are we not contrary to the ancient Christians, nor contemners of old observations. So that to conclude this point, we approve the saying of Hierome, answering the question whether it were lawful to fast on the Saturday, or not. His words are¹: *Ego illud te breviter admonendum puto, traditiones ecclesiasticas, præsertim quæ fidei non officiant, ita observandas ut a majoribus traditæ sunt, nec aliorum consuetudinem aliorum contrario more subverti. Atque utinam omni tempore jejunare possemus, quod in actibus apostolorum diebus Pentecostes et die Dominico apostolum Paulum, et cum eo credentes fecisse legimus: nec tamen Manichææ hæreseos accusandi sunt, cum carnalis cibus præferri non debeat spirituali, nec hoc dico quod Dominicis diebus jejunandum putem, et contextas sexaginta diebus ferias auferam, sed unaquæque provincia abundet in sensu suo, et præcepta majorum leges apostolicas arbitretur.* Wherefore let us proceed to see if he have any thing else to say in this his reflection, as he calleth it, upon my doctrine.

His fourth allegation² is, that the rules I assign “cannot tell of any traditions to advantage protestants which deny traditions: but that both traditions, and rules to know them, must of necessity belong to the Church apostolic of Rome, being in this question a rule of itself, as I have declared.” Surely it seemeth the good man knoweth not what he saith: for in the beginning of this chapter he affirmeth, though falsely, that I acknowledge the perpetual virginity of our lady to be a tradition, and only received by such authority, and other protestants do so likewise. And in the end of the chapter he bringeth in his Majesty, the bishop of Winchester, and Doctor Covell, admitting divers traditions: and yet here

¹ Hier. ad Lucinium. [Epist. 71. Tom. i. col. 432.]

² [Pag. 27.]

he saith, protestants admit no traditions. If he say, that they now admit them, but formerly did not, he is refuted by Brentius and Chemnitius before cited: who though they deny, as we do, that there is any article of faith, or material and substantial point of Christian doctrine, delivered by bare tradition, and not written, yet acknowledge all those kinds of traditions that we now do. In that which he hath, that the rules assigned by me can tell of no traditions that advantage protestants, and that therefore both traditions, and rules to know them, must of necessity belong to the Church apostolic of Rome, there are not a few, but very many and gross faults committed. For first, the consequence is nought; the rules to know true traditions from false can tell of none to advantage protestants, therefore they belong to the Romish Church: and is no less absurd, than if a man should conclude in this sort: Parsons the Jesuit is not a cardinal, though he had once scarlet brought to his lodging in Rome to make his robes, as Watson testifieth; therefore the author of these pretended proofs hath right to put on those robes. For as there are others fit to be cardinals, though neither Parsons nor this good author be, so there are other societies of Christians in the world besides the Romanists and protestants, to which traditions, and rules to know them, may pertain, if protestants have no claim to them. 'But the Roman Church is an apostolical Church, planted by the apostles of Christ, and receiving an epistle from blessed Paul, wherein she is commended;' therefore in my judgment 'she hath not only claim to traditions,' is a rule to know them by. This consequence is as bad as the former; for I do not make the present profession, testimony, or judgment of every apostolical Church, to be a rule to know traditions by, seeing there would be no certainty in such a rule: the present profession of the apostolical Churches of Rome, Ephesus, Sardis, and Philadelphia, being contrary the one to the other; but the constant testimony that the pastors of such a Church have given from the beginning. 'But his Majesty in open parliament acknowledged the Roman Church to be our mother Church; therefore we must believe in all things as she doth, and by no means forsake her, or depart from her.' For the clearing of the meaning of this speech of his Majesty, and the silencing of these cavillers, we must note, that the Churches of Christ

in the world are of two sorts : for some were planted by the apostles themselves, or their coadjutors the evangelists, by their directions, which are named apostolical Churches ; and some other there are that received not the faith immediately from the apostles or their coadjutors, but from the Churches which the apostles had planted. The former of these were ever esteemed to be mother Churches in respect of the latter. So the Churches of Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, and the like, were mother Churches to many famous Churches in those parts of the world ; and so the Roman Church is a mother Church to many Churches of the West, that received their Christianity and faith from her : neither may the daughter Churches, as his Majesty excellently observed, depart farther from those mother Churches, from which they received the faith, than they are departed from themselves in their best estate, and first establishment. But as the Romanists think it lawful for the daughter Churches of the East to depart from those their mother Churches from which they received their faith, because, as they suppose, they are gone from their first faith : so we think with his Majesty, that we may justly depart from our mother Church of Rome, because she hath forsaken her first faith commended by the apostle, and is so far changed, that a man may seek Rome in Rome, and not find it. That which he addeth, that no rules can lead us to the finding out of any traditions that advantage us, is most untrue : for the certain and indubitate tradition, whereby the Scriptures are delivered unto us from the apostles of Christ, doth advantage us so much, that thereby the papacy is almost shaken to pieces ; and besides, the form of Christian doctrine and catholic interpretation of Scripture, brought down unto us from the apostles, discovereth unto us the novelties and singularities of the Romanists, to our great advantage, and confirmation in the truth of our profession.

Having thus in his fancy engrossed all traditions, and appropriated them to the present Roman Church, he goeth forward and inferreth out of my admitting some kind of traditions, and assigning rules to know them, that divers particular things which he specifieth are traditions. The two first instances that he giveth, are the sign of the cross, and the mingling of water with wine in the holy sacrament ; whereof I have spoken before. The third is, the reverence of images,

which he saith is by my rules proved to be an apostolical tradition. It is well he dareth not say, the worshipping of images is proved to be apostolical; for that by St Gregory¹ and the fathers it will be proved to be rather a diabolical than an apostolical tradition. Wherefore let us see what those rules are that prove the reverence of images to be apostolical, seeing it is evident the Church had them not at all for a long time², and Eusebius³ assureth us the making and having of them was by imitation of heathenish custom. "The rules," saith he, "that prove this, are the pastors of the apostolical Churches in the second Nicene Council, and old custom;" but these are no rules assigned by me: for I never admit the judgment of the present pastors of apostolical Churches, or custom, to be rules to know true traditions by, and therefore much less make the bishops in the second Council of Nice to be rules of this sort; but the consenting profession of the pastors of an apostolical Church, successively from the beginning, and the general and perpetual observation of a thing from the time that Christianity was first known in the world, by neither of which he shall ever prove either the worshipping or reverencing of images to be apostolical. The fourth thing that he saith by my rules is found to be an apostolical tradition is sacrifice and prayer for the dead; but herein he is deceived, or goeth about to deceive others, as in the rest. For it is true indeed, that the offering of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, the naming of the dead, and prayer for their and our joint consummation and public acquittal in the day of Christ, is such an apostolical tradition as hath ground in Scripture; but he can never prove that the offering of a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead, or prayer to deliver them out of purgatory pains, was delivered as a tradition from the apostles by any of my rules, to wit, consent of fathers from the beginning, or continued practice from the apostles' times. The like I say of his fifth instance; for he cannot prove the vow of single life in priests to have been from the beginning; but I have largely proved the contrary in my Fifth Book Of the Church. So that the vow of single life is not proved out of any of the

¹ Greg. Lib. ix. Epist. 9. [al. Lib. xi. Epist. 13. Tom. ii. col. 1100.]

² August. in Psal. cxiii. [Tom. iv. col. 1262.]

³ Euseb. Hist. Lib. vii. cap. 18.

rules set down by me to be an apostolical tradition. Wherefore let us proceed to the rest of his instances. He telleth us in the next place, that we may resolve with the ancient fathers that Relics are to be revered is a tradition, because M. Willet¹ telleth us Vigilantius was condemned of heresy for denying it. Surely it is greatly to be doubted that he is not a sound and perfect Romish Catholic, for that he dareth not to say the worshipping of images and relics is a tradition, but minceth the matter, and saith only, the reverencing of them is a tradition. For touching the reverence of relics, if he mean nothing else thereby but the reverent and honourable laying up of such parts of the bodies of God's saints as come to our hands, it is a Christian duty that we stand bound unto; so that not only M. Willet, but we all think that Vigilantius was justly condemned, if he either despised or contemptuously used the dead bodies of the saints. Neither need we fly to unwritten tradition to seek proofs for the necessity of this duty, for they are plenteously found in Scripture; but if he mean by the reverencing of relics, the shewing of them to be touched and adored, we think it impiety, and know it was forbidden by St Gregory², who condemneth the bringing forth of any parts of the bodies of God's saints departed into the sight of men, to be seen or handled of them. That particular and personal absolution from sin after confession is an apostolical and godly ordinance, which is his next instance, we make no doubt; but deny that it is an unwritten ordinance; neither can this good man prove it so to be. For doth Christ in Scripture give the keys of the kingdom of heaven to the apostles and their successors, with power to bind, and power to loose, with power to remit, and power to retain sins? and is it not a written verity that particular absolution is necessary? His Majesty, on whom he fathereth this tradition, did most learnedly and excellently distinguish, in the conference he mentioneth, three kinds of absolution from sin, making the first to be the freeing of men from such punishments of Almighty God, as sin subjecteth them unto, in that they offend him; and this is proper to God, in that he only hath power not to punish, that hath power to punish; and the ministers of the Church concur

¹ [Antilog. p. 13.]

² [Greg. Lib. iv. Epist. 30. Tom. ii. col. 710.]

hereunto no otherwise but only by bringing men by force of the word and sacraments into such an estate, wherein God finding them will not punish them. The second kind of absolution is the freeing of men from the censures of suspension, excommunication, penitential corrections, and such punishments as the Church may inflict; and in this kind the Church may properly be said to absolve. The third kind of absolution is the comfortable assuring of men, upon the understanding of their estate, that they shall escape God's fearful punishments. In these two later sorts the ministers of the Church have power to absolve; and personal absolution in either of these senses is rightly said to be an apostolical and godly ordinance; but it is a written ordinance, and not an unwritten tradition, which is the thing that this man should prove. There is another kind of absolution imagined by the papists, which is a sacramental act, giving grace *ex opere operato*, to the remission of sins, which is not an apostolical ordinance, but an invention of their own; whereof I have spoken elsewhere¹. Touching the ministration of baptism by private persons in the time of necessity, it is not said to be an unwritten tradition by the bishop of Winchester, and therefore it is not to this purpose; no more than that bishops are said to be *divinæ ordinationis*; seeing the distinct degrees of bishops and presbyters are proved out of the Scripture. That confirmation is an apostolical tradition we confess; but it is a written tradition, both in respect of the first practice of it by the apostles, who laid their hands on such as were baptized by others; from which authority the custom of imposing hands doth come, as Hierome² testifieth; as also in respect of the necessity of the continuance of it, in that the apostle to the Hebrews³ reckoneth the imposition of hands, together with the doctrine of baptisms, amongst the foundations of Christian religion. We doubt not therefore but it is a fitting thing that the bishop should confirm by imposition of hands those that are baptized by others; but it is rather for the honour of priesthood, than the necessity of any law, as Hierome testifieth⁴; for that otherwise they were in a woeful case who

¹ Appendix to the Third Book Of the Church, Chap. xxiv. [Vol. II. p. 380.]

² Hieron. contra Luciferian. [Tom. II. col. 180.]

³ Chap. vi. 2.

⁴ Hier. ubi supra.

in places far remote die before the bishop can come to them, if none could receive the Spirit of God but by the imposition of his hands. It is therefore a sacramental complement not to be neglected, but not a sacrament; but this good man will prove it to be a sacrament. First, because, as he saith, "it is so joined by us with baptism." And secondly, because "it hath both a visible sign and grace by the Communion-book revived¹." It seemeth he was never any good disputer, he bringeth so many weak and silly arguments, and yet urgeth them as if they were unanswerable. Surely these reasons will be found too weak to prove confirmation a sacrament, if they fall into the hands of any one that will take the pains to examine them. For first, if he mean that it is joined by us with baptism as a sacrament, he is greatly deceived, seeing we join it only as a sacramental complement. And secondly, though it have an outward sign and invisible grace; yet the sign is not so much a sign of that grace which the bishop imposing hands by his prayer obtaineth for the confirmation of the parties he layeth his hands upon, as a sign of limitation or restraint, specifying and setting out the party on whom he desireth God to pour his confirming grace; and therefore it hath not the nature of a sacrament, wherein there must be a visible sign of that grace that is conferred. Secondly, because, though the bishop overshadowing the party by the imposition of his hands, do in a sort express and resemble the hand of God stretched forth for the protecting, assisting, and safe keeping of the party, which is an invisible grace, yet it followeth not that it is a sacrament; for the fiery and cloven tongues² were a visible sign of that gracious gift of the Spirit which the apostles received in the day of Pentecost, enabling them with all fiery zeal to publish the mysteries of God's kingdom in all the several languages of the world; yet were they no sacraments, as Bellarmine³ noteth, because the grace whereof these fiery tongues were a sign, was not given by force of this sign, as a set mean appointed by Almighty God. So in like sort the imposition of hands is a sign of protecting, assisting, and safe-keeping grace, not given or obtained by the due use of this sign, as in sacraments, but to be obtained by the prayers of the bishop and

¹ [Pag. 28.]

² Acts ii.

³ Bellar. de Sacram. in genere.

Church of God. That which he hath out of Basil is to little purpose; for I hope he thinketh not the doctrine of the Trinity to be holden by bare and only tradition, without the warrant of the written word of God. And if St Basil reckon the form of words, wherein we profess our faith in the blessed Trinity, to be a tradition, it proveth nothing against us, seeing the thing so professed is contained in Scripture. That the ordaining of bishops in dioceses to rule their Churches, and metropolitans in provinces to call and moderate synods, was an apostolical tradition, we make no question; but we deny it to be an unwritten tradition. For whereas in the Acts¹, Paul sendeth for the presbyters of Ephesus to Miletum; in the Revelation², it appeareth by the epistles of the Spirit of God, directed to the seven Churches of Asia, that amongst many presbyters feeding the flock of Christ in Ephesus there was one chief who had a kind of eminent power, who is named the angel of the Church, and who is commended or reproved for all things done well or ill within the limits and bounds of the same. That the bishop of Winchester saith³, the article of Christ's descending into hell, and the Creed wherein it is contained, is an apostolical tradition, delivered to the Church by the direction and agreement of the apostles, is nothing but that we all say. Neither is the popish conceit touching unwritten articles of religion thereby confirmed; for howsoever the Creed of the Apostles may be said to be a tradition, in respect of the orderly collection of the principal heads of Christian faith into a brief sum and epitome, which are scattered here and there in Scripture; yet no article of this Creed is believed or received by bare and only tradition, but they are all proved out of Scripture, as that worthy and learned bishop doth most excellently confirm and prove the article of Christ's descending into hell out of the same.

After these particular instances, this author groweth to a general conclusion, and asketh, "why we may not say with the Council of Florence, cited by M. Willet⁴ for general, and the patriarchs of the apostolic sees there present, with the Council of Constance, not of unequal authority, and the Coun-

¹ Acts xx. 17.

² Rev. ii.

³ [Thomas Bilson, "The Survey of Christ's Sufferings for Man's Redemption," p. 664. fol. Lond. 1604.]

⁴ [Synopsis Papismi, Controv. 1. Quæst. 7. p. 49. fol. Lond. 1600.]

cil of Trent, that protestancy in all points is false, and catholic religion true?" It seemeth the good man is near driven, and hath spent all his strength in this tedious discourse of traditions, and therefore in the conclusion he taketh a strange course: for instead of proving by the testimonies of protestants, as he undertook, that Romish religion is true, and protestancy false, he asketh why he may not say, with the Councils of Florence, Constance, and Trent, that protestants' religion is false, and the Romish profession true? Touching the Council of Trent, it is of so great authority with us, that if he had been pleased to let us know his name, and urge his own authority, we would as soon have listened unto him as to that council, in anything it hath defined touching the controversies that are between us and the papists: for we know, that howsoever there wanted not many learned and worthy men in that meeting, that opposed themselves mainly against many things there questioned, and in conclusion agreed upon, they were forced to give way to the prevailing faction. I will give one example instead of many, touching the certain knowledge each man hath of his own estate¹, whether he be in grace or not. There was great opposition in that meeting, many protesting that the authors of uncertainty would bring in a worse error than any was imputed to Luther²; yet the conclusion passed against them, though in some ambiguity of words and terms³, to give them some contentment. The like might be said touching the authority of the vulgar translation, and sundry other things, as it appeareth by the confession of their own divines there present. Wherefore to pass by that council, and to come to the Councils of Florence and Constance, I marvel that this man dareth say they are of equal authority; whereas Cardinal Bellarmine⁴ reckoneth the Florentine Council amongst those that are absolutely approved, and that of Constance amongst those that are partly approved and partly rejected, in which number he doth likewise account the Council of Basil. But it may be he is of the faction of the French, who deny the Council of Florence to be general, who neither would come to it when it was holden⁵, nor re-

¹ Vega. Defens. Trident. Decr. de Justif. Lib. ix. cap. 7. [p. 214.]

² Ibid. cap. 46. [p. 312.]

³ Ibid. cap. 8. [p. 215.]

⁴ Bellar. de Concil. cap. 7.

⁵ Andrad. de Script. et Trad. Authorit. Lib. ii.

ceive the decrees of it when it was concluded. It is true, indeed, that many bishops of the Oriental and Greek Churches were there, and many of them consented with the Latins, in hope of help from them against their barbarous and cruel enemies; so that it may carry some show of a general council; but the patriarch of Constantinople was dead before the conclusion. Some protested against the union there agreed on; the Churches of the East would not admit it as being concluded by their bishops that were there without commission from them; and therefore do not account it a lawful, free, general council. "But," saith he, "the patriarchs of the apostolic sees of Alexandria and Antioch were present with the bishop of Rome, and subscribed to the decrees and conclusions of that council; therefore it must be accounted general." The antecedent of this argument is most false and untrue; for the patriarchs of the apostolic sees were not there in person, but others supplied their places; neither can he say it was all one as if they had been personally present, seeing what their vicegerents did in their names, in all likelihood they would have done, if they had been present; when themselves confess, that the acts of the pope's legate are not of binding force, unless he ratify them; for that sometimes, as in the deposition of Ignatius and setting up of Photius, they may go against his instructions. This I do the rather insist upon; for that the union agreed on in this council, and consented unto by these vicegerents, was disliked by the bishops that remained at home, and so could be of no force; they that were sent having no commission to discuss or determine any other points of difference but that touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, and yet adventuring of themselves to define and determine some other very important controversies. But to let this pass, these two Councils of Florence and Constance are ill matched by this author. For they agree no better together than fire and water; the one of them defining that the pope is head of the whole universal Church, and the other making him only head over particular Churches, but subject to the whole universal Church, and a general council representing the same. Whereupon Cajetan¹ denieth it to be a general council; and others say it was a general council, but partly approved, and partly rejected. And, doubtless,

¹ Citat. ab Andrad. ibid.

howsoever this author make show to the contrary, yet he knoweth right well that this council did more advantage our cause, and shake the papacy, in making the popes, as men, subject to errors and vile disorders, inferior to general councils, than it helpeth them, or hurteth us, by disliking and condemning some positions of Wickliffe, partially and corruptly gathered out of his writings by his adversaries, and taken in the worst sense; which were so uttered by him as, being rightly understood, might have a good and catholic meaning, as Gerson testifieth. And therefore, if it were granted that it was a lawful general council, yet it followeth not that I must acknowledge Romish religion to be true in all points; seeing it is pronounced false by this council in the chiefest and most principal of all other, which is touching the supreme commanding power of the pope over the whole universal Church, and his infallible judgment, from which no man may appeal.

But such is my infelicity, that I must be forced to acknowledge that Romish religion is true in all points, though this council define the contrary. His words are: "This of necessity Doctor Field with his protestants must acknowledge, or freely by their recited doctrine confess, that there neither is, nor can be hereafter by his rules, any true and certain Scripture, tradition, or religion in the world." A hard case, and ill choice, if we must needs run into one of these extremes, either to acknowledge that our whole religion is false, or that there is no certain Scripture, tradition, or religion in the world. But though the sea be before us, and Pharaoh and the Ægyptians behind us, yet I hope we shall neither fall into the hands of the one, nor be swallowed up of the gulfs of the other. Let us see therefore whether our danger be so great as he would make us believe. "If," saith he, "we neither have Scripture, exposition of the difficulties of it, nor tradition, but by tradition, as Doctor Field hath granted, and those only three rules to know them: if those rules may propose unto us false Scripture, false expositions of their obscurities, and false traditions in matters of faith, faith cannot be certain, and the religion grounded upon it is overthrown." If this be all, I hope the worst is past; for if I should grant, as he maketh me absurdly to do, that we have neither Scripture nor tradition, but by tradition, yet

cannot those rules I assign to know true traditions by, propose unto us false Scriptures or traditions. For what are they but the constant practice of the whole Christian Church from the beginning, the consent of the most famous learned in all ages, or at least in divers ages, no man contradicting or doubting, and the constant testimony of the pastors of apostolical churches from their first establishment, successively witnessing the same things? Indeed if these rules could propose unto us false traditions, false Scriptures, or expositions of the difficulties thereof, our faith could not be certain, and all religion were overthrown; but neither he, nor all the devils in hell, shall ever force us to acknowledge any such thing; neither is there any point of Romish superstition proved by any such traditions, as are found to be true traditions by these rules. But will some man say, doth he make no show of proof, that we acknowledge these rules may propose unto us false traditions, false Scriptures, and expositions of the difficulties in them? Doubtless he doth. For thus he concludeth very terribly against us: "The testimony and judgment of the patriarchs or bishops of apostolical sees is one of the rules assigned to know true traditions by; but we acknowledge that the patriarchs of apostolic sees did err in the Council of Florence, and propose unto us false expositions of Scripture; therefore we must confess, whether we will or not, that the rules we assign may propose unto us false Scriptures, and false expositions of Scripture."

Unto this concluding argument, wherein the force of the whole chapter lieth, we answer briefly and peremptorily. First, that the major proposition is most false, as he well knoweth; for I never make the judgment and opinion of the present bishops of apostolical Churches to be the rule to know true traditions by; but deny it, and profess the contrary against the papists, and make only the testimony of the pastors of apostolical Churches, successively from the beginning witnessing the same things, to be a rule in this kind. Secondly, that the patriarchs of the apostolic sees he speaketh of were not at the Council of Florence in their own persons, but had others to supply their places, whose proceedings they disclaimed, and voided whatsoever they did in their names, because they presumed to discuss and determine divers matters of controversy without directions and instructions from them.

But howsoever we think of the proceedings in this council, yet he saith, no protestant Church can shew any such authority for their cause as that of the Councils of Florence, Constance, and Trent. It had been well if he had been better advised before he had so much disenabled us; for he shall find that we can and will shew far greater authority for our cause than the late Councils of Florence, Constance, and Trent, and that in the weightiest points of all other. For did not the bishops in the great Council of Chalcedon profess openly, that the reason why the fathers gave the pre-eminence to the bishop of Rome was the greatness of his city, being the seat of the emperors, and that they thought it fit to give equal privileges to the bishop of Constantinople for the same cause, seeing it was become the seat of the emperors, and named new Rome? Did not the sixth general Council in Trullo confirm the same parity of the bishop of Constantinople with the bishop of Rome? and do not the decrees of these two councils shake in pieces the whole frame and fabric of the papacy? Did not the second, fourth, and sixth councils, &c., make the bishop of Constantinople a patriarch, and set him in degree of honour before the other two of Alexandria and Antioch, notwithstanding the resistance of the Roman bishops, and their claim from Peter? Did not the sixth general council blame the Church of Rome for sundry things, and particularly among other, for forcing married men entering into the orders of ministry to forsake the matrimonial society of their wives? Did not the Council of Nice refer both bishops and other inferior clergymen to be ordered by their own metropolitans, and the councils of Africa thereupon condemn appeals to Rome¹? Did not the Council of Eliberis forbid the lighting of tapers in the cemeteries, or places of burial, to the disquieting of the spirits of the saints departed? and did it not abolish those pernicious customs in the places of burial which Hierome urged so violently against Vigilantius, and forbid the having of any pictures in churches: *Ne quod colitur, aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur*? Doth not the canon of the apostles prescribe, that all the faithful that come together in the Church, and communicate not in the sacrament, shall be excommunicate, which also the Council of Antioch reviveth

¹ Concil. Carthag. 6. et 7. [Labbe, Tom. iii. col. 441, sqq.] cap. 105. Epist. Concil. Afric. ad Cœlestinum. [Ibid. col. 532.]

and confirmeth? Doth not Gelasius command all them to be excommunicated, that, receiving the sacrament of the Lord's body, abstain from the participation of the cup? Did not the Church of Rome think it so far necessary that the people should communicate in both kinds, that *Ordo Romanus* prescribeth on Good Friday, when they consecrate not, but receive that which was reserved, being consecrated the day before, they should take wine and consecrate it by putting or dipping the body of the Lord into it, with pronouncing the Lord's prayer, that so the people might receive the whole sacrament? and yet now the half communion is sufficient. Did not the Milevitan and Arausican Councils condemn those errors touching the strength of nature and power of free-will to perform the works of virtue, without assistance of special grace? which since have been received in the Roman schools, as if they had been catholic verities. The like might be shewed in many other particulars; but these may suffice. Wherefore let us proceed to his eighth chapter.

(CHAP. VIII.)

In this chapter, first, he sheweth that general councils are of highest authority in the Church of God; and, secondly, laboureth to prove that they testify for Romish religion. To prove that councils are of highest authority in the Church of God, which no man denieth, he produceth the testimonies of the Bishop of Winchester¹, Doctor Morton², the Protestant relator of religion³, and Doctor Sutcliffe⁴: and lastly addeth, that I am clearly of the same opinion, assuring all men that the interpretations of Scripture proposed by private

¹ [Thomas Bilson, "Survey," &c. p. 83.]

² [Apol. Cathol. Lib. iv. cap. 1. p. 340.]

³ ["A Relation of the State of Religion," &c., cap. 47, without pagination, 4to. Lond. 1605. This tract was written by Sir Edwin Sandys, but published in an imperfect form without his consent. It was afterwards acknowledged by the author, and published under his name A.D. 1629. See Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 473.]

⁴ ["The Examination and Confutation of a certaine scurrilous Treatise, entituled, 'The Survey of the New Religion,' published by Matthew Kellison, in disgrace of true religion professed in the Church of England," 4to. Lond. 1606.]

men are not so proposed and urged by them, as if they would bind all others to receive them, and that none but bishops assembled in a general council may interpret Scriptures in such sort, as by their authority to suppress all them that gainsay such interpretations. For so are my words, which he hath altered, to make men think I allow none in any sort to interpret Scriptures but general councils : wherein he wrongeth me, as he well knoweth, seeing I profess the contrary, even in the place cited by him. This allegation of my words might have been spared, seeing there was never any man doubted of the truth of that for proof whereof he allegeth them.

Wherefore let us come to his second part, wherein he endeavoureth to shew that general councils make for the Romish religion : this he proveth, because “ when protestants deny the authority of general councils, they have no excuse, but because they were called by the pope’s authority.” So, saith he, Doctor Field, Doctor Sutcliffe, M. Willet, and the rest. Surely it is a most shameless kind of dealing, to charge men with that they never thought, spake, nor wrote : yet so doth the honest man use me in this place ; and therefore citeth neither book nor page, as he is wont to do, but sendeth his reader to seek that which he shall never find. For I never denied the authority of any council only because it was called by the pope, as he untruly reporteth ; so that it is vain and foolish that he urgeth that in so doing I contradict myself, in that the rules assigned by me to know true traditions, as the testimony of the pastors of apostolical Churches from the beginning, the practice and consent of holy fathers, do warrant us that that privilege ever belonged to the see of Rome, that without the consent thereof no council could be called, none confirmed. For the clearing of this point, touching the calling and confirming of councils, we must note that they are of divers sorts : some diocesan, holden by each bishop in his diocese ; some provincial, consisting of the bishops of a province called together, or at least moderated by the metropolitan ; some patriarchical, consisting of the metropolitans and bishops of divers provinces under one patriarch ; and some oecumenical, consisting of all the bishops in the world. The canon he speaketh of¹ must be

¹ [See Bilson, “True Difference,” pp. 66, 7. Lond. 1586.]

understood of œcumenical councils only, wherein things concerning the faith and state of the whole Catholic Church are handled; for, otherwise, each bishop might hold a diocesan synod, each metropolitan a provincial, and each patriarch a patriarchal, without requiring the consent of the bishop of Rome. Wherefore let us see how, and in what sort, the consent of the bishop of Rome was required to the holding of general councils, and to what purpose his confirmation of their decrees was sought. Cardinal Cusanus¹ handleth this matter excellently well, shewing at large that the meaning of the canon of the primitive Church was not to give any such absoluteness to the bishop of Rome, that his negative should dash all, or his affirmative establish what he pleaseth, without the consent and approbation of the rest; but that being one of the prime patriarchs and chief bishops of the Christian Church, nothing should be concluded without seeking, requiring, and expecting his presence, joint deliberation, and consent: which is not to be marvelled at, seeing no general council can be of force, wherein the meanest bishop in the world is purposely neglected, or refused, offering himself to such deliberation. As no chapter act can be good wherein any one having voice in chapter is neglected, or excluded; though when he is present, or at least called, and not excluded nor neglected, things may pass, though he say no; even so in like sort in a general council, though no such assembly be lawful and of force, wherein the bishop of Rome is neglected, or his joint deliberation and consent not sought; yet a man is rather to adhere to the fathers in such a meeting consenting together, than to the person of the pope contradicting or refusing to assent to that they resolve on: as not only those papists do think that teach the pope may err, and is inferior to general councils in the power of jurisdiction, but they also that are opposite to them in judgment, as Andradus² sheweth out of Cardinal Turrecremata, who professeth that a man should rather assent to the consenting voice of the fathers assembled in a general council, than to the person of the pope dissenting from them, or refusing to confirm and ratify that they agree upon: and that in the power of discretive judgment the council is greater than the pope.

¹ Concord. Cathol. Lib. ii. cap. 15. [p. 731.]

² Defens. Fid. Trid. Lib. ii.

Besides this, we are to observe, that when the canon provided no council should be holden and be of force without the bishop of Rome, the meaning of it was not precisely in respect of his person, but of him and the metropolitans and bishops of the West provinces subject to him as patriarch of the West, who were a great and principal part of the Christian Church. For the manner was, when a general council was to be holden in the East, as all the general councils that have been were, that the bishop of Rome, as patriarch of the West, should impart the occasions of such a general meeting in council to the several metropolitans subject unto him; and they calling their bishops together in their several provinces, should send whom they thought fit to the same general meeting, with such directions and resolutions as it pleased them; and, as Cardinal Bellarmine¹ hath rightly observed, it was enough if many bishops of the East meeting and coming together, some few came out of the West; yea, sometimes, though none at all came, as appeareth by the second general council holden at Constantinople, if the resolutions which the bishop of Rome sent as agreed on in the several synods subject to him as patriarch, and the determinations of the bishops and fathers assembled, concurred and consented. And this doubtless was the reason why the confirmation of the bishop of Rome with his Western synods was required for the ratifying of general councils; because never being present in person, and very few or none of his bishops being at those councils, it was necessary they should confirm and ratify what the rest in council debated, discussed, and resolved on, by testifying their assent. For what could pass currently as an act of a general council, whereunto a great and principal part of the Christian world consented not? So that it was not the pope's personal confirmation that was desired in ancient times, as if all the bishops in the world might err, and the certainty of truth rested in him only, as

¹ "In Concil. 2. et 3. nulli fuerunt ex occidente; sed Damasus et Coelestinus concilia illa confirmarunt nomine suo et aliorum episcoporum, quos ipsi Romæ collegerant. Constantinus pro 6. Concil. scribit ad Agathonem, ut mittat tres personas de sua ecclesia, et 12 metropolitanos de suo concilio. Agatho rescribit, cum universis Synodis subjacentibus Concilio Apostolicæ Sedis."—De Concil. et Ecclesia. Lib. i. cap. 17. [Tom. II. col. 34.]

some men now teach; but the consent of those bishops that were subject to him as patriarch of the West, as well as his own; who, being absent, were to ratify, strengthen, and confirm the determinations of them that were present, not as being more infallible in judgment than they, but by a joint concurrence and agreement. This is all that can be proved out of the consent of fathers, historians, and practice of former times; and therefore this man doth but trifle in this as in the rest. Wherefore, to conclude this matter touching councils, I dare undertake to prove that papists deny and reject more councils than any of our divines do. Touching the right of calling councils, and in what cases they may be called without the consent of the bishop of Rome, without any breach of the canon alleged, I have shewed my opinion in the Fifth Book Of the Church. And, therefore, seeing the author of these proofs proceedeth no farther in alleging anything out of that which I have written, I will here leave him, not doubting but others whom he hath wronged will make him know he hath dealt no better with them than he hath with me, and that therefore the plausible conclusion he maketh in the end of itself falleth to the ground, the premises upon which it should stay itself being taken away. For we neither acknowledge that papists holding the infallibility of the pope's judgment, the universality of his jurisdiction, and power to dispose the kingdoms of the world; believing free-will to perform and do the actions of virtue, without assistance of special grace; perfection of inherent righteousness, satisfactions, merit of condignity, propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, and the like, can ever be saved so living and dying; nor that the present Roman Church is the true Church of Christ; nor that the pre-eminence they now give to the pope was either claimed or practised over the whole Church, from St Peter to these our days, as this nameless and shameless author saith we do; nor that all the books which the Roman Church now receiveth for canonical Scriptures were delivered for such by the apostles, or received for such by the Church; nor that the true and best translations of holy Scripture, with the lawful supreme binding exposition of them, together with apostolical traditions, general councils, or primitive fathers, give any testimony that the present Roman Church is that company of holy ones, that household

of faith, that spouse of Christ, and Church of the living God, which is so diligently to be sought after; whose communion we must embrace, whose directions we must follow, and in whose judgment we must rest. But, contrariwise, we are well assured all these do witness against her, that she is an erring, heretical, and apostatical Church; that she hath forsaken her first faith, departed from her primitive sincerity, plunged those that adhere unto her into many gross and damnable errors, and defiled herself with intolerable superstition and idolatry, so that as well in respect of her errors in faith, superstition, and idolatry in divine worship, as of her slanderous, treacherous, bloody, and most horrible and hellish practices, to overthrow and destroy all that do but open their mouths against her abominations, we may justly account her to be the synagogue of Satan, the faction of antichrist, and that Babylon out of which we must fly, unless we will be partakers of her plagues.

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